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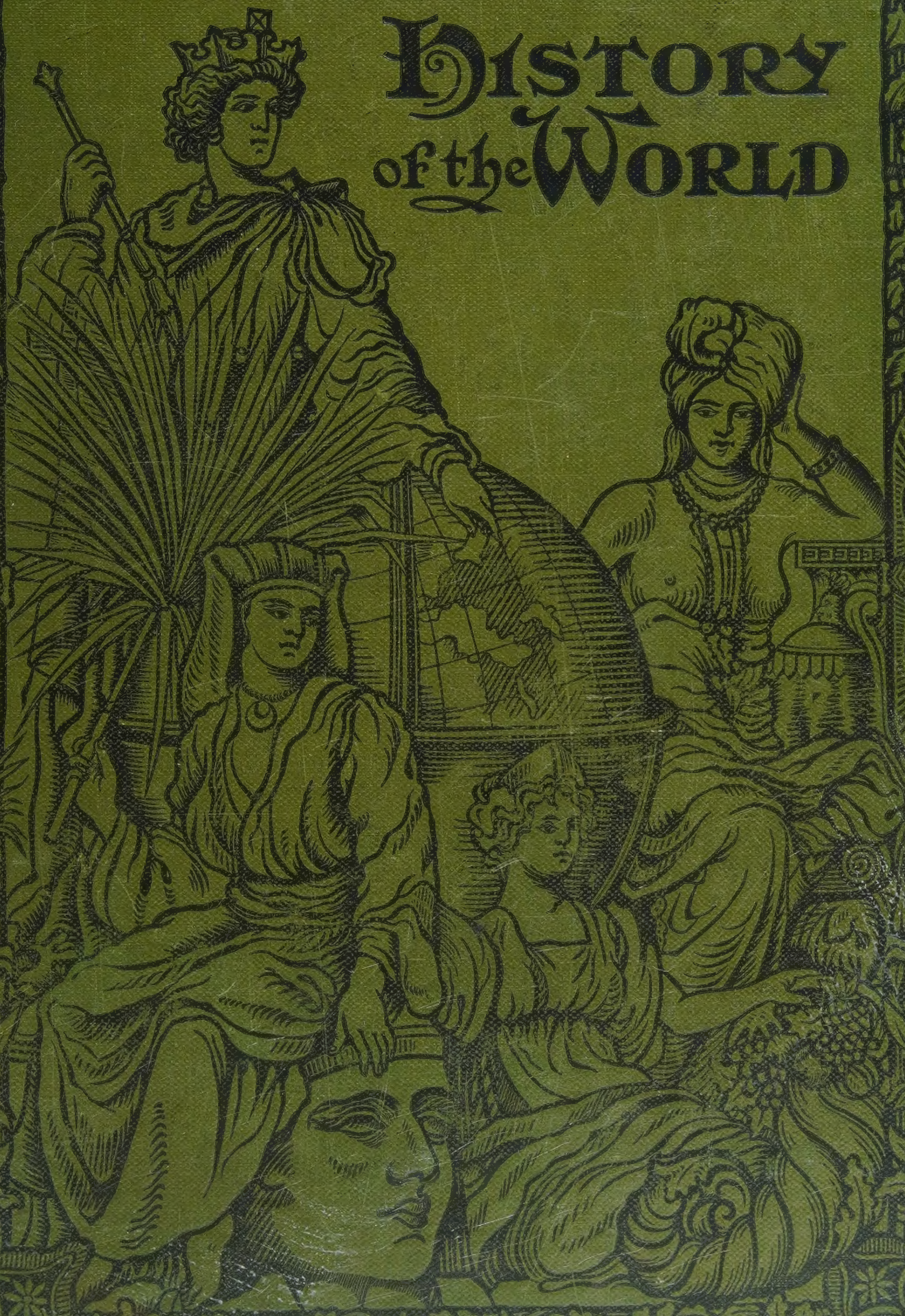

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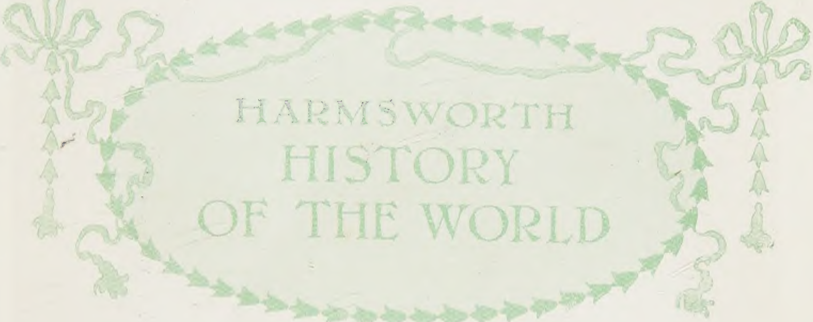

HARMSWORTH
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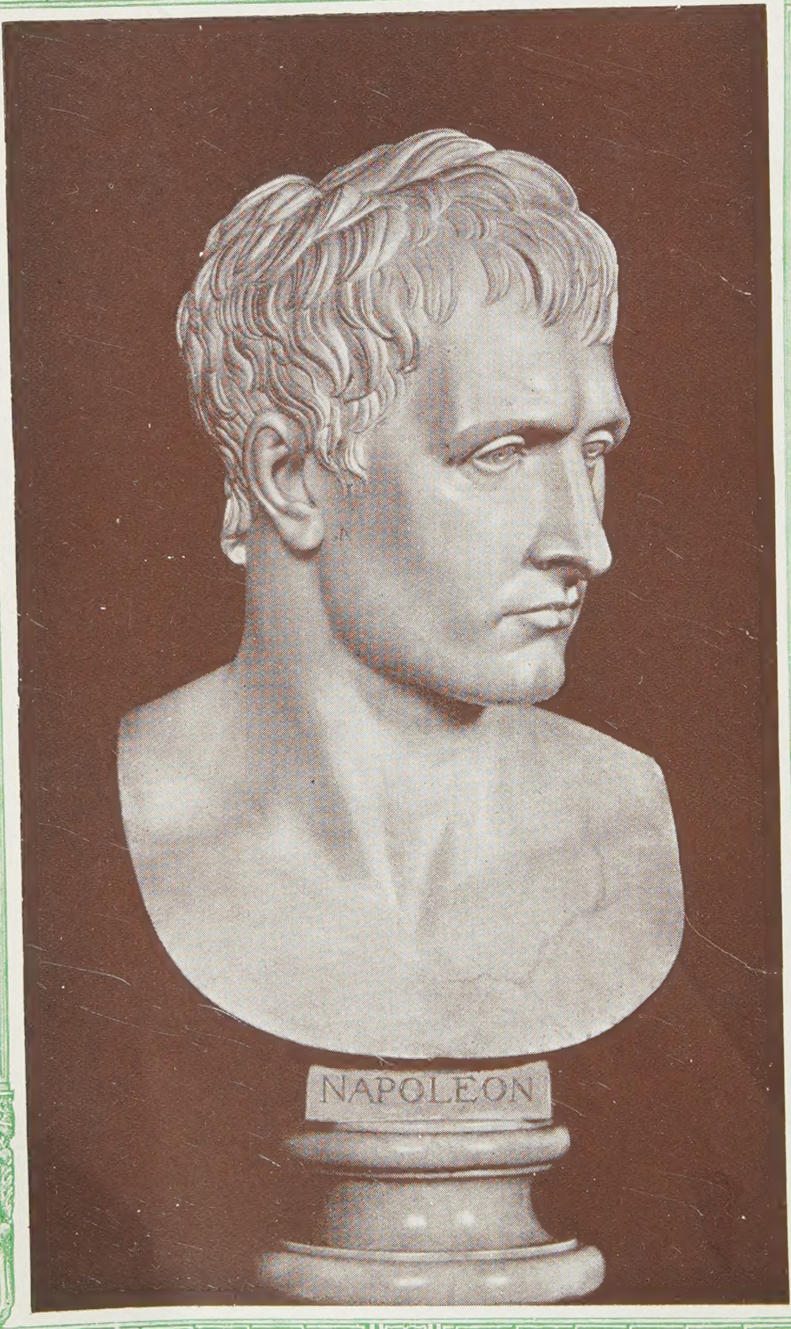
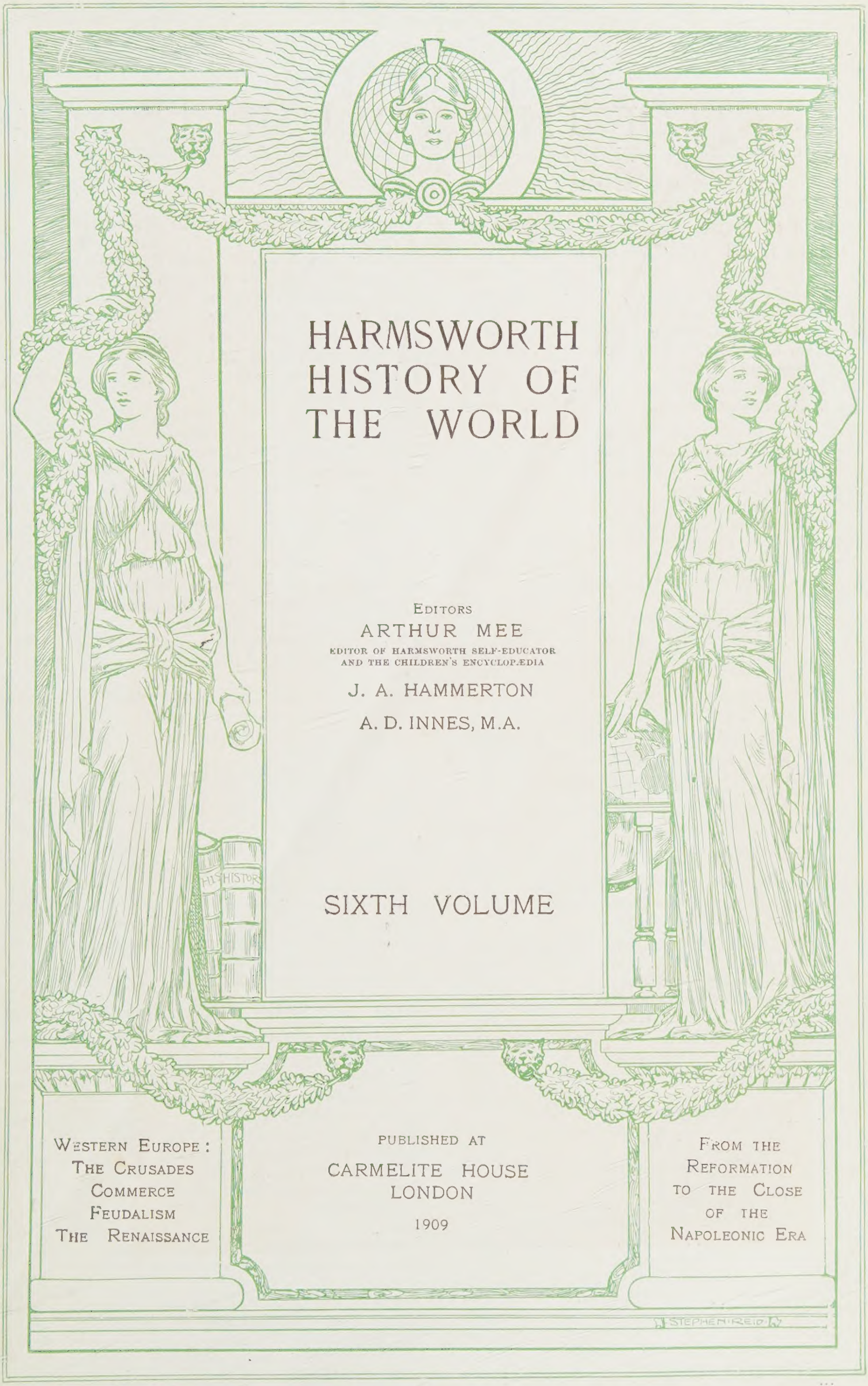


NAPOLEON THE GREAT

From the bust by Canova in the Pitti Gallery, Florence



HARMSWORTH HISTORY OF THE WORLD

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SIXTH VOLUME

WESTERN EUROPE:
THE CRUSADES
COMMERCE
FEUDALISM
THE RENAISSANCE

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FROM THE
REFORMATION
TO THE CLOSE
OF THE
NAPOLEONIC ERA

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CRUSADERS SIGHTING JERUSALEM

Specially painted for the HARMSWORTH HISTORY OF THE WORLD by Stephen Reid, R.B.A.

The·Crusades

AND WHAT THEY DID FOR EUROPE

THE BIRTH OF THE CRUSADING SPIRIT

THE Crusades may be regarded as the last throes of that great migratory movement which has modified and transformed Western Europe since the entrance of the Teutons into the clear light of history. The consolidation of the Frankish Empire and the downfall of the Teutonic Mediterranean states may seem to have terminated this process of migration, but the fact is that the period by no means ended with those events.

The invasion of the Arabs, even when the first deadly menace to the growth of Christian civilisation in Europe had been repelled by Leo the Isaurian in the East, and by Charles Martel in the West, introduced a constant element of fermentation into the West, notwithstanding its apparent solidarity.

The ordinary historical manuals are silent upon the fact that Rome was menaced by Saracen raids in 841 and 846, that Genoa was devastated in 935 and 993, that Pisa was captured in 1004 and 1011, that communication across the Alps was paralysed by these invaders for many decades, while they carried fire and sword to the neighbourhood of Lake Constance, and overran Hungary about 1092, starting from the Alps and the Adriatic.

The Yoke of Western Europe

The attempts of Western Europe to shake off this paralysing yoke are to be regarded as introductory to the Crusades, in which they were concentrated at the moment when the East, on which the victory of Leo the Isaurian had produced more permanent effects than that of Charles Martel, saw its mortal foe advancing in the last third of the eleventh century.

Advance of the Northmen

On the other hand, a Teutonic people appeared, advancing under the stress of a new migratory impulse. The Northmen again drove large masses of the population to leave their homes and seek new settlements elsewhere; their echeloned advance, in connection with the western pressure against the Mohammedan barrier, may be regarded as the first territorial impulse towards a crusading movement; it was the return wave of a migration towards the south-east, by which the eastern empire was carried away in its final attempt to resume the attack against the infidels, a stream which did not spend its force before the middle of the thirteenth century.

A special section has been already devoted to the raids of the Northmen, and the misery which they brought upon all the coasts of North-western and Western Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries has been already considered. Here, however, it is worth while to mention, for the sake of completeness, the manner in which these Viking voyages brought the furthest shores of the southern sea within the purview of western ambitions. The enormous range of their expeditions, which spread from Vineland to the steppes of Sarmatia and to the shores of the Levant, created a new and extended horizon for the Crusades, infinite in comparison with the narrow outlook of previous centuries: this horizon for the eastern half of the Old World was further extended to the Sunda Islands and to China, through contact with the science and the commerce of the Arabs. This extension of geographical knowledge is the most remarkable result of the crusading movement, and is in immediate connection with the widening of the intellectual horizon. It was chiefly the voyages of the Northmen which enabled the western world thus to extend its view.

The Route to the Holy Land

The advance of the Northmen to Palestine can be traced almost contemporaneously with the appearance of the Varangians in Byzantium. The usual road to Constantinople, the "Austrvegr," down the rivers of Russia, which led far to the South through Scandinavian territory, was the obvious road to the Holy Land for pilgrims; they were able to travel in their own vessels to the rapids of the Dnieper, from which point they continued under Byzantine escort. This road was not closed until the Latin conquest of 1204 cut the connection of the Russian principalities with Byzantium. On the other hand, princes and nobles who could fit out large fleets followed the "Vestrvegr" through the ocean and between the Pillars of Hercules.

For a long period bands of Vikings occupied points on the western coasts as ports of call to secure this maritime route. Such were the islands at the mouth of the Rio Tinto and off Cadiz, the harbours of Brittany, and even those of Normandy, which was colonised by their kinsmen. The road for the peaceful solitary pilgrim who travelled on foot was the "Sudrvegr," through the Alpine passes and the Apostolic City, which did not join the sea route east or west until the harbours of Italy were reached. This was the main pilgrim route from Central Europe to Jerusalem. It was largely used every year by northern pilgrims, as is shown by a visitors' book of that date from the monastery of Reichenau. This book shows a total of 10,000 names within two and a half years for this one spot, a striking testimony to the extent, in the early Middle Ages, of pilgrim traffic to the South and East.

St. Olaf and His Great Brother

From the eleventh century onwards the poetry and legend of the North points more definitely to the Holy Land. To this land legend transfers the death of the missionary Olaf Trygvasson, who fell in the battle of Svoldr in the year 1000. St. Olaf, who twice turned back upon the road to Palestine, is brought by legend to the country, perhaps in recollection of the heroic deeds there actually performed by his brother Harald Hardrada. After the battle of Stiklastad, where Olaf lost his throne and life, Harald was wounded, and fled, a landless wanderer, to his fellow tribesmen in Russia, then to Apulia, and afterwards became captain of the Varanger guard in Byzantium, where he was unknown. During ten years, at the head of this corps, he visited Sicily, North Africa, Palestine, and Egypt. He then became a son-in-law of Prince Yaroslav in Russia, and eventually ascended the throne of Norway upon the death of his nephew Magnus.

He met his death when he attempted to seize the Anglo-Saxon kingdom, in conjunction with Tostig, the rebel brother of the Saxon king, Harold. Only eighteen days before the victory of William the Conqueror at Hastings, Harald Hardrada fell in the fierce battle of Stamford Bridge. Thus the whole of Europe, from the extreme north and north-west, to the furthest south and south-east, including the coasts of Africa and Asia, had seen the face and felt the arm of this great hero. He may be regarded as personifying that Scandinavian movement which created the horizon of the Crusades.

Effects of the Norman Conquest

In the meanwhile, the Norman conquest of England had set free large populations for the movement to the South-East. Anglo-Saxons, Danes and Frisians found themselves driven from the island kingdom, their former battlefield, and in many cases made their way to Byzantium or Syria, and played their part among the maritime people of the First Crusade. The final and immediate impulse to the crusading movement, if we regard this movement as a territorial expansion, is to be found in the seizure of Lower Italy by the Normans.

The path for this acquisition was prepared by pilgrims returning from the Holy Sepulchre, and the enterprise was completed in the course of the eleventh century. It is no mere coincidence that Pope Urban II. spent years among the Normans in banishment before starting from his recovered territory in the south to the synods of Piacenza and Clermont; or that the legend of Peter the Hermit expressly mentioned Bari as the harbour where the pilgrim returning with the Saviour's message first set foot once more upon western soil. The greatest result of the First Crusade was not the capture of Jerusalem, an acquisition of sentimental rather than practical importance, but the establishment of the Italian Normans in a Syrian stronghold of the Mediterranean, little more than ten years after their fruitless attempt to conquer the eastern empire, and a short time after the conquest of Sicily from the Saracens. The Crusades began almost at that moment when the Norman impulse to expansion was necessarily turned towards the most westerly possessions of Islam.

At the same moment, after centuries of inactivity, the attack upon Islam was resumed from other quarters. In Italy this movement began at Pisa, which at the beginning of the eleventh century had suffered severely under the raids of the infidels. In the year 1032 the citizens of Pisa made their first retaliatory expedition to North Africa after they had freed Sardinia, in 1016, from the danger of a fresh Moslem occupation. This was followed by numerous enterprises against Sicily and Tunis, until a crushing blow was delivered by the allied forces of Pisa and Genoa, in 1087, under the banner of St. Peter, which had been given them by Pope Victor III. when they attacked the piratical emir of the Tunisian Mahdia; this victory secured freedom of trade for the Italian maritime towns upon these coasts and in this western gulf of the sea. Pope Urban II. was entertained in Pisa before he proceeded to Piacenza; the citizens of Pisa and Genoa supported the First Crusade by sea and turned it to commercial profit.

NORWAY'S PATRON SAINT
Olaf seized the Norwegian crown in 1016, but was compelled to escape to Russia. Returning from exile, he lost his life at the battle of Stiklastad. He was canonised in 1164.

The conquest of Sicily by the Normans removed the burdensome yoke from commerce in the Eastern Mediterranean, and turned the eyes of the maritime nations to the coasts of Egypt and Syria. Hence the liberation of Apulia and Sicily from the Byzantines and Arabs, and the disclosure of the Greek and Oriental half of the Mediterranean to the eyes of the Latin half; these may be ranked among the most powerful impulses which influenced the coming migratory movement. The expansion of Western Europe against Islam was further stimulated by the advance of the Christian Spaniards against the Arab conquerors during that same eleventh century. Since the middle of the century the struggles in the Pyrenæan peninsula had attracted the neighbouring Catalonians, who were closely related to the Spaniards and the Provençals. Even on the Northern French coasts powerful armies of knights were formed, especially by Norman leaders, to assist their co-religionists in the south-west, when these were once more hard pressed by the Almoravids. "Hispania" and the Saracen territory are equivalent conceptions in several of the Frankish chronicles of the First Crusade. Thus it is clear that from this point also the European movement against Islam received an effective impetus.

At the same time that powerful movement towards the east, which for nearly two centuries flowed back, only to return apparently with revived force, could never have been aroused solely by the independent movements of superfluous populations towards the south-east, or by a new tendency, partly national and religious, partly political and economic, to attack Islam; equally insufficient would have been the adventurous impulses of individuals among the settled nations of Europe. The proximate cause of the First Crusade is not to be discovered in the conditions of Western Europe, but was provided by the Greek Empire. On its frontiers a breach was made into which the overflowing waters poured with destructive violence. The desperate position to which the East Roman Empire had been reduced by the Seljuks after the battle of Manzikert, in 1071, called forth that cry for help which the Emperor Alexius I. sent to Pope Urban II. in 1094.

If we consider the response which greeted this appeal in the West, it becomes clear that the opposition of Christians to Arabs was not in itself sufficiently strong, in spite of the Spanish wars, to produce so violent a struggle between two worlds. After the Arabs had become a civilised power in the East, the devotees of Christianity had secured a comparatively safe and profitable position, which was only occasionally disturbed by such Mohammedan fanatics as the Egyptian caliph Hakim; the oppression of the Christians and the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre, which he commanded, were but temporary causes of irritation. It was the cruelties of Turkish rule which made the lot of Christian pilgrims and settlers in Palestine intolerable; it was the desperation to which Byzantium was reduced after the Seljuk invasion of its last remaining and most prosperous Asiatic provinces that produced the idea of a general European rising, of an offensive and defensive alliance against the new oppressor.

The Hard Lot of the Pilgrims

It was not so much solicitude for Jerusalem as the hope of reconquering Asia and of strengthening the Byzantine minor empire which inspired the great Pope Gregory VII. with the first idea of a Crusade immediately after the Turkish invasion of the year 1074. His preparations for the accomplishment of this idea were at the moment frustrated by the struggle with the empire. So, again, Urban II., a vigorous and clever successor of Gregory, received, if not the most permanent, at any rate the most decisive, impulse to this undertaking from Byzantium. The Emperor Alexius had restored the collapsing European provinces of his empire to tolerable order and peace; but the reconquest of Asia was beyond his powers. He could not possibly suspect that his appeals for western help would initiate a movement extending far beyond this immediate object, and threatening to overwhelm his empire in its mighty flood.

Thus, in accordance with this final impulse, the Crusades, like almost all previous struggles of the West against the East, were directed not so much against Islam as against the threatening Turkish power which had arisen within the Mohammedan empire. The barbaric vitality of the Seljuks reinforced the decadent power of Eastern Islam, even as the expansion of the Normans had revitalised the Christian West; with full justice Ranke compares the Turkish seizure of the decadent caliphate to the alliance which at the same moment identified the interests of the reformed papacy with those of the Italian Normans. In each case a spiritual authority acquired new influence by a coalition with a new secular power. The importance of the new alliances became world-wide when they rushed into conflict.

What the Crusades Aimed at

The appeal of the Greek emperor to the West to begin the inevitable conflict with the Seljuks advancing from Central Asia roused a spiritual and intellectual movement, which gave this conflict between East and West a material importance, a territorial extension, and a degree of influence unparalleled in previous history; this result was due to the spirit which pervaded the West at the close of the eleventh century. Owing to this spirit the Crusades long retained the character of religious wars, in which the peoples of Europe fought with high enthusiasm for their most sacred possessions.

We have seen how the repeated interference of the German emperors had raised the Roman Church from the depths of degradation and decay; how, again, the Romance spirit, as expressed in the Cluniac reforms, had based a theocratic ideal upon the principle of self-renunciation, and had used for the realisation of this project the vacillations and necessities of the empire during the second half of the eleventh century. To outward appearance Gregory VII., the most powerful champion of this ideal, had succumbed before opposing forces; in reality, he had secured for the Church the spiritual supremacy over every department of secular life, and nothing but the invincible obstinacy with which he maintained his principles had prevented him from securing the victory in person.

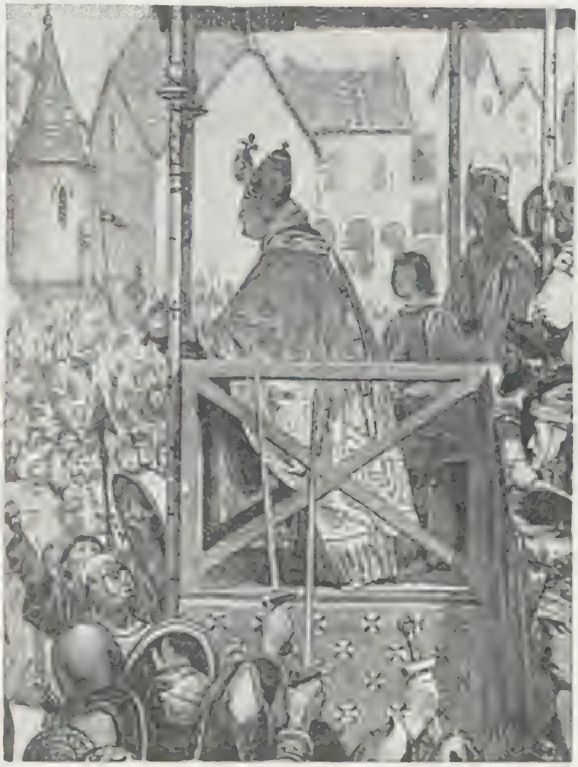
Gregory's Victory for the Church

Gregory's successor, Urban II., showed a more opportunist temper, and reaped what his forerunner had sowed. Urban's diplomatic skill raised the papacy to a proud position of supremacy over emperors and kings, over souls and bodies. When the Popes had subjugated the whole of the western world to their commands and theories, they could find satisfaction only in vigorous outward expansion under the sign of the Cross. Urban II. possibly regarded the appeal of the Emperor Alexius I. rather as an opportunity of reuniting the Greek Church to Rome than as one of reconquering the Holy Sepulchre. In his momentous address at Clermont on November 26th, 1095, he was able, first of all, to turn the hearts of his

French compatriots towards this object, which had played but a secondary part in Gregory's plans, for the reason that the horrors of the Seljuk invasion had gone home to Christian minds; but at the same time he discovered "a magic word" which unchained the spirit of the age; he was able to realise what Gregory had only projected when he identified "the more powerful current of popular feeling with the hierarchical movement."

It was by no means the Normans alone whose thoughts and desires were directed towards the Holy Sepulchre at that time. Pilgrimages to Jerusalem had never ceased from the time of the Roman Empire. Augustine's well-known epigram, "Christ is reached by love and not by sea," remained unintelligible to the youthful minds of the barbaric nations, as it had been to the increasing materialism of the age of decadence. As in the case of relic-worship, so also in that of pilgrimages, no tangible or satisfying symbol could be secured unless it implied a personal grasp of salvation, and provided participation in the promises of the faith through the penance and bodily danger incurred upon a perilous pilgrimage.

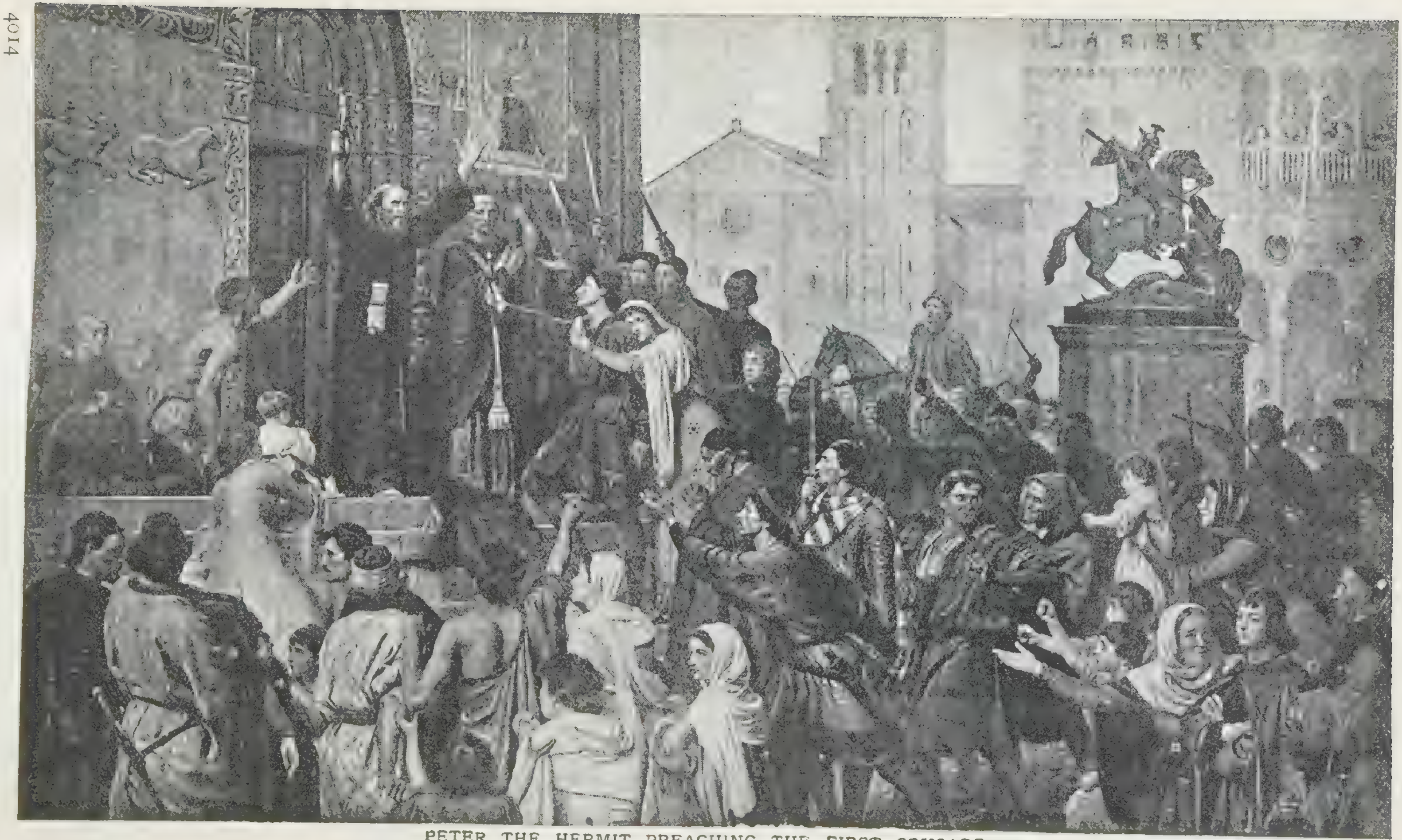
Even when the upper classes at least had acquired a more spiritual conception of religion, such materialistic theories of the struggle for salvation by no means became extinct. The new personal Christianity continued to employ the weapons of the old corporate Christianity; with the asceticism of the eleventh century was combined the fashion of pilgrimages to St. Mary of Einsiedeln, to St. James of Compostella, to Rome, and especially, *oultre mer*, as the French said, to the spots "where the feet of the Lord had stood." From the Frankish Empire, from Teutonic territory, and from the British Isles these pilgrimages brought new adherents, and especially the most recent converts, of the Christian faith to Jerusalem. These pilgrimages had been facilitated and organised by Charles the Great—through his relations with Harun al Raschid and by the outlay of large sums for the building of churches, monasteries, and shelters in the Holy Land—so that the legend credited the emperor himself with a pilgrimage to the tomb of Christ. During the following centuries the number of pilgrimages was to some extent influenced by the greater or lesser toleration of the Mohammedan rulers of Palestine. With the year 1000, which was expected to bring the end of the world, the eastward wave of pilgrims began to resemble a small migration.



POPE URBAN II. PREACHING THE FIRST CRUSADE

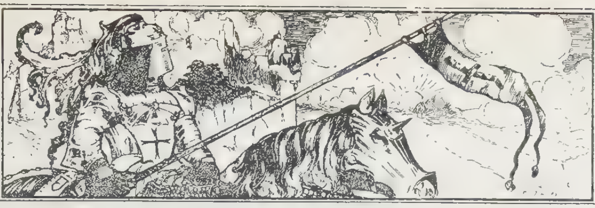
In 1095, a council was held at Clermont, in Auvergne. Leaving the assembly, Pope Urban II. addressed a great gathering in the market place, eloquently picturing the wrongs suffered by the Christians in the Holy Land and pleading for volunteers to fight the infidels. His enthusiasm was contagious, and the assembly cried "It is the will of God!"

About 1025, at the instance and with the help of the Duke of Normandy, 700 pilgrims started out with the Abbot Richard of St. Vannes at Verdun; Lietbert, the Archbishop of Cambray, is said to have led out the incredibly large number of 3,000 pilgrims in 1054. The largest of these bands amounted to as many as 7,000 men on the most moderate estimate, and included English, Germans, and French, under the leadership of Archbishop Siegfried I. of Mainz in 1064. This expedition underwent severe struggles in the Holy Land, from which scarcely a third of the pilgrims returned home.



PETER THE HERMIT PREACHING THE FIRST CRUSADE

From the painting by James Archer, R.S.A. By permission of the Autotype Co.



THE STORY OF THE FIRST CRUSADE

AND THE CHRISTIAN CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM

In the meanwhile the advance of the Turks had cut off the overland route to Palestine through Asia Minor, while the barbarous oppression and persecution of the native immigrant Christians had made approach by sea almost impossible. It is conceivable that the message of the Saviour which Peter the Hermit, according to legend, brought to the Pope with the "letters dimissory" from the Patriarch of Jerusalem was an actual cry for help from this part of the Mediterranean to the "great brother" in the West.

Outcome of the Pope's Enthusiasm

Urban thus set free an impulse the energy of which had for centuries been hampered in the strictest and most unwelcome manner. The movement coincided with social and economic distress of every kind, which may not have weighed so heavily upon the world as the usual exaggerations of contemporary chroniclers represent, but none the less inspired in thousands the desire to escape from a distressing situation. The years from 1085 to 1095 are said to have been marked by a disastrous alternation of floods and droughts, and especially by pestilence and famine. The North of France was suffering from a dangerous excess of population, while the West and South of Germany had been perturbed for twenty years by the confusions of the investiture quarrel. It was no wonder that the wild and fervent cry of Clermont, "Deus Vult," with which the fiery eloquence of the Pope was answered, overwhelmed all misgivings and ran through the country like an epidemic, or that the flame of popular enthusiasm, carried from place to place, and fanned by such fanatical preachers as Peter the Hermit, seized high and low like a psychical contagion.

Fiery Trail of the Crusade

Every movement of popular passion was unchained by the new watchword which flew throughout the land. Of the lower classes, the first to be affected were the French, who were ever especially amenable to such impulses; the movement then passed through Lorraine and the Rhine territories, and burst through all the bounds and forms of organisation under which the appointed leaders strove to bind it. Hence the preaching of the First Crusade produced a strange result, certainly unexpected by Rome. The peasants sacrificed their property and possessions to buy the means for their long journey, and migrated with wife and child as their forefathers had done. Masses came forth from the towns who could sacrifice nothing because they possessed nothing; the lower clergy followed, who had long yearned to take the field for the Church; and these, with undisciplined monks, women, and vagabonds, composed the majority in the crowds which passed in wild excitement, during the spring and summer of 1096, through South Germany and Hungary to the east, led by a few adventurous nobles or preaching clergy, abandoned to the wildest licence, committing every kind of excess in the name of their faith, and spreading fire, destruction, and death through the Jewish communities in the Rhine towns—a precedent followed in every subsequent Crusade at every time and place.

Where the Crusaders Suffered

The majority of these masses came to a miserable end in Hungary, where the warlike population mercilessly revenged the outrages of the strangers with their swords; others, under similar circumstances, reached Bulgarian territory, and were there scattered. One of the largest bands, under Peter the Hermit himself, after a severe struggle, succeeded in reaching Constantinople, the meeting-place appointed by the Pope; their marauding habits and want of discipline infuriated the Greeks, who immediately transported them beyond the Bosphorus. Upon their first advance into Seljuk territory they were annihilated by the enemy's cavalry. Peter himself had previously taken refuge in flight; he afterwards collected the scanty remnants of his bands in Constantinople, and played a somewhat derogatory part in the great crusading army as the leader of vagabonds of every description. The "Peasant Crusade," upon the most moderate computation, and allowing for the incompetency of that age to form any reasonable numerical estimate, must have depopulated Western Europe by far more than 100,000 men. Its disastrous issue proved that vague national impulses were not in themselves competent to solve the serious problems which the Pope had placed before the Crusade.

We have, then, to ask whether the organisation of the royal armies and bands of knights which followed on the heels of these peasant masses was any more competent to grapple with these tasks. It has already been observed that the only Crusade which ended in any small measure of success—namely, the first—owed its result entirely to the calm foresight and the colonial genius of the Italian Normans, who joined the expedition with entirely secular aims and objects and soon became its leaders. Had it not been for them, and especially for their brilliant leader, Bohemond, the splendid armies of knights which started in the summer and autumn of 1096 would probably have failed to reach their goal, and would perhaps have suffered the fate of the peasant hordes. The nobles of France, Lorraine, and Provence, whose troops formed the nucleus of that army, doubtless realised more clearly than the adventurous leaders of the Peasant Crusade the material necessities and actual requirements of an armed pilgrimage; but unbridled want of discipline among some and a mystical asceticism among others, and in many cases the combination of these defects, often led even their clear knowledge astray.

Probably the most suitable commander-in-chief of the Crusade would have been an experienced Churchman. This position devolved upon Bishop Adhemar of Puy as papal legate, after he had been the first to kneel before the Pope at Clermont and to sew the cross on his right shoulder. Adhemar does not, however, appear to have possessed those qualities of supreme leadership which would have enabled him to co-ordinate the very heterogeneous elements of the crusading army; moreover, fate did not permit him to see the goal of the pilgrimage to which his wise counsel, his knightly spirit, and his well-known piety often proved advantageous.

PETER THE HERMIT BEFORE POPE URBAN II. AT CLERMONT

The fanatical protagonist of the First Crusade presenting "letters dimissory" from the Patriarch of Jerusalem, along with the alleged message of the Saviour.

THE PEASANT CRUSADE: PETER THE HERMIT ADDRESSING THE PEOPLE

The zeal on behalf of the Crusade stirred up by the eloquence of Peter the Hermit affected every class. The misguided Peasant Crusade, disastrous in its issue, drained Western Europe of over 100,000 men, who set out on an adventure without understanding what it involved. In this picture Peter the Hermit is seen appealing in vain to the people who are bent on releasing their fellows who have been imprisoned for pillaging.

Of the secular nobles the best-equipped army was led by Raimond, Count of Toulouse and Viscount of Provence; this force advanced in the autumn of 1096 through Northern Italy, Dalmatia and Macedonia to Constantinople. The military success of the Crusade had been secured by the count's adhesion to the resolutions of Clermont, though this had apparently been prearranged. The Southern French Crusaders in general, and this leader in particular, were characterised by a strange mixture of burning enthusiasm for all the mysteries of the faith, and of every mundane solicitude for their own profit and advantage. We have no knowledge of the reasons which may have induced the count to leave his magnificent possessions, presumably for ever, and to seek a new dominion abroad, not even in the neighbourhood of the Holy Sepulchre. The next crusading prince of importance was Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, equal in power to Raimond, though subordinate in rank. With him went his elder brother Eustace, who subsequently returned to the county of Boulogne, which he inherited after the Crusade had begun, and his younger brother Baldwin, who, like Godfrey, was inspired by religious zeal and desire for action, and hoped to carve out a future for himself. A large army of knights, drawn from Lorraine and the German districts on the left bank of the Rhine, gathered under the banners of the duke, and in August marched through Upper Germany, where many other bold champions joined them, advancing south-eastward through Hungary.

Leaders in the Crusades

The third main portion of the crusading army was formed by the North French, Norman, and Flemish contingents. Count Hugo, of Vermandois, the brother of Philip I. of France, Duke Robert of Normandy, elder brother of William II. and Henry I. of England, and Count Stephen of Blois, brother-in-law of the same monarch, together with Count Robert of Flanders, were the leaders of this contingent, though men of less importance than Raimond and Godfrey; they marched through Italy to Apulia, and took ship thence with the intention of advancing through Greece.

They had been preceded upon this path by Count Bohemond I. of Tarentum, the eldest son of Robert Guiscard, who had intended to advance upon that line as a conqueror ten years previously; he, with his nephew Tancred, now led the Italian-Norman army. Between Christmas of 1096 and Easter of 1097 the larger part of the Crusaders arrived before Constantinople. The Emperor Alexius found himself in a difficult situation; the size of the crusading army far exceeded his expectations or desires, and for good or for evil he was obliged to use it in the interests of his empire. In place of the auxiliary troops for which he had asked, he found one-half of Western Europe levied before him, and constituting a force capable of conducting an independent policy or of acting against his empire. Only a short time previously the Italian Normans had brought that empire to the verge of destruction. The Lorrainers under Godfrey displayed an attitude of hostility upon the march, and when encamped before the capital; armed conflicts were frequent with them and with the other armies. The superior culture and the strict administrative bureaucracy of the East Roman state could never enter upon an equal alliance with these forces of barbarism, licence, and greed.

The Emperor Alexius in a Difficulty

The Greek emperor adopted a cleverly devised expedient; he availed himself of the forms of western feudalism to turn the crusading movement to his own purpose. Possibly he was inspired by an extravagant imperialism which declined to surrender any antiquated claim or any conceivable hope in favour of his foreign allies; possibly he was merely anxious to bind the crusading princes so closely to his person and his empire as to prevent their adopting any dangerous counter policy.

Between these alternatives we can hardly decide: the fact remains that interminable negotiations were supported by cunning and gentle pressure of every kind, and speedily produced discord among the leaders of the Franks The friction between the bold and far-seeing Bohemond and the pettifogging selfish greed of Raimond played into the emperor's hands, so that at Easter, 1097, Alexius obtained the oath of feudal allegiance from the majority of the Frankish soldiers, and from all of them, a short time later, after the conquest of Nicæa.

Crusaders and the Spoils of Victory

Various indications induce us to suppose that, notwithstanding the comprehensiveness of his claims, Alexius had made an agreement concerning the division of the booty with the leaders, whose insight was capable of weighing political consideration. Otherwise it is difficult to explain why the Crusaders, after they had conquered Nicæa for the Greeks and had cut their way at Dorylæum through the approaching Turkish army, should have allowed the wave of Seljuk invasion to close behind them, and should have made no attempt to establish themselves in Philomelium and Iconium. As the procedure followed in Cilicia and Armenia Minor was wholly different, we may perhaps assume that a frontier line roughly denoted by the Taurus Mountains had been drawn between the two spheres of interest, and that beyond this Alexius had contented himself with an imaginary feudal supremacy over such districts as

Antioch and Edessa, which but a short time before had belonged to the Greek Empire. It is, moreover, no mere coincidence that these cities of Byzantine origin became centres of Frankish supremacy. Had not Antioch presented itself to the mind of Bohemond as a worthy prize, the crusading army would have passed by this strongly fortified town, as it passed by Aleppo, Tripolis, and Damascus. It seems to have been the intention of Alexius, upon this theory, to push forward the frontiers of East Rome to the base of the Taurus, and to permit the formation beyond that line of smaller Christian outposts, acting as buffer states between himself and the Mohammedan Empire, and bound to his own state by a loose tie of allegiance.

The most important dates of the expedition through Asia Minor may be again recalled. These were the capture of Nicæa on June 19th, 1097, after a siege of six weeks, with the help and to the exclusive advantage of the Greeks, when a relieving army from the Emir Kilich Arslan, or Suleiman II., had been defeated; the victory at Dorylæum on July 1st, which was gained by the timely arrival of the second division of the hard-pressed Normans; the march through the peninsula upon the high road, which the enemy had surrendered, through Philomelium, Antiochia Minor, and Iconium, to Heracleia and to the foot of the Taurus.

At this point a strategical diversion took place; the Crusaders had learnt wisdom in the school of the Greeks, and had secured a sufficient insight into the political conditions of the countries through which they were to march. Even in the camp before Nicæa religious enthusiasm had given way to

TANCRED SAVED FROM DEATH BY BOHEMOND

One of the chiefs of the First Crusade, Tancred, a son of Otho the Good, fought at Nicæa, Antioch and Jerusalem, and was awarded the principalities of Tiberias and Edessa. In this picture by M. E. Zier, Bohemond is seen restraining Tancred by main force from going to meet death at the hands of the Saracens, who are pressing the Crusaders back.

The Home of Christian Armenians

prudent tactical considerations; the Crusaders had learnt of the opposition between the Fatimid caliphate in Egypt and the orthodox caliph in Bagdad under Seljuk supremacy, and had not refused to open diplomatic relations with Cairo by the despatch of ambassadors. They were naturally still more inclined to secure the help of the Christian Armenians, as being their co-religionists. These people, after the invasion of the Turks, had found new settlements in the Taurus, in Cappadocia, Cilicia, Northern Syria, and in the Euphrates district; only a short time previously they had founded the principality of Armenia Minor, which promised well for the future. An embassy was therefore sent to the Armenians, upon whose goodwill depended the use of the road over which the great crusading army passed in a wide detour to the north, through Cæsarea, Komana, and Cocussus, along the Taurus, and across the mountain range.

Founding of First Latin Principality

The nearer road, through Cilicia, was followed only by small bands of lightly-equipped troops led by Tancred and Godfrey's brother, Baldwin, for the purpose of rousing the local Armenians and Greeks, and capturing the towns already in possession of the Seljuks. The attempt was entirely successful, with the exception that the Norman attempted to establish himself here, probably in view of Bohemond's intentions upon Antioch. Baldwin succeeded in preventing this attempt, though not entirely, as an appeal from the Armenian prince of Edessa summoned him eastwards. After a short meeting with the main army in Marash, the energetic and determined prince, who far surpassed his simpler brother in importance and diplomatic ability, proceeded to enter Mesopotamian territory; there he speedily made himself so indispensable to the Greek Armenian population in the struggle with the Seljuks that Thoros of Edessa submitted to his leadership, though probably not wholly of his own free will. This claim soon became an accomplished fact by reason of a revolution, which was probably not wholly unexpected by Baldwin, and ended with the murder of Thoros.

On March 9th, 1098, the first Latin principality was founded here as an advance outpost. For the main body of the crusading army the most momentous period of the expedition in respect of exploits and sufferings had now begun. On October 20th, 1097, the army arrived before Antioch, and the siege lasted until the beginning of June, 1098. Only the extraordinary condition of the great Seljuk empire permitted the conquest of Antioch, or indeed the eventual success of the Crusade, of which the most material gain was the capture of this town.

Palestine Lost to the Turks

In ages when communication is inadequate, or in lands where it is difficult, every extensive military monarchy is broken up into feudal principalities; the state of Alp Arslan and Meleksah proved no exception to the rule, and the condition of Syrian affairs made itself felt at this point. At the same time, as so often in the course of the world's history, Egyptian and Mesopotamian influences met in that land which is bounded on the south by the Nile valley and on the north by the valley of the Euphrates. The Shiite caliphate of Cairo had secured partisans among the Seljuk princes of Northern Syria, and had used the Assassin sect of Lebanon for its further propaganda. Palestine, however, which every Egyptian prince regarded as part of his country, was wrested from Turkish despotism by the Fatimid Vizir Alafdhal shortly before the arrival of the crusading army.

Under these circumstances the Seljuk emirate of Syria was a prey to continual dissensions, and was constantly at variance with its own members and with the central government, while the continual changes of party grouping contributed to prevent for decades any uniform or enthusiastic co-operation against the forces of the West, even in the moment of deadliest peril. Help, indeed, was offered, but mutual abandonment was equally common, and, upon the whole, only feeble attempts were made to relieve the siege of Antioch, which were defeated with comparative ease by the Crusaders, though their army diminished at an appalling rate under the hardships and suffering of the siege.

The main body of the pilgrims dispersed more and more rapidly over the surrounding territory, in Cilician, Armenian, or Mohammedan dominions. In harbour towns such as Tripolis, which belonged to a Seljuk emir, the Crusaders enjoyed unimpeded powers of exit and entry, and were allowed to celebrate in public their divine service while the struggle was raging before Antioch. Had it not been for this condition of Syria and the Turkish power the Crusade would probably have come to a premature end before Antioch.

A few days after the surrender of Antioch the Crusaders were blockaded in the town by a great relieving army of the Emir Kerbogha of Mosul, which the Seljuk sultan, Barkjarok, had at length sent to the help of his hard-pressed vassals. Even now, though possessed of the town, they were in a position of great difficulty. The Crusaders were forced to maintain the defence both against the besieging army in the plain and against the garrison of the lofty citadel, which they had been unable to capture at the same time as the town; this task proved beyond the powers of the besieged forces, though great heroism, chivalrous courage, and enthusiastic vigour were shown. The general exhaustion produced a feeling of despair, and desertions became more frequent.

Pious Fraud on the Crusaders

Meanwhile a pious fraud was practised upon the starving masses, who had been raised to the highest pitch of credulity and were ready to accept any marvel. It was a deception highly effective at the moment, though afterwards employed for very impious purposes; this was the discovery of the "sacred lance" on June 14th, by which the courage of the Crusaders was revived. The sortie which they made in their supreme distress, when they had nothing more to lose, proved unexpectedly successful. The enemy was scattered, and Kerbogha speedily retreated, a triumph which the Crusaders ascribed partly to their own desperate bravery and partly to the miraculous powers of the sacred lance.

Rivalries Among the Christians

Antioch was—on June 28th, 1098—definitely in the hands of the Christians. The Crusade now came to a standstill for many months; the army was entirely exhausted, and the concentration of its scattered divisions became desirable. These were further diminished by plague; moreover, quarrels among the leaders and the masses now broke out with a violence which endangered all previous and future success. The pious fraud of the "holy lance," which was maintained by extremely doubtful methods against sceptics and mockers, led to a deep dissension between the Provençals, who were by nature enthusiastically credulous before such reputed miracles, and the Normans, whose early religious enthusiasm rapidly disappeared before the growing secular temper of the Crusade. A more dangerous obstacle was the jealousy between the princes. Raimond found that the success of his efforts was continually thwarted by Bohemond, even during minor enterprises, in the near or distant neighbourhood of Antioch; he was unable to eject his cleverer and more fortunate rival from the newly won territory, to which he considered that he had a superior claim. In November he was forced to retire by a mutiny of his own troops at Maarra.

Capture of the Holy City

Now, however, the purely religious idea of the masses became paramount; they desired, not to conquer the world, but to pray at the liberated tomb of the Saviour. This desire, which was now enthusiastically revived, eventually carried the day. Count Raimond, who was the most influential leader, since Bohemond had remained behind in Antioch, attempted to detain the Crusading army for months before Arka, the citadel of Tripolis, in order to secure this emirate for himself. Once again his own men set fire to their tents and carried their leader southward, notwithstanding his helpless rage. In the case of the coast towns which they passed they were content to enforce mere neutrality upon the Seljuk emirs; it was impossible to restrain the dominant idea that now guided the army. On June 7th, 1099, they at length caught sight of Jerusalem, and beheld with reverential awe the desired goal of nearly three years' wandering. A siege of five weeks then took place, and in this hot and waterless country the pilgrims tasted all the sufferings of deprivation and also the glories of burning enthusiasm and triumphant joy; eventually, on July 15th, the Holy City was wrested from the hands of the infidels after days of fearful slaughter. The attempt of the ecclesiastical party to place the new acquisition under hierarchical government proved a failure; several of the most important leaders, even the ambitious and greedy Raimond, declined the crown of the new state, for reasons that are not very obvious, but are possibly connected with the claim of the Church party. Nine days later, Godfrey of Bouillon became the "protector of the Holy Sepulchre" as the vassal of the Church.

THE FUNERAL OF GODFREY OF BOUILLON, THE FIRST KING OF JERUSALEM

One of the leaders of the First Crusade, Godfrey of Bouillon took an active part in the siege of Jerusalem, and was elected its first king in the year 1099. His death, in 1100, is said to have been due to poison administered by an Arab.

THE GREAT ST. BERNARD FEEDING THE POOR

When the Second Crusade was in contemplation, St. Bernard came forward as the missionary and prophet of God to call the nation to the defence of the Holy Sepulchre. His burning eloquence and fiery zeal stirred all who came within sound of his voice, but, though he stood high in the forefront of the crusading movement, he was entirely without personal ambition, and was perfectly content to return as abbot to the monastery of Clairvaux, in Champagne.

From the painting by A. P. Cole

THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

AND THE FAILURE OF THE SECOND CRUSADE

GODFREY justified his election and his title on August 12th, when he defeated the approaching army of the Vizir Alafdhal at Ascalon with the Crusading army, which had fortunately not entirely disbanded. Unluckily, the factiousness of the princes prevented the capture of this strong harbour town; but the danger from Egypt, which the most far-seeing of the leaders had wished to meet by an expedition to Cairo before the siege of Jerusalem, had been obviated for the moment. The bands of pilgrims returned homewards across the sea, or repaired to the more inviting coasts of Northern Syria, and the state of Jerusalem could attempt to stand by its own resources.

Tancred as "Prince of Galilee"

This was no easy matter. In the first place, the country was hardly suitable for the foundation of an independent state; it was largely uninhabited and devastated through the struggles of the last years. The Mohammedan population had been annihilated, or had fled, while the Christian inhabitants were few and poor. The remnant of the French chivalry that had been willing to support Duke Godfrey in the occupation of the country is estimated by a tradition, probably not exaggerated, at the number of two hundred pilgrims; that is to say, about two thousand men, when we allow for the due proportion of infantry. Tancred led forth nearly twice this number when he began an incessant guerrilla warfare for fame and plunder as the "Prince of Galilee." A year afterwards he was summoned as regent to Antioch in consequence of the misfortune by which Bohemond became a prisoner of the Turks. In this principality, however, the utmost efforts were necessary to make head against the infidels, who could threaten the government from the stronghold of Aleppo, and against the Greeks. The Emperor Alexius had broken the convention of 1097 as entirely as the Crusaders, and each side proceeded to accuse the other of the first breach of faith. Hence, instead of the desired co-operation, a mutual hostility came to pass, which occupied the whole of the first century of the Crusades with but short intermissions. Struggles soon began between the Greeks and the occupants of Antioch, first for the possession of the harbour of Laodicea, and afterwards for the most part in Cilicia, which remained a bone of contention between the two parties until it became the nucleus of the new kingdom of Armenia Minor; to these differences were added the old feud between the Provençals and the Normans. Raimond of Toulouse joined the Greek opponents of Bohemond and Tancred, but without success; he then perished in the course of an attempt to found an independent government in Tripolis, on February 28th, 1105.

The Fate of Raimond of Toulouse

It was not until July 12th, 1109, that his son Bertrand succeeded in capturing the town and then the county of Tripolis; this operation was conducted from the strong fortress which his father had built against the town, the "Pilgrim Castle" on the "Pilgrim Mount," known to the Mohammedans as Sandshil, from Raimond's title of Count St. Gilles. The new county, like Antioch and Edessa, was connected with Jerusalem by some loose and almost imaginary tie of subjection, but afterwards naturally gravitated more and more towards the north, and was eventually united to Antioch.

Jerusalem Without Government

Thus, through the preoccupations of the other princes, Jerusalem was left entirely to itself, and Godfrey's whole energies were absorbed in resisting the hierarchical claims of the newly-founded patriarchate, and in some practically fruitless attempts to add a few harbour towns to his "empire," as harbours were indispensable to secure his connection with the West. Of any actual state or government there was as yet no question; certainly none of the foundation afterwards ascribed to Godfrey of that carefully organised constitution and judicature which is detailed in the "Assizes of Jerusalem." A year later "the protector of the Holy Sepulchre" died on July 18th, 1100, poisoned, according to rumour, by an Arab emir, and left behind him nothing but the beginning of a state. Godfrey stands out as a noble figure, the best type of knighthood; but the legends which have centred about his personality have exaggerated his statesmanship and exploits in the Holy Land.

Death of Godfrey

The real founders of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, in the narrower sense of the word, are the two Lorraine princes, Baldwin I. (1100–1118) and Baldwin II. (1118–1131). Both had been princes of Edessa before beginning their rule in the Holy Land, and in this advanced outpost had received a special training in war with the infidels; both were energetic, clear-sighted, and unscrupulous characters, and, indeed, no others could secure any solid success amid the difficulties of the situation. Godfrey had conceded the claim of the patriarch to feudal supremacy, but this was entirely disregarded by his brother Baldwin I., who secured his coronation in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, on Christmas Day, 1100; this was the birthday of the Frankish state. The capacity of Baldwin I. and of his nephew, who succeeded him in Edessa and afterwards in Jerusalem, discovered the exact ways and means for making this empty title a reality; at the same time the possibility of founding a colonial state of importance in Palestine was provided from abroad by the continued operation of those forces which we have already indicated as the motive powers of the Crusades.

The news of the great exploits and sufferings of the first Crusaders affected Western Europe in a degree which may be judged from the fact that the simple minds of contemporaries regarded the vast movement of this holy war as a miracle. News from the East was passed from city to city, from village to village, from town to town, by the road and from the pulpit, and was sung by minstrels. These reports secured the continuance both of the religious and of the military enthusiasm, and of that desire for adventure, with its strange mixture of piety and materialism, which drove hundreds of thousands eastward in the year 1096. A steady communication between East and West now began, which lasted for nearly two hundred years, and attained a vigour unexampled before or since. During these two centuries the East has been compared with a stormy sea which never becomes entirely calm, even when the most violent winds are at rest. To regard the workings of the Crusades as entirely confined to the greater expeditions is to take an absolutely wrong view of this age and of its enterprises. There was an incessant coming and going by land and sea, a constant flow of pilgrims and colonists, which was speedily organised by the regular "passages" between the Mediterranean harbours of Europe and Syria which took place at Easter and midsummer.

How the Holy War was Regarded

Immediately after 1100, this movement was naturally only in its beginning; but even then those forces were fully operative which aimed at removing the Frankish dominion in Syria from the restricted sphere of religious interest and military adventure, and making that power an actual and permanent colonial state. The forces in question were precisely those which, from the very outset, had guided the last great expansion of the West in a south-easterly direction.

Another Great Crusade

The military expansion of the Normans had reached its objective with the occupation of Antioch, and seems to have been exhausted by this effort. In the summer of 1103 Bohemond was released from imprisonment and re-entered his principality with great difficulty; he then, in January, 1105, proceeded westward to enlist reinforcements against Islam. His preaching of a secular crusade, which he carried into the depths of France, proved everywhere highly successful; in the autumn of 1107 he found himself at the head of a great fleet and army.

Some remnant of adventurous carelessness then confused the foresight of this most politic among the princes of the First Crusade, and induced him to renew that attempt upon the Greek Empire in which his father, Robert Guiscard, had failed—an attempt which throughout this century was the root of all evil for the Crusaders. Once again the enterprise failed at its very outset, and after a fruitless siege of Durazzo, Bohemond was obliged to conclude a humiliating peace in September, 1108. A few years later he died at home on March 7th, 1111, while making fresh preparations for the East. A year afterwards Tancred also retired from the scene; he had succeeded, notwithstanding the aberrations of chivalry, in maintaining and extending his Syrian dominion against the Seljuks and the Greeks.

French Influence on the Orontes

The Norman power, as such, thus steadily disappears from this quarter. The kingdom of Antioch, indeed, remained in the hands of the immediate successors of its founder, though in the female line, from 1130, and was the only crusading state which thus preserved its continuity. Bohemond's dynasty in Antioch survived the downfall of the original principality after the Mohammedan triumphs of 1268, and kept possession of Tripolis for some decades, while a collateral branch secured the throne of Cyprus. But after 1136 Constance, the granddaughter of the first Bohemond, married Raimond of Poitou, the son of William of Aquitaine, the "first troubadour." French influence then became preponderant upon the Orontes, and thenceforward absorbed the crusading states after the disappearance of the Lorraine dynasty from Jerusalem. Many English, German, or Norse leaders entered the country with the great expeditions, or with annual reinforcements; representatives of all nations gathered in the harbours of Syria and the capital of the kingdom. But the main stream from the leading classes, and from the circles which held possessions over seas, belonged principally and increasingly to France. France stamped her character at an early date upon the Frankish states. That character they preserved, with one exception, which became of material importance both to the foundation and to the entire future of these states.

Dissensions of Greeks & Crusaders

The participation of the Italian maritime cities was of paramount importance for the fortunes of the First Crusade. The sieges both of Antioch and Jerusalem received valuable support from the Genoese fleets; at the end of the summer of 1099 a large crusading army from Pisa reached the harbours of Laodicea, which were then held by the Greeks, and supported Bohemond's blockade, which came to nothing on account of the opposition of the other princes. This force afterwards rendered good service in the rebuilding of Jerusalem and Jaffa, and in the latter place laid the foundation of an afterwards flourishing colony. It soon became obvious that the co-operation of the Italian commercial nations in the construction of vigorous states, and in their maintenance by the Crusaders, was indispensable. The opposition of Byzantine policy, and the growth of dissension between the Crusaders and the Greeks, closed the land route through Asia Minor; and the possession of harbours on the Syrian coast, though at first despised, became a vital condition to the Frankish states, for only so was it possible to secure connection with the West and to guarantee the arrival of troops and supplies.

The mercantile cities of Italy, however, conscious that their fleets were indispensable to the acquisition and maintenance of this valuable possession, steadily used them to support their own interests, the magnitude of which was much increased by the opening up of Syria and of its trade routes. They did not wait for the gratitude of the Frankish princes, but proceeded to formulate their demands. Before the conquest of the several towns, they secured important possessions and privileges as the price of their help. Thus here, as in the Greek kingdom, colonies of Italian citizens arose, which became the most important centres of eastern trade and also of Frankish dominion, though they stood outside the Frankish political system.

Opportune Help of the Venetians

But the professional leaders of this system, the nobles and knights, speedily displayed their incapacity. Feudalism was as incompetent to cope with its constitutional tasks in the East as the Crusades which it led were inadequate for their object; the colonising spirit of the Italians, on the other hand, displayed a wholly different fixity of purpose, undisturbed by any religious mysticism, by any extravagant enthusiasm or vague desire for adventure. In the summer of 1100 the Venetians reached Palestine for the first time with a large fleet, and learnt from the lips of Godfrey that had it not been for their arrival he would have been forced to surrender all his conquests. They recognised that their opportunity had come; they offered their help as auxiliary troops from the festival of St. John to that of the Assumption; in return they were to be granted in every maritime or inland town which the Crusaders possessed, or should hereafter acquire, a church, together with a considerable site for a market, while they were to be given a full third of any towns that they might now conquer in conjunction with the Franks. They further bargained that the town of Tripolis should be given entirely into their hands should it be conquered, in return for a small yearly tribute; in addition the Venetians were to enjoy freedom from taxation. and some other privileges, in all the towns of the kingdom. At that moment their successes were confined to the conquest of the small town of Haifa, at the foot of Mount Carmel, with the help of Tancred. The conditions offered to Godfrey remained, however, typical for the future.

Venetians Make Profit by Crusading

A Genoese fleet helped Baldwin I., in May, 1101, to conquer Arsuf and Cæsarea, and carried away from the latter town, among other rich booty, the famous Sacro Catino, which was regarded as an emerald and reputed to be the vessel employed at the "Last Supper." It is now preserved in the cathedral of San Lorenzo at Genoa. In the imagination of religious poets in the Christian world this trophy became the Sangraal (*sanguis realis*).

In the same year a small Genoese expedition co-operated with Raimond in the capture of Tortosa; and on May 26th, 1104, a large fleet from Genoa, in conjunction with King Baldwin, secured the Christians in possession of the most important harbour on the Syrian coast, the town of Acre. Baldwin then made those extensive concessions which were engraved in golden letters upon a stone behind the high altar of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. They were analogous to those which Godfrey had granted to the Venetians. In Arsuf, Cæsarea and Acre the Genoese received quarters amounting to a third of each town, and lands on the outskirts of the town to the same extent; they were also given quarters in Jerusalem and Jaffa, and the right to a third of any city which might hereafter be conquered with their help. To these privileges were added a third of the harbour dues of Acre, and complete immunity from taxation within the kingdom. The Genoese thus secured an almost dominant position in the kingdom of Jerusalem, and gained the most important share in the county of Tripolis. On April 28th, 1104, they enabled Raimond to secure Gibellum Minus—Gibelet or Jubail, between Beyrout and Tripolis—as they had secured Tortosa in 1101; in 1109 they enabled his son Bertrand to enter Tripolis itself. Genoa was rewarded with a third of this town and with the whole of Gibelet.

The Genoese Dominant in Jerusalem

In the previous year the men of Pisa had supported Tancred when Laodicea was finally conquered from the Greeks. Now the Genoese conquered Gibellum Majus for him, and enabled him thus to open connections by land between Antioch and Tripolis. The gap which divided Acre, the most northerly town of the kingdom, from Gibelet, the most southern settlement in the county of Tripolis, was bridged by the capture of Beyrout on May 13th, 1110, and of Sidon. The Genoese co-operated in the attack upon Beyrout, and the Venetians probably joined the Norwegians before Sidon. Eventually a large Venetian fleet won a brilliant victory by sea over the Egyptians off Ascalon, during the absence of Baldwin II., who had been a Turkish prisoner from September 13th, 1122, and in July, 1124, helped to secure the capture of Tyre, the last remaining harbour unconquered in the north. Apart from the usual third of the towns which they conquered, the Venetians were then given in every town belonging to the king or his barons a whole street, a square, a church, a bath, and a bakehouse, entirely immune from any kind of taxation and implying no measure of dependence. In Jerusalem they demanded a quarter equivalent to the possession of the king in the capital; in Acre they were to be allowed, without interference on the part of the other inhabitants, to bake in their own ovens, grind in their own mill, use their own bath, and enjoy complete immunity from taxation, as in every other locality.

Maritime Triumphs of Venice

Concession and fulfilment were, however, two very different processes in the Middle Ages; and even if they possessed the power, the Frankish rulers certainly did not always entertain the inclination to hand over the promised privileges to the Italian traders. None the less, Genoa and Venice—Pisa soon fell behind, and Amalfi, Marseilles in the South of France, and other maritime cities, were but secondary powers from the outset—by means of the territory actually surrendered and the privileges conceded, had founded a kind of colonial empire on the Syrian coast, which formed the nucleus and perhaps the connecting bond of the Frankish feudal states, which were by nature more inclined to disruption than to coherence.

From the outset the partial success of the First Crusade, the existence of the Frankish states and their military supremacy, had been secured only by the existence of that disruptive feudalism which broke the Seljuk power, as it tended to divide the Frankish. Whenever a capable leader appeared on the Turkish side, able to concentrate the Seljuk forces in one direction, if but for a moment, the Christians were reduced to great distress or extreme despair, owing to their want of any similar combination. They were devoted entirely to their individual interests, turning their weapons against one another, and not despising the help even of the enemies of their faith. The eternal geographical differences within the Syrian territory, the northern part of which is as naturally attracted to the Euphrates and Tigris as the southern to the Nile, proved more effective than any religious difference; the religious struggle as such often, and at a surprisingly early date, disappeared, to the scorn and anger of devoutly minded pilgrims, and gave way to the secular requirements of the individual states in every part of the country. In the midst of these aberrations, which were further complicated by the constant necessity of opposition to Byzantine claims and attacks, the state of Jerusalem was able to attain a certain solidarity at an early date, for the reason that the acquisition of the coast line had withdrawn it from the immediate neighbourhood of the Seljuk foe, though the kings were constantly involved in the confusions of the North. The Egyptian danger, which became imminent upon several occasions during the first decades, was successfully repelled, and diminished as the Fatimid Empire entered upon the period of its decay. The neighbourhood of Ascalon was regarded as little more than a disturbing factor, and the conquest of this fortress was not undertaken until 1153; on the other side, Damascus was rather a protection against the attacks from Mesopotamia than a serious menace, though struggles with the power of Damascus were frequent.

THE CRAC DES CHEVALIERS: A FAMOUS STRONGHOLD OF THE HOSPITALLERS
About the middle of the eleventh century there came into being the Order of the Knights Hospitallers with the object of aiding and protecting the Christian pilgrims who visited the Holy Sepulchre. The organisation eventually became of considerable importance, wielding great power and controlling various strongholds. The castle of the order, near Tripolis, shown in the illustration, was vacated by the Hospitallers in 1271, when it fell into the hands of the Sultan of Egypt.

Under these circumstances Baldwin I. showed high statesmanship when he devoted his attention to securing his country against Egypt at a time when no serious tasks awaited him upon the coast line, and when Antioch and Edessa were not in need of his help. To his efforts was due the line of strong fortresses which protected the southern frontier, especially towards Ascalon, including Ibelin and the castles of Beit Jibrin, Beit Nuba, and Tell es-safiye, which were built at the time of Fulk. In particular he it was who built Montreal (Mont Royal), the great desert fortress situated half way between the Dead and Red Seas. This fortress commanded the routes between Egypt, Arabia, and Damascus, and could thus protect communication between these countries in time of peace, or close it in time of war, as necessity might demand. At a later date this strong outpost was supported by the fortress of Kerak, at the east of the Dead Sea, and that of Wadi Musa further to the south. The far-sighted policy of Baldwin I. in this respect led him to make a bold expedition to the Red Sea in 1116, and eventually to Egypt itself in 1118; there, however, he was overcome by severe illness before he could attempt any further conquests. He died on the homeward march on April 2nd.

Baldwin's Last Expedition

His successor was Baldwin II. of Edessa, who was at that moment in Jerusalem. It is not surprising that northern affairs chiefly occupied the attention of this ruler, as for nearly twenty years he had been closely connected with the destinies of Northern Syria. At that moment Antioch had been brought to the verge of destruction by a severe defeat which his knights suffered at the hands of the Emir of Mardin, Ilghazi, and in which the regent, Roger del Principato, fell on June 28th, 1119. Baldwin II., who undertook the regency, was able to hand over the principality undiminished to the young Bohemond II., notwithstanding numerous misfortunes, when the latter ruler received these dominions with the hand of Baldwin's second daughter Alice, in the middle of October, 1126.

Unfortunately the king did not always obtain that sympathetic co-operation which his services to the principality had merited. On one occasion his son-in-law omitted to support one of Baldwin's most hopeful attempts upon Aleppo. The governor of Antioch considered it advisable not to allow the king to become too successful against the enemies of the faith, and Aleppo remained unconquered like Damascus, against which Baldwin also directed vigorous attacks. In the former case he was forced to content himself with the acquisition of a large portion of the territory of Aleppo; and in the latter case with the surrender of Banias, the outpost of the Damascenes on Mount Hermon at the source of the Jordan—a post that the Mohammedans had hitherto used as a base for incessant raids upon the north of Palestine and the coast towns, whence they had supported the resistance of Tyre, the conquest of which was not yet complete. Banias was recovered by the infidels in 1132, and again recaptured by the Christians in 1140. At that point was maintained, after 1139, the strong crusading fortress, Kalaat es-Subebe, until, in 1165, the position was finally and definitely seized by Nur ed-din.

Why Aleppo Was Not Taken

Upon the whole the successes of Baldwin II. were somewhat modest, but the Frankish victories easily counteracted the pressure of the Mohammedans. As evidence of the Mohammedan attitude, we may quote the words of one of their chroniclers, who complains, with some exaggeration: "The star of Islam had sunk below the horizon, and the sun of its destinies was hidden behind the clouds. The banners of the infidels waved over the Mohammedan territories, and the victories of the unjust overpowered the faithful. The empire of the Franks extended from Mardin in Mesopotamia to El-Arish on the Egyptian frontier. In the whole of Syria but few towns remained free from their rule. Even of these, Aleppo was tributary to them, and Damascus was forced to surrender its Christian slaves. In Mesopotamia their armies advanced to Amida and Nisibis, and the Mohammedans of Rakka and Harran found no protection against their cruelty."

The Great Empire of the Franks

During the reign of Baldwin II. arose those associations in which at a later date the spiritual and secular chivalry of the crusading principalities displayed its great brilliancy, but which later became almost states within the state, and one of the most material causes of the downfall of the Frankish Empire. These were the orders of knights. The order of Templars was founded about 1119 under Hugo of Payens, and was originally a simple fraternity connected with the hospital of St. John to protect pilgrims from robbers and highwaymen. The new foundation speedily lost its character as a military brotherhood and became an ecclesiastical order, the members of which pledged themselves to chastity, poverty, and obedience, and gave their oaths to the Patriarch of

Jerusalem to fight on behalf of the pilgrims in the holy cities. This conjunction of military service and spiritual exercises proved in complete harmony with the spirit of the times. In January, 1128, it secured the powerful support of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, at the Council of Troyes, and received from him a rule akin to that of the Benedictines; from this date its path was easy.

Extensive privileges gradually withdrew its members from the influence of the local clergy and its houses from the supremacy of the bishops; the order speedily acknowledged no superior but the Pope, and rose to great splendour. Members of the superior nobility applied for reception and brought their possessions with them; princes and lords outbid one another in rich grants of land and people. In a short time the order became one of the largest territorial powers even in the west, and an entirely independent power, on an equal footing with the Syrian petty states. The increase of its wealth gave it an importance equivalent to that of the rising mercantile cities of Italy; it became a wholesale merchant and manufacturer, and even a kind of gigantic bank, as no small part of western monetary exchange passed through its hands. It can bear comparison with modern institutions of the kind; it even became the pioneer of new economic forms, which the Teutonic knights of later date afterwards imitated in their own interest.

The Great Order of Templars

The Templars derived their name from their first possession, given them by Baldwin II, a part of the king's palace upon the supposed site of the Temple, the so-called Mountain Mosque (Kubbet es-Sachra): the Knights of St. John derived their name from the saint to whom was dedicated a hospital, with a pilgrim's shelter and chapel, founded before the Crusades and in connection with the Amalfitan monastery of Santa Maria Latina, near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The connection between the monastery and hospital was broken at the outset of the crusading period by the Provençal, Gerhard, who raised the hospital to high prosperity and wealth; his successor, Raimond du Puy, transformed the brotherhood into a strict monastic association and made the struggle against the infidels one of the tasks of the new order, in imitation of the Templars, who, as we have observed, probably originated also in this spot. Thus the possibility was thrown open of a course of development, similar to that of the Templar order. The difference was that the Knights of St. John, the Hospitallers, were more strongly conscious than the Templars of their original objects, the care of the sick and poor; the latter, in consequence of their complete liberation from any ecclesiastical control other than that of the Pope, drifted into hostility against the authorities of the Church, and, perhaps, eventually became corrupted by Nihilist and Satanist errors, which they are supposed to have borrowed from their reputed Mohammedan model, the mysterious sect of the Assassins.

The Evil Model of the Templars

The rise of the two first knightly orders falls probably within the reign of King Fulk. He had been Count of Anjou, and through his son Geoffrey, the son-in-law of Henry I. of England and father of Henry II., became the ancestor of the Plantagenets; he had taken the eldest daughter of Baldwin II., Melisende, as his second wife in 1129, and had been designated as Baldwin's successor. Traditions vary as to his character; they represent him at one time as a powerful and well-meaning ruler, at another as a helpless weakling. The fact is that he maintained the empire at that height of power at which he had found it; the consolidation of its basis and the steady increase of its economic prosperity mark his reign as the zenith of Frankish development.

The growing disobedience of the vassals, which threatened to destroy the vitality of the kingdom, was vigorously crushed for the moment. The rebel Count Hugo of Joppa was humbled, Count Pons of Tripolis was reduced to impotence, the intrigues of the ambitious sister-in-law of the king, Alicia of Antioch, were thwarted; she had been anxious to secure her own rule against the rights of her daughter, Constance, who was still a minor. Northern Syria was protected against the invasions of the Seljuks and Turkomans, and after one defeat had been suffered at the hands of the Amir of Mossul, Imad ed-din Zenki, on July 11th, 1137, it became possible to secure a firm alliance of the crusading states with Damascus (1133-1140), which protected Syria for the moment from any serious

Damascus the Protector of Syria

menace from Mesopotamia. The unchanging geographical conditions had almost precisely reproduced that situation which existed almost two thousand years earlier, when the petty states of Jerusalem and Samaria were in similar relations with the East. On the side of Egypt a line of fortresses was built which cut off any advance from Ascalon, and in the Moabite territory Kerak was erected—not to be confused with the Hospitallers' castle, near Tripolis, called Crac des Chevaliers—which, like Montreal, commanded the routes between Egypt and Syria.

When Trade and Commerce Flourished

Trade and commerce, promoted by the coast settlements of the Italians, now reached their highest prosperity. This development filled the country with the wealth and luxury of a southern colony, and brought the days of greatest brilliancy to the chivalrous splendour of the courts of Jerusalem and Antioch. This was the golden age of the knightly orders, as yet entirely free from any ominous symptoms of demoralisation. The weaknesses inherent in the feudal organisation of the kingdom were less obvious under the first strong rulers. The retention of important privileges affecting military, financial, and legal affairs in the hands of the great vassals, the opposition and separatism of the knightly orders, had not yet become so dangerously pronounced as at a later date. The actual administration of the feudal constitution and its law by no means corresponded with the ideal picture which had been traced in the Assizes of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

This picture probably dates from the time of Fulk, though its final form belongs to nearly a century later, and it is to be regarded as the programme of the feudal system in opposition to the monarchy, and in particular to the claims of Frederic II. The feudal system had hardly been carried during the times of royal power to so dangerous and logical a stage of development. So much, at any rate, is certain, that the idea of the feudal system, which in itself and with reference to the conditions of previous centuries was a great constitutional achievement, attained to its most perfect form in the kingdom of Jerusalem, and to this extent realised the highest possible point of its prosperity; hereafter we shall have to consider why this particular course of development necessarily entailed the most complete downfall. The prosperity and well-being of the crusading states certainly received the strongest impetus from the flourishing condition of trade and local culture, which was due to the Italian colonists.

The Height of Feudal Prosperity

The merchants of the west had now secured a footing in Asia in the midst of a kindred nationality and under the most favourable conditions of life, protected by their own privileges and concessions, in settlements under their own magistrates, police, judicial system, and Church. Any chance visitor to these harbours for commercial purposes could find support, information, and counsel from his countrymen and from the colonial officials; indeed the office of consul originated in this quarter.

There was no necessity to travel into the interior, for the Syrian coast could provide the products of almost the entire eastern world. Mercantile communication with the Persian Gulf—by which relations had always been maintained with India and China across the Indian Ocean—and with Nearer Asia and China, by the land route through Persia, Bucharest, Samarkand, Ferghana, and Turkestan, converged upon Bagdad; hence the caravan routes led to the Euphrates, and to Rakka, at which point also the commercial routes from Mossul and Diarbeka reached the river by way of Nisib, Samosata, Edessa, and Harran. From Rakka a northern commercial route passed through Aleppo to the coast at Antioch and Laodicea, and a southern route advanced to Damascus by way of Hamath and Hims, at which point it joined the great roads from Arabia and Egypt. In this way Damascus has become the starting-point of the Syrian Haj, the chief pilgrim caravan to Mecca, and the meeting-point of mercantile routes in Asia Minor. The city received the products of India and China from two directions and the products of Western Asia from the north, with those of Egypt from the south.

Bagdad as a Trading Centre

To this influx of wares from every part of the world were added the native industries. These were silk weaving, especially of gold brocade, which had reached high perfection, and the forging of weapons, which had become no less famous than the silk industry. This great centre of Mohammedan trade and commerce now formed the hinterland of the

Syrian coast. The not inconsiderable marts of Hamath and Hims sent their wares down to the sea to the harbours of Tortosa and Tripolis ; Antioch and Laodicea were in connection with Bagdad, Mossul, and the Far East, by way of Aleppo and Rakka, but Damascus was but a few days' journey from the great commercial centres of Beyrout, Tyre, Sidon, and Acre. In the intervening territory Tiberias, with Haifa as its export harbour, had become an important commercial centre because it lay upon the road from Egypt to Damascus, which traversed the country diagonally ; Acre, however, upon the coast, possessed the best and widest harbour in Syria, and gradually collected the export trade of the whole East within its walls, as the customs tariffs, which have been preserved, record. From these documents we can see that in Acre were collected rhubarb from East Asia, musk from Thibet, pepper, cinnamon, nutmeg—in short, all the spices of India which were so eagerly coveted during those centuries. Thither also came aloe wood from Assam, camphor from the Sunda Islands, Indian and East African ivory, incense and dates from Arabia, and many other products. In Beyrout documents tell us that pepper, incense, indigo, Brazil wood, and pearls were on sale. The wholesale traders of the East themselves, the merchants of Mossul, for instance, seem constantly to have brought their wares to these harbours.

Even at that date the seaports displayed that same mixture of Oriental populations which persists at the present day. The inhabitants of Tripolis, for instance, were Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Maronites, Nestorians, Jews, and Saracens. To their carrying trade was added a considerable Syrian trade in the products of the Syrian soil and industry. The fertility of the soil had not yet been destroyed by Turkish misgovernment, and the most careful cultivation prevailed in the warm stretches of coast country.

RECONSTRUCTION OF A STRONGLY FORTIFIED CASTLE OF THE HOSPITALLERS IN SYRIA

International exchange of an extent and richness hitherto unknown to western civilisation became the source of unprecedented and unexpected wealth. During the early period of the kingdom, a contemporary chronicler, the chaplain of Baldwin I., who had accompanied him upon the First Crusade, writes as follows : " From day to day we are followed by our relations and parents, who without real willingness abandoned all their former possessions. For those who there were poor were here made rich by God; those who had but little money now possess countless wealth, and he who had never had a village, here receives a town from God's hand." The acquisition of masterless land and property was easy; and when to this was added the profits of trade and manufactures, every condition of brilliant colonial prosperity was present. Splendour and immorality, the usual consequences of luxury, were fostered by the southern climate, and speedily became apparent. At the moment, indeed, these darker pictures were hidden by the brighter side; the splendour and brilliancy of western chivalry was conjoined with colonial prosperity and found here the classical soil of its growth, notwithstanding infusions of foreign blood. The incessant struggle against the infidels was an anxiety never entirely overpowered by the inclination to pursue material interests through commercial intercourse; it was an anxiety which produced the most complete military skill on the part of the knights, which made them perfect in the works of war and peace, and the determining element in the social and intellectual culture of the Middle Ages. The European chivalry of the crusading centuries never denied that it had originated on the plains of Syria. France was its mother country, and gradually became the great centre of the crusading movement, whence it derived its claim to lead civilisation. Through France it passed to the other countries of the West, especially to Germany. As its prosperity belongs to the East, so also does its degeneration, the outcome of contact with the excrescences of a colonial civilisation which was destined to clear the ground for other economic, constitutional, and social forms.

Penalties of Luxury

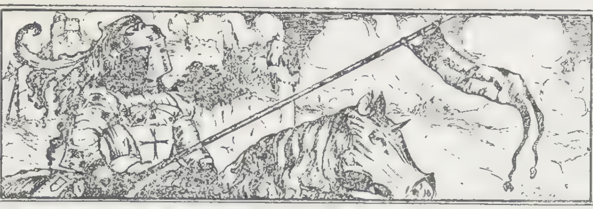
The prosperity, however, of the crusading states—the possibility of their maintaining a firm front against Islam—was doomed to end whenever the Seljuk power should succeed in concentrating itself. Lack of cohesion among the Turks left the Christians in comparative security; but their own lack of cohesion could not but bring disaster in the face of united effort. Feudalism and effective cohesion were incompatible; and, practically speaking, the Latin kingdom was ultra-feudal. Moreover, it did not rest on the support of an organised Europe, but only on the casual impulse which drove kings, nobles, or knights individually to take the Cross. A wave of crusading sentiment might carry vast armies to the East. In the case of the First Crusade, only the magnitude of the wave had enabled the Crusaders to achieve their object. There was no other wave of the same magnitude, and in the intervals of subsidence the support given to the Eastern Christians was desultory.

Foundations of the Latin Kingdom

While Fulk of Anjou was king of Jerusalem (1131–1144), Imad ed-din Zenki of Mosul was concentrating the Syrian Turkish power in his own hands. The Latins were at odds with the Greek Empire. In 1144 Zenki captured Edena, and the conquest was confirmed in 1146 by his son and successor, Nur ed-din. The energy of the Pope, Eugenius III., and of Bernard of Clairvaux set in motion the Second Crusade, at the head of which Louis VII. of France and the German Conrad were induced to place themselves. But there was no combination. The German expedition was virtually ruined before the French arrived. The Latin kingdom did not wish to bring down upon itself the whole force of the Seljuks, and its leaders deliberately misled their western ally into inevitable failure. The Second Crusade collapsed. Within the Latin kingdom political disintegration and personal demoralisation under the influence of Oriental conditions progressed together during the reign of Baldwin III., who was succeeded in 1162 by his brother, Amalric.

Collapse of the Second Crusade

The dissensions of the Fatimid rulers of Egypt caused one faction first to call in the aid of Nur ed-din's general, Shirku, and then to quarrel with him and invite the aid of the Latin kingdom. The details of the contest need not detain us here. Military operations of varying success, coupled with a fast-and-loose diplomatic policy, ended in the ignominious withdrawal of Amalric, and the establishment of Shirku as Egyptian vizir. In 1169 he was followed by his nephew, Ayub Salah ed-din Yusuf, known as Saladin, who, having made himself master of Egypt, was enabled, by the death of Nur ed-din, to establish himself also as the lord of that potentate's dominions in 1183



SALADIN AND THE CRUSADES

THE STRUGGLES FOR THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

THE kingdom of Jerusalem was now thrown into dynastic confusion by the early death of King Amalric, who died on July 11th, 1174, at the age of thirty-eight, and almost at the same moment as Nur ed-din. The change to life in a subtropical climate had not only weakened the moral resistance of the Europeans to the temptations of colonial culture, but had also produced physical degeneration. It is a remarkable fact that of the children born to the Frankish nobles in Palestine hardly one reached maturity; the descendants of the Lorraine-Angevin dynasty all died in early youth. During the thirteenth century this fate precluded that dynastic consolidation which might have brought real leaders to the front.

The Leprous King Baldwin IV.

The want of such leaders was especially disastrous during the decade immediately preceding the fall of Jerusalem. Amalric's heir, his son by Agnes of Edessa—he married his second wife, Maria Comnena, in 1167—was Baldwin IV., a man of high capacity, but smitten with leprosy. He gained many successes, including a victory over the great Saladin, at Tell-jezer, on November 25th, 1177. But the increase of his malady, and the constant quarrels of the barons concerning the regency and the succession, counterbalanced any loss inflicted upon this powerful foe. Of the candidates for the regency, an advisable choice seemed to be Count Raimond of Tripolis, a distinguished, though possibly over-cautious, character. He was opposed by Count Guy of Lusignan, who had married Sibylla in the spring of 1180. She was the widowed sister of the king, having lost her husband in 1177.

After the death of Baldwin IV., in 1185, Sibylla's little son, Baldwin V., died at the beginning of 1186. In the resulting outbreak of intrigue the incompetent Guy of Lusignan succeeded in securing the crown against the admirable regent Raimond. In the spring of 1187 Saladin advanced upon the country with the united forces of Egypt and Syria. His invasion was facilitated by the continuance of dissension between Raimond and Guy. Though the Franks were able to take the field against him with 20,000 men, the chivalry of the kingdom, after displaying its old bravery, was overwhelmed by the devastating blows of Saladin on July 3rd and 4th, 11 7, in the battle of Hattin, to the west of Tiberias, a fierce conflict which continued for two days. Saladin was magnanimous enough to liberate, in June, 1188, King Guy and the other barons who had fallen into his hands, but in the meantime he had secured his mastery of the country. After Tiberias, he reduced Acre, Jaffa, Cæsarea, and Sidon in July, with a number of fortresses and castles in the interior.

Siege and Fall of Jerusalem

In August he captured Beyrout; in September, Ascalon, Gaza, and the towns between these places and the Holy City; finally Jerusalem itself fell, after a fortnight's siege, notwithstanding the lamentations and prayers of the monks, priests, and nuns, who carried the Holy Cross in procession round the walls. Part of the inhabitants secured their freedom and a safe-conduct to the unconquered harbours at the price of a high poll-tax.

Where Saladin Failed

Meanwhile, Mohammedanism celebrated its re-establishment in Jerusalem with great splendour. Only after some weeks did Saladin leave the city to resume in August the siege of Tyre, which had previously failed. Here he again encountered a heroic defence by Conrad of Montferrat, the second of those brothers who had reached the Holy Land immediately after the battle of Hattin. After months of fruitless endeavour, Saladin was forced to retire on January 1st, 1188. An attack upon Tripolis in June proved equally unsuccessful. He succeeded, however, in capturing Arka, Tortosa, Gibelet, Laodicea, and a number of fortresses in Northern Syria, and reduced Antioch to severe straits. At the end of October, Kerak succumbed to repeated assaults. The Templar fortress of Safed was captured on January 5th, 1189, Montreal shortly afterwards, and Belfort (Shakif Arnun) on April 11th, 1190. Antioch, Tripolis, Tyre, and the Johannite fortress of Margat were the only positions remaining in the hands of the Christians.

Only Western help could now save the Frankish rule from annihilation. The failure of the Second Crusade had considerably damped the general enthusiasm on behalf of the Holy Sepulchre. Military reinforcements to Palestine were, comparatively speaking, most scanty during the generation after 1150. The embassies of Amalric and Baldwin IV., informing the western rulers of the needs of the Syrian states, were honourably received, but returned with no tangible results, for the hostilities prevailing between the empire and the papacy, and between France and England, prevented any general co-operation. Now, however, the disastrous news from the East aroused the deepest grief and the fiercest indignation in Europe, and public enthusiasm rose even to a higher pitch than at the time of the First Cruasde. The heart of Pope Urban III. was broken by the news of the fall of Jerusalem, and he died on October 20th, 1187. His successor, Gregory VIII., at once made peace with the empire; and upon his death, on December 17th, Clement III. zealously continued the efforts of Gregory to secure the co-operation of the western powers in a new Crusade. Circular letters were issued to every prince, and instructions for fasting and prayer to all the clergy, while the people were exhorted to purity and simplicity of life. Indulgences and the postponement of creditors' claims were offered to all who might take the cross; all who remained at home, high and low, became liable to the "Saladin tithe." Thus amid passionate excitement Latin Christendom took up arms almost as one man. Once again the fire of enthusiastic devotion, scorning suffering or death, glowed in the hearts of the chosen; once again the unusual privileges granted to Crusaders were regarded by the larger numbers of worldly wise participants as an excellent opportunity to withdraw with honour from troubles at home, and to gain fame, wealth, and an everlasting recompense abroad. If ever a Crusade afforded prospects of complete success, it was surely this which was planned in 1188, for it was joined in rapid succession by Philip II. Augustus of France, by his opponent, Henry II. of England, by Henry's rebellious son Richard upon his father's death on July 6th, 1189, and finally by the most powerful of western monarchs, the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, whose resolution was taken at the famous "Diet of Christ" at Mainz, on the Sunday called "Lætare Jerusalem"—March 27th, 1188.

SALADIN, THE GREAT ENEMY OF THE CRUSADERS
The rapid rise to power of this great sultan was largely responsible for the Third Crusade being undertaken. With fierce determination he opposed the crusading forces, but five years of stubborn conflict exhausted him, and he showed a readiness to make concessions. A three years' truce was agreed to, Jerusalem remaining with the infidels.
From the drawing by Gustave Doré

Once again one of the greatest military and religious enterprises known to history, born amid tumultuous zeal and burning enthusiasm, died away within a few years, and the united western armament was eventually shattered by miserable brawls with friend and foe, utterly unworthy of the movement, though it must be said that the causes of failure to some extent lay deeper than in unfortunate events and the antagonism of the leaders. In particular a calamity, which could not have been anticipated, brought to a miserable end the German Crusade, one of the best and most capable expeditions which mediæval Germany ever sent forth. The numbers of the army were estimated at one hundred thousand men, including some fifty thousand knights. These figures were doubtless subject to the usual exaggeration, as it is expressly stated that the army was smaller than the German levy of 1147, for the reason that unsuitable participants were excluded by a census (three silver marks), and none but well-equipped and experienced warriors, knights, and trained squires were admitted. This proud host was under the command of the most experienced and successful general of the age, the admiration of East and West, the powerful emperor. Upon the approach of his army, Saladin himself razed the walls of several fortresses in Palestine, that they might not be used as bases by the Germans; and an Arab Christian afterwards wrote: "Had not the gracious providence of God brought death upon the emperor at the moment when he was about to invade Syria, it would have been said of Syria and Egypt in later days that here the Mohammedans once ruled!"

The German army followed the route of Godfrey of Bouillon, and surmounted such difficulties as they encountered with greater ease than any preceding expedition. Hungary and its king, Bela III., were overawed by the reputation of the

ENGLAND'S CRUSADING KING, RICHARD CŒUR DE LION

Filled with zeal for the recovery of Jerusalem from the infidels, Richard I., King of England, sailed for the East in December, 1190, and fought heroically against the Christians' enemies. He was present at the capture of Acre, his military skill and prowess contributing largely to the fall of that stronghold, and at Arsuf he overthrew the Saracens. He failed, however, to reach Jerusalem, and eventually concluded a three years' truce with Saladin.

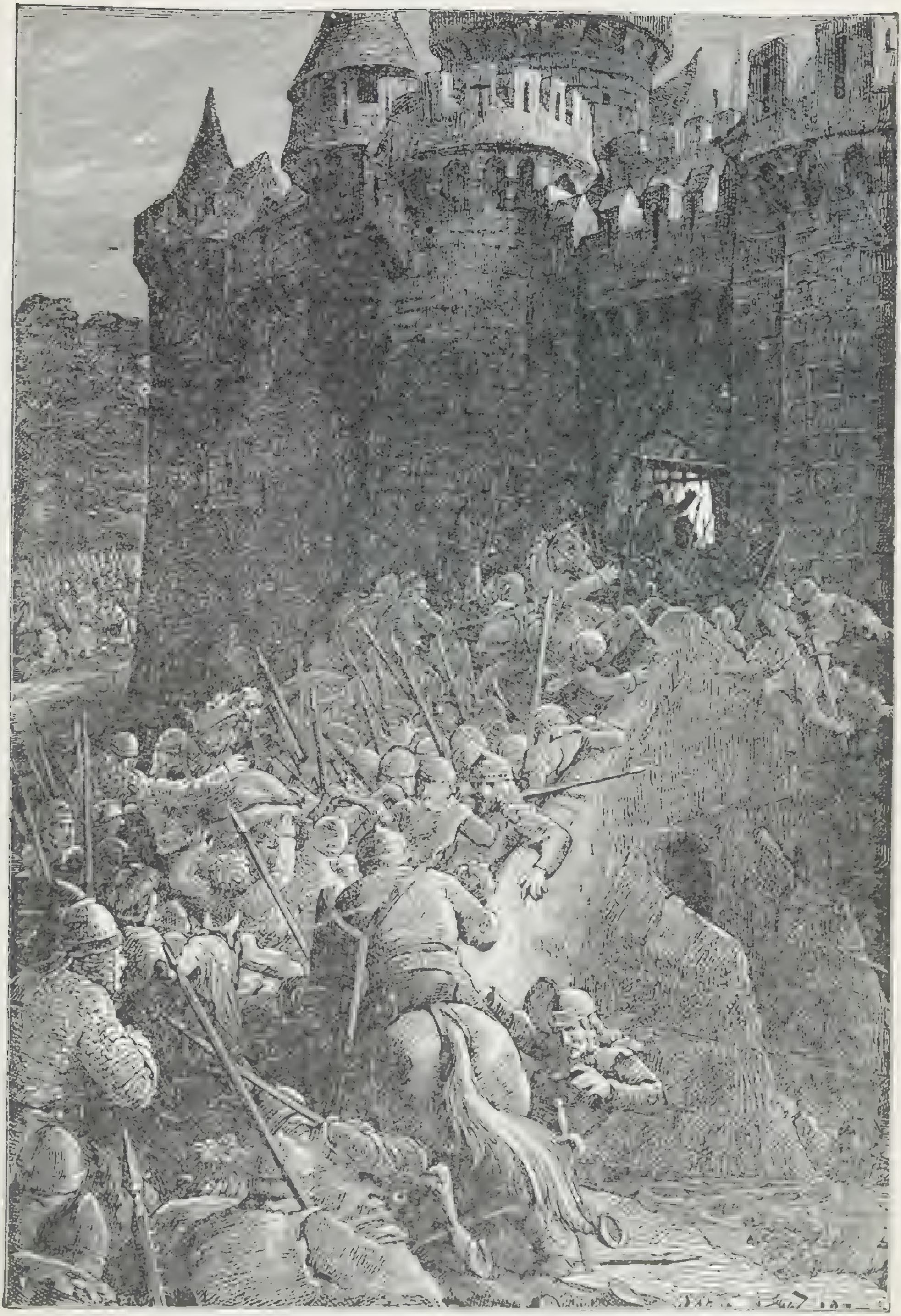
emperor; Servia and Wallachia offered homage and hospitality. In the Greek Empire the path was more difficult; the dynasty of the Comneni had come to an end in 1185, and the old state of disruption had returned. Beyond the Balkans the German army met with doubtful friendship, which soon became treacherous opposition. Eventually, however, the army succeeded in forcing a passage through Asia Minor and the Seljuk territory, an exploit performed by no Frankish troops since the march of the Crusaders about a century earlier, in 1097.

At length, after unspeakable sufferings, the Crusaders were rewarded by the sight of the Cilician plains, the foreground of Syria; then the crowning misfortune came upon the army and the Crusade in general in Kalykadnos (Salef). Reports differ as to whether Frederic was cut off in crossing or riding through a river to shorten a difficult mountain path, or while bathing upon the completion of a day's march. The aged emperor was carried from the waves of the mountain stream still living; for a whole day the doctors strove to save his life, but in vain. He died on June 10th, 1190, and with him died the spirit of the German Crusade. Contemporary chroniclers represent the crusading army as falling to pieces by a process of disintegration upon the death of Barbarossa. It is certain that after reaching Antioch a number of the Crusaders embarked upon their homeward voyage at the harbour of Korykos, that many bands separated from the main body and were destroyed by the Saracens in the district of Aleppo, and that thousands were swept away by a pestilence at Antioch. The majority of the German Crusaders probably returned home from Northern Syria.

ISAAC, "EMPEROR OF CYPRUS," BEGGING FOR THE RELEASE OF HIS DAUGHTER

An interesting episode in the Crusade of Richard Cœur de Lion is here illustrated. Wrecked on the coast of Cyprus in a storm, some of the king's followers were plundered and cast into prison by the natives, and Richard at once took measures to punish Isaac, who styled himself "Emperor of Cyprus." He captured the "Emperor's" daughter, who was greatly beloved by her father, and this soon had the effect of reducing Isaac to humble submission.

At Tripolis, their leader, Duke Frederic, notwithstanding the competent guidance of Conrad of Montferrat, no longer felt



THE CRUSADERS' FEUDS: FIGHT BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH AT GIZOR

The Crusade planned in 1188 began under the brightest auspices, and it seemed as if success would at last reward the enterprise of the Christian forces. But internal dissensions soon extinguished the enthusiasm. Differences arose between the followers of Philip II. Augustus of France and those of his opponent, Henry II. of England, and in the illustration we see the representatives of the two nations in open warfare. Inside the Castle of Gizor the French fortified themselves, and the English made a determined effort to capture the stronghold. A terrible struggle took place on the bridge, many of the English, who were eventually driven back, being precipitated into the river beneath.

himself strong enough to force the passes between the sea and the mountains on the road to Tyre; he preferred to make the passage by sea, a mode of transport which necessarily limited the number of troops conveyed. Eventually, after a lengthy stay in Tyre, Duke Frederic is said to have reached Acre on October 7th with no more than a thousand men. Acre, which saw the end of the German Crusade, became the centre of those struggles in which the other western nations took part during the Third Crusade, apart from the assistance rendered to King Sancho of Portugal against the Arabs in 1189 by numerous Crusaders from the coasts of the North Sea and from the Lower Rhine. We have already related that with the capital towns of North Syria, Tyre alone remained in the hands of the Franks, and had survived two sieges by Saladin, owing to the energy of Conrad of Montferrat, who had arrived from the west at the time of the battle of Hattin.

The End of the German Crusade

The famous siege of Acre began at the end of August, 1189, in the course of which the whole remaining strength of Christian Syria and of the West was concentrated about this town. At the moment when the besiegers began operations Saladin appeared with a relieving force, and a titanic struggle began upon two fronts, in the course of which the chivalry of the Christian army displayed powers of heroism and endurance worthy of the great memories of the First Crusade. The assailants were continually harassed both by the garrison and by the relieving army; their position depended entirely upon the maintenance of their communications with the sea, and marvellous bravery and tenacity were evinced in the accomplishment of this difficult task. For nearly two years Acre was surrounded by the iron circles of the Christian besiegers and their Saracen assailants. Not until the spring of 1191 did Philip II. Augustus of France arrive, followed by Richard I. of England in the summer. These Christian reinforcements secured the surrender of the fortress and the retreat of Saladin on July 12th.

Titanic Struggle at Acre

These monarchs should have arrived at a much earlier date, seeing that their expeditions had been arranged and begun as a common enterprise. But the unstable and refractory temperament of Richard "Lionheart" had caused bloody quarrels in Sicily during October and December, 1190, first with the native population and then with the French knights, and had ended in serious friction between the leaders themselves. Richard had, in consequence, repudiated his betrothal to Alice, a sister of the King of France, and a further cause of dissension and deep mistrust thus separated the two kings and nations who were already upon bad terms. Six precious months were wasted. At length, upon March 30th, 1191, the King of France started; Richard delayed twelve days longer, and was then driven by stress of weather to the island of Cyprus, which fell into his hands from those of the usurper, the "Emperor" Isaac, of the house of the Comneni, by a remarkable conjunction of events. This chance conquest of Cyprus was almost the only permanent achievement of the Third Crusade. After the final loss of Syria, the island became a valuable outpost of western civilisation, and its close commercial relations with the eastern world secured its prosperity until the Ottoman conquest of 1571. Acre was captured, in spite of angry dissensions between the Christian leaders. Immediately afterwards, Philip found an excuse for returning to France. The fate of Jerusalem was thus left in Richard's hands; and under conditions which imperatively demanded statesmanship, he displayed nothing more than a reckless bravery and an audacious daring, with tales of which Mohammedan mothers used to terrify their children in later years.

Cyprus Captured by Richard

He further tarnished his knighthood by his indiscretion in tearing the banner of Duke Leopold of Austria from a tower of Acre, and by his cold-blooded massacre of 3,000 of the bold defenders, for the reason that their appointed ransom did not arrive at the time arranged—August 20th. A year was expended in purposeless marching and countermarching; and though many successes were secured, including the capture of Cæsarea, Jaffa, and Ascalon, these towns were soon lost once more. No vigorous attempt could be made upon Jerusalem, though this was the main object of the expedition, and though the army reached the immediate neighbourhood of the Holy City. Negotiations with Saladin were constantly begun and as constantly broken off. Richard's chivalrous imagination extended so far as

THE CAPTURE OF RICHARD CŒUR DE LION WHILE RETURNING FROM THE CRUSADE

Returning from his unsuccessful attempt to wrest Jerusalem from the hands of the infidel, England's warrior king, Richard I., was made prisoner by Leopold, Duke of Austria, in 1192. The Emperor Henry VI., to whom Richard was handed over, kept him in confinement for about two years, and he was liberated only on the payment of a large ransom.

to confer knighthood upon Saladin's nephew, afterwards the Sultan Al-Kamil. The wild project was even discussed at the end of 1191 of a marriage between Saladin's brother Aladil and Richard's sister Joanna.

Saladin was exhausted by five years of fierce conflict; he showed a readiness to make concessions, and would probably have gone so far as to sacrifice Jerusalem. But the Arab chroniclers emphasise the difficulty of conducting negotiations with Richard: "Whenever an agreement was arranged with the King of England, he immediately annulled it: he continually made changes in the terms of a convention or raised difficulties in the way: if he gave his word, he took it back again, and was ever the first to break the secrecy which he had required." The end of all this purposeless struggle was a three years' armistice, which began on September 2nd; it secured the Christians in possession of the seaboard from Jaffa to Tyre, and gave them some fortresses in the interior. Jerusalem, however, was left in the hands of the infidels, and Christians were allowed to visit the Holy Sepulchre only in small companies and unarmed; since 1187 the Sepulchre had been guarded by Syrian priests, and Christian prisoners had performed their tasks around it under the lash of their tormentors.

Jerusalem Left with the Infidels

The kingdom was named "Jerusalem" as though in mockery; and before returning home Richard of England was obliged, at the urgent wish of the barons, to grant the crown to Conrad of Montferrat, who was shortly afterwards—in April, 1192—murdered by assassins. Conrad's widow, Isabella, was ever ready for a fresh marriage, and her inheritance now passed with her hand to Count Henry of Champagne, a nephew of the King of England. Richard had invested his favourite, Guy, with the kingdom of Cyprus on April 5th, 1192; the Templars, to whom the island had been originally entrusted, had been expelled by a revolt. Thus began the Cypriot dynasty of Lusignan, which eventually renewed its claim upon Jerusalem, and in which that kingdom was ultimately merged. The great effort had failed. Europe had finally demonstrated its incapacity for corporate action. A so-called kingdom of Jerusalem survived, but its king did not reign in the Holy City. From the Latin state itself religious fervour had permanently departed; but another century was to elapse before the men of the West ceased to be stirred by the crusading spirit. After that it became a vague dream, which never materialised itself.

The Templars Expelled from Cyprus

But during the hundred years following the Third Crusade a number of expeditions were undertaken, insomuch that historians are not agreed as to which of them are entitled to the dignity of enumeration among the Crusades proper. One was organised by the German Emperor, Henry VI., before the twelfth century closed; but he died without personally taking part in it, and it ended in disaster. The vigour and resolution of the great Pope Innocent III. brought together a great armament for the Fifth Crusade, when the new century began; greed and Venetian diplomacy provided excuses for turning it into an attack on the Byzantine Empire instead of on the Turk, and its outcome was the temporary establishment of a Latin Empire at Constantinople. Other successful efforts followed, and at length, in 1228, the Emperor Frederic II. undertook the long-promised Sixth Crusade. Without a battle, he forced upon the Turks a treaty which surrendered Palestine once more to him as king of Jerusalem; but he was obliged to crown himself with his own hands, because no ecclesiastic would perform the function on behalf of the excommunicate emperor, who returned to Europe to carry on his contest with the papacy. Jerusalem remained in Christian hands for only a brief period.

Crusades That Failed

In 1249, Saint Louis led a Crusade, on the hypothesis that the gate of Palestine was in Egypt. Damietta was taken, but dissension and lack of discipline wrought the usual ruin. The Crusaders were trapped and overwhelmed; Louis himself was taken prisoner, and was released only on the payment of a heavy ransom. Once more, in 1270, Louis led a Crusade, but died when the expedition had landed on the African coast. For a time the task was carried on by Prince Edward of England; but his father's death and his own accession to the English throne as Edward I. demanded his return to his kingdom, with nothing accomplished beyond the capture of Nazareth. So ended the last serious attempt to recover the Holy Land for Christendom.

ST. LOUIS, KING OF FRANCE, SEEKING REFUGE FROM THE SARACENS

Falling under the fascinating spell of the great crusading movement, Louis IX. of France, better known as St. Louis, headed a Crusade in 1249, making for Palestine by way of Egypt. Trapped and overwhelmed by the enemy, the King of France fell into the hands of the Saracens, who demanded a heavy ransom for his release. Undaunted, however, by his ill success on this occasion, he led another Crusade in 1270, but died when the expedition had landed on the African coast.

THE PASSING OF THE CRUSADES

AND THEIR LEGACY TO THE MILITARY ORDERS

The Heavy Revenge of the Genoese

THE strife on the part of the Christians which had enfeebled their final powers of resistance had assumed enormous proportions in the last centuries. At Acre itself, in the year 1257, war broke out between the Genoese and Venetians, in which also the Pisans and the ever-hostile Templars and Hospitallers were involved, first on the side of the Genoese and then on the side of the Venetians. For two years regular battles were fought about Acre and Tyre, which cost the lives of twenty thousand men, occasioned losses of ships and property, and devastated the town of Acre so that it was almost annihilated. This was the beginning of the war between the two naval powers which lasted about one hundred and twenty-five years. In the first period the Genoese avenged themselves for being driven out of Acre by expelling, in their turn, the Venetians and Latins from Constantinople, while later they almost entirely destroyed the power of their weaker opponents, the Pisans.

Mongols Favour the Christians

Under such conditions affairs in the Holy Land were trending to a catastrophe. It seemed at first possible to ward off destruction by the help of unexpected allies. Since the beginning of the century, when the Mongols under Genghis Khan had made inroads into Western Asia, the Christians had cast a hopeful look towards them as a result of the naturally hostile attitude which they had adopted against Islam. The Crusaders had already fallen under the influence of the mysterious legend of the Christian Prester John, who was to appear with an army from the far west to help the Crusaders. In time rumours of the friendly feelings entertained by the Mongols for the Christians grew in force. Like his brother and overlord Mangu, Hulagu, a grandson of Genghis Khan, who conquered Bagdad and destroyed the Abbasid caliphate, was entirely on the side of the Christians. His favourite wife was a Christian, and she was able to procure every advantage for her religion. Her son Abaka celebrated the Holy Communion with the Christians several times, and also again a few days before his death. His brother and successor, Tagudar Ogul, had been baptised as a child, a profession of faith which he afterwards most emphatically disavowed, for immediately on his succession to power he went over to Islam under the name of Ahmed-Sultan.

Baptisms at the Council of Lyons

The policy of the Ilkhans, which was friendly to the Christians, was again adopted by his nephew Argun, the eldest son of Abaka, who dethroned Ahmed after a short rule. From the days of the first Council of Lyons, 1245, until late in the fourteenth century their courts were open to ambassadors of the Popes and of the western princes, particularly to Franciscan friars, while Argun, for his part, sent ambassadors to Rome and France. Thus the hopes that the Mongols would interfere in favour of the Syrian Christians against the power of Islam were justified, and the last council, held at Lyons in 1274, which considered the affair of the Holy Land, was under the influence of the ambassadors of Abaka, who were present, and by their own request received baptism.

Unfortunately, however, this favourable attitude of the Ilkhans to Christianity subsided with the approaching decline of the empire. A defender of Islam appeared in the Sultan Rokn ed-din Bibars I. of Egypt, who resembled Saladin in his statesmanship and powers of organisation, and continued the religious war with, if possible, greater audacity and valour, certainly with more cunning, perfidy, and cruelty. He resisted with such constant success the inroads of the Mongols in Syria, by which they had already conquered Aleppo and Damascus, and pressed forward to Gaza, that the last hopes of the

THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN DEFENDING RHODES AGAINST THE TURKS

Though the days of the Crusades had passed away, the spirit of that great movement remained, and showed itself in the Brothers of St. John of the Hospital. On the south-west shores of Asia Minor they created, after 1306, a state of their own, of which the centre was Rhodes. That stronghold was subject to Ottoman attacks, and successfully resisted a great siege by the Turks from May till June, 1480; the knights surrendered only in 1522.

Christians vanished. In the respites granted to him by the Mongols, Bibars proceeded with deliberate plans and aims. He led eight campaigns (1261–1274) against the Christians, during which Cæsarea and Arsuf in 1265, Safed in 1266, Jaffa and Belfort in 1268, and soon afterwards Antioch, fell into his hands, and were terribly devastated. In 1271, after he had conquered a number of strong castles belonging to the military orders, among them the celebrated Castle Kurd belonging to the Knights of the Order of St. John, the remainder of the Frankish possessions fell like ripe fruit into the lap of his third successor, Saif ed-din Kalaun. For some time previously the Christians, having fully realised the impending destruction, had begun their retrogression to the west and Cyprus. Before setting out, they were hastily selling their goods or bequeathing them to the military orders, and rescuing documents and title deeds. On May 23rd, 1285, the castle of Margat, which belonged to the Hospitallers, and on April 26th, 1289, Tripolis, which had been weakened by civil strife, were both taken by the Egyptian who called himself Malik el-Mansur. Now only Acre, Athlith, Beirut, Haifa, Sidon, Tortosa, and Tyre remained to the Christians, when in April, 1291, Kalaun's son, Malik el-Aschraf Salah ed-din Khalil, advanced to Acre with a powerful army. Once more marvellous deeds of bravery were achieved under the influence of the old crusading spirit, till on May 18th an assault of extreme force led the infidels to their goal. Only a portion of the defenders escaped by sea; the majority of the inhabitants perished by the sword.

The last heroic resistance of the Templars in their castle was ended, ten days after the conquest of the town, by the undermining of the walls, which in their fall engulfed Christians and Mussulmans alike. That was the end. The last Christian possessions were either forsaken during the succeeding weeks by the inhabitants or given up after a short blockade. Thus the entire work of the Crusades was annihilated.

Even with the complete loss of Syria the crusading spirit by no means entirely disappeared. As it lived in the hearts of the pious, so it occupied the thoughts of politicians, aroused the lust of adventure in the knights, and inspired the phantasy of the poets. The fourteenth century witnessed many a hopeful aspiration to organise armed Crusades, and still more ambitious plans, among which the hope of an alliance with the Mongols, even if their conversion to Christianity was no longer possible, played an important part, while the enemy who had first to be conquered—namely, the Ottoman Turks—came more and more into prominence. But as their advance towards Europe diverted the struggle between West and East into another direction and compelled the West to fall back on a hardly maintained defensive position, so the spirit in which in the fourteenth century Crusades could be considered and planned was essentially transformed.

CATARINA, QUEEN OF CYPRUS
This picture of Catarina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus, is reproduced from the painting by Titian. She was the wife of the last King of Cyprus, James II., and abdicated her kingdom in favour of the Republic of Venice.

The papacy, which, immediately before and after the year 1291, under the unwelcome influence of the embassies from the East, had devised and set on foot many a fruitless effort to avert the fate of the kingdom which it had created, soon after realised that it had for ever lost the leading position which it had held when it had called into life and conducted the wars of the Cross. The œcumenical policy of the Church gives place to the development of national stability and territorial demarcation. While the First Crusade was distinguished by the effacement of natural differences and the unifying influence exercised on men's minds by the thought of the ruling Church, the later Crusades became more and more the enterprises of individual nations. Moreover in the fourteenth century a Crusade could no longer be regarded as an aim in itself, but rather as a means of effecting national and political designs and of expressing the adventurous spirit of individual classes belonging to the several nations, among which, early and late, the French nobility took a leading part. From its ranks were still drawn the outposts of western civilisation, the Frankish potentates in Greece, the lords of the Cypriote kingdom, and also the noblest members of the military orders; only Genoa and Venice maintained an interest equally strong, even if essentially different in character, in the relations of the West with Islam.

Thus all the plans which had been contrived for future Crusades in succession by Popes, by a Roman emperor, by able men of affairs such as the noble Venetian Marino Sanudo, or by deep thinkers such as the Frenchman Pierre Dubois, served in execution only the purpose of advancing the interests of the Venetian Republic or of the French knighthood. They do not belong to the history of the Crusades in its proper sense if one looks deeper than the name.

Much more does the history of Frankish Cyprus deserve to be treated as a sequel to the Crusades. Its kings, sprung from the house of Lusignan—though after 1267 only in the female line, while on the male side they belonged to the Antioch-Tripolitan princely race of Bohemond, and in reality therefore to the house of

Poitou—had, on account of their manifold claims to the inheritance by marriage, worn the crown of Jerusalem or held the regency in Palestine during the greater part of the thirteenth century. When crown and country were ultimately lost, many valuables which lay hidden in the land were brought over to Cyprus. Even before this the island, by constant intercourse with the West and with the Frankish colonies, had been richly sown with the seeds of culture, which now, when Cyprus had become practically the frontier of Catholic Christianity, yielded an abundant harvest.

Commercial towns, like the settlements of the military orders, found in Cyprus a new home. Famagusta became a second Acre. There, thanks to a vigorous intercourse carried on through the Syrian Christians, the papal prohibition of commerce, issued after the fall of Acre in the west but by no means inviolably kept, remained ineffectual, and the riches of the soil, increased by considerable agricultural industry and by an almost tropical climate, resulted in a very high level of cultivation, which almost exceeded that of the Syrians. Powerful rulers such as Hugo IV. (1324–1359) who helped the Hospitallers to win Smyrna, and Peter I. (1359–1369), who summoned an actual Crusade and from his own resources could provide means for a temporary conquest of Alexandria in 1365, maintained the small state at the height of its power. Decay approached first when the quarrel of the great maritime republics, which had already caused the destruction of the Syrian empire, made its influence felt here also. Genoa took possession of Famagusta in 1373, and her monopoly of the commerce of this great harbour crippled the industrial strength of the island, while the strife which resulted, continuing almost a century, was fatal to the political power of Cyprus. Her last king, James II. (1460–1473), by his marriage with Catarina Cornaro sought the protection of the Venetian Republic. Under its rule the power of Cyprus revived until August 1st, 1571, when, after an eleven months' siege, it fell into the hands of the Ottoman like the whole inheritance of the Crusades.

VENICE DOING HOMAGE TO CATARINA CORNARO, QUEEN OF CYPRUS

After the painting by Makart in the National Gallery of Berlin

The fate of Armenia was accomplished much earlier. In the second century of the Crusades the small Cilician state had become, like Cyprus, a kind of offshoot of the crusading movement, although it preserved its national individuality and the proud traditions of its arms and religion.

After the fall of Acre the harbour of Lajazzo — now Ajas, opposite Alexandrette—became for a long time equal to Famagusta as a centre of exchange between the East and the West, chiefly because intercourse with the Orient was unresisted there, and the province of the Mongols on the frontiers of Western Asia touched the shores of the Mediterranean at this spot, so that Lajazzo became the western entrance of an empire which extended over a greater part of the world. Meantime the enmity of the Ilkhans, who at first had been allies of the Ottomans, and especially of the

Mamelukes, quickly annihilated the military power of this small state which had originally been so great. As early as 1347 Lajazzo, which had already been plundered and laid waste more than once, fell a prey to the Egyptians, and the rest of the empire succumbed finally to an attack of the Mamelukes. The last ruler of a collateral branch of the Cyprian Lusignans, Leo VI., who had escaped from captivity in Cairo, lived till 1393 in Paris as a prince without a country, having assumed the extraordinary title King of Madrid.

A Prince Without a Country

It was reserved for the orders of knighthood to carry on the traditions of the Crusades up to the threshold of modern times; or, rather, if one disregards the numerous imitations of the three great orders, especially in the west, this honour was reserved to the only one of them which was able to continue its existence as a kind of civil organisation. By reason of their rich possessions in Syria the orders assumed supreme civil authority, especially the Order of St. John, which already exercised such rights in an almost unlimited measure on its chief castle, Margot, in North Syria. The activity of the Teutonic Order—whose chief castle was Montfort, near Acre—on Syrian ground had always been much more moderate; however, long before the loss of the Holy Land events had occurred which separated the fate of the order from that of Palestine, but made it appear the true heir of the crusading spirit and of the culture developed by the crusading movement.

On the other hand, the Order of Templars did not long survive the loss of Syria. Its capital was fixed till August 14th, 1291, at "The Pilgrim Castle," Athlith, south of Haifa; and at Limasol, on the island of Cyprus, for two decades after the fall of Acre. From here the order made several attacks on the infidels. But its central stronghold lay in the west; here its members, 20,000 in number, living in the 10,000 "Manors" of the order, led the existence of an all-powerful nobility, exceedingly wealthy in estates and treasures, but hated by clergy and laity alike on account of their arrogance and encroachments. With the disappearance of greater projects in the East their zeal for power made itself of necessity felt in the west. A state in embryo, like France, which was advancing towards greater consolidation and more modern organisation, and which included the chief possessions of the orders, was constrained to feel their mere existence as a thorn in its own flesh, and made strenuous efforts to extirpate this "imperium in imperio."

Power and Wealth of the Templars

The annual revenues of the orders, if calculated according to present value, would amount to fifty million francs, while the French crown demesnes at that time did not bring in more than two million. Philip IV. availed himself of the feebleness of Pope Clement V. and the widespread belief in the heresy of the Templars, which was strengthened by their lame defence in the course of the papal lawsuit which was carried on from 1307 to 1314 with all the devices and horrors of the Inquisition, and the abolition of the order was proclaimed on March 22nd, 1312. The burning of the Grand Master, James de Molay, at Paris formed the end. The lands belonging to the order in France and in some other states which followed Philip's example fell for the most part to the crown. The Hospitallers took possession of the remaining part of the property of the Templars, and to them also was transferred everything which had escaped the funeral-pile, the prison, or the cloister. Thus the "Brothers of St. John of the Hospital" remained sole heirs of the Crusades. Although they resembled the Templars in luxury and selfishness, and had by their constant and often bloody strife assisted in the downfall of the Syrian state, yet they showed at the beginning of the fourteenth century such great martial zeal against the Mamelukes, Seljuks and Ottomans that they escaped the danger of succumbing to the fate of the Templars. On the south-west shores of Asia Minor, principally on the islands off the coast, they created, after 1306, a state of their own, of which the centre, after 1310, was Rhodes. Here, like the Frankish-Italian provinces, they formed on the soil of ancient Hellas and the Cyclades a strong outpost of Christendom against the ever-threatening Ottoman force. They outlived the fall of Constantinople in 1453, victoriously resisted the celebrated siege of Rhodes by the Turks from May till June, 1480, and surrendered to them only on December 21st, 1522. After this, in 1527, they emigrated to Malta, whence they continued the fight against the infidels, in a less extensive way, for centuries.

The Sole Heirs of the Crusades

WHY THE CRUSADES FAILED

EUROPE'S GREAT DEBT TO THE HOLY WARS

THE task of the Crusades remains unaccomplished to the present day; any modern attempt would from similar reasons be as ineffectual. The plan of the united countries of Europe, which Pierre Dubois, a bold innovator and clever thinker, whose flight of ideas was far ahead of the political line of thought of his time, called into existence for the deliverance of Jerusalem did not come any nearer realisation than those of former times; and although it would be easy at the present time to take the birthplace of Christianity from the hands of the Turks, the mutual jealousy of the western states would make it difficult to establish a vigorous state there.

Men have puzzled and striven over the reasons why the Crusades failed, without earnestly considering if their aim could be achieved at the present time. But the difficulties with which a modern Christian state of Jerusalem would find itself confronted were present to a greater degree during those centuries. Men confine themselves to superficialities when they place the moral responsibility for the downfall of Christian Syria upon the strife between papacy and empire, between Greeks and Latins, Normans and Provençals, French and English, between the individual crusading states, Templars and Hospitallers, Genoese, and Venetians, or when they impute the whole blame to the selfishness and immorality of the Franks, and to their cynicism and lack of discipline. All these were facts which accompanied or resulted from the Crusades, and which could not be separated from the plan or accomplishment of the enterprise, just like the secularisation of the Holy Wars and their issues.

Crusaders' Strifes and Difficulties

It is just as superficial to argue that on account of the tremendous number of men sacrificed in the Crusades no permanent occupation of Syria from the West could take place. The solution of the problem is rather to be sought in the rivalry between the lofty religious ideals and enthusiasm of the West and the trivial interests of the Syrian miniature states. Just as the ardent religious emotions of the Crusaders themselves were often transformed in the Syrian harbours to worldly ambitions and sordid desires, so the crusading fever was ultimately extinguished among the dwellers in Palestine, to whom, as they enjoyed the wealth and luxury of a colonial culture, it seemed futile to undermine the foundation of this culture by continual strife and bloodshed with their nearest neighbours.

The Grave of Crusading Enthusiasm

How thoroughly Frankish and Moslem ideas were fused in Syria is shown even in the twelfth-century records of the Arabs, whose higher culture quickened their insight for such things—*e.g.*, the instructive memoirs of the Emir of Schaisar, Usama ibn-Mumkidh. In the thirteenth century also we find further proof in the works of such Christian writers as James de Vitry, William of Tripolis, Ricoldo da Monte Croce, and several others, who make more direct allusions to the relations with Islam. In daily life, however, these relations are more distinctly marked than in literary productions, which are always somewhat restricted to the official view of things. That might be said to be true of the narrow sphere in which people lived. Moreover, the hope, which was embodied in the great idea of the Crusades, of expanding the narrow boundaries and developing a fuller, freer life had vanished within a few decades, perhaps with the appearance of Genghis; and two generations after Bohemond and Godfrey restrictions were still further increased through the growing military and political consolidation of Islam.

Islam's Growing Power

Thus the warlike spirit, which had always been highly valued and cherished, together with chivalry and knighthood, were fettered in their powers of action, and even if these had become free they could not have succeeded here, where combination and unity were all-important, owing to the tendency of the mediæval world towards dismemberment. While at home the feudal system had arisen naturally from the existing social and economic conditions, it was established abroad on a soil totally unsuited to it with such an exactness and completeness that it weakened the central power as soon as the first strong impulses of the movement had somewhat relaxed. Thanks, not to the exertions of the West, but to the weakness of the East, this moribund condition lasted a whole century. For lasting services either in war or to the state, it showed itself unfit, and the efforts of the West to help its more and more endangered outposts came to naught.

The Holy Wars only Tragi-Comedies

From the Second Crusade onwards—the first expedition had achieved some results, although not proportionate to the effort expended—all the Holy Wars were nothing but great tragi-comedies, played on the stage of universal history. But the noblest emotions of the soul of the mediæval age, the utmost exertions of its energy and of its heroism, the radiant glories of chivalry, and the bright religious enthusiasm were nothing but brilliant fireworks, useless for the desired end. The time was not yet ripe for the solution of such problems.

But here is the essential point: that age was indeed capable of great aims and of inspired feelings, of heroic deeds also, if feelings and aims were enough to achieve these. And the equality of the masses, the uniformity of conditions, the want of individuality, made the expression of such feelings and aims on the part of the people as a whole more original, more impressive, more irresistible, than would be the case to-day. But what was wanting, and necessarily wanting to those times, was the well-thought-out combination and direction of the whole civilised world on a single aim. That the Middle Ages were a period of small states has been said in another connection; the forces of those centuries were confined and restricted. Where not arising out of the needs and sensibilities of the time, but transmitted as tradition from a richer and more all-embracing culture, higher ideas did indeed survive and act as guides to the aim of a world religion and a world monarchy; but apart from those offices which served as the bearers and preservers of such traditions—the papacy and the empire—there was wanting every effective inducement, if not for the comprehension, at least for the accomplishment of such great general tasks.

What the Crusades Lacked

The Crusades exemplify the unfailing characteristic of mediæval Europe; there were no combined political or military enterprises which were planned on a large scale, or which produced any lasting results. Such results were, as it were, only in passing, in the achievements of lucky adventurers, won half by good fortune. The seizure of Italian territory by the Normans and their conquest of England form an example. On the other hand, the German emperors, even under favourable circumstances and by the expenditure of great forces, were as little able to cope with Italy as with the internal problems of their own nation. The fate of the Crusades was that of the imperial expeditions to Rome; the plan on which they were based belonged to the recognised horizon of the *Orbis Romanus*, of the universal state, while, on the other hand, the means on which they depended for success belonged to a very much narrower conception. The reason for the failure of the Crusades is expressed in these words. A project, which pre-supposed the idea of a world state, and which could be carried out only by an absolute military monarchy, men wished to accomplish by means of an organisation which had dismembered the state and diminished its powers; they wished to lay hold of the political, social, and economic forces of the East, which rested on the foundations of an ancient civilisation by means of the Feudal system, which had its roots in much more simple economic and social conditions.

Failure of the Crusades Explained

That the First Crusade, almost alone of all, had any success, although a pitiable one, in view of the enormous external demonstration of power with which Europe began it, was simply owing to the fact that the predominant military power of the East, at that time the Seljuk monarchy, had been, like the West, disintegrated by feudalism. That was perfectly recognised on the Moslem side; when Imad ed-din Zenki began again to combine the forces of Islam, and with this aim immediately created a kind of standing army, he forbade his soldiers to acquire landed possessions; that is, he put a bar to the decay of military monarchy in great and small fiefs. Thus the powerful kingdom of the Atabegs was created, and only its re-dismemberment under Saladin's successors, the Ayubites, gave to the moderate momentary success of the Third Crusade an influence which lasted for another century. When an irresistible opponent to the Christians of Syria arose in the Mameluke state, then their end had indeed come. Unity was arrayed against disintegration, the state against the nobility. The work of the first Crusades was shattered through this contrast of the opposing outer forces, just as through the contrast of opposing cultures political and moral decay set in. That which remained over from the ferment of this period was the sole, but still a most important, contribution of the Crusades to the welfare of mankind.

The Crusades' Contribution to Mankind

In the domain of everyday and domestic life lie the most important points of contact of the two spheres of civilisation, hitherto sharply divided, which by means of the Crusades have had a beneficial influence on the West. But here it is necessary to make a limitation. The diffusion of Moslem, above all of Arabic, culture in European life has been produced by contact in other spheres than that of the Syrian coast-line, and has been there able to work more quietly, but more continuously, and therefore perhaps more permanently.

The role of mediation on the part of the Byzantine Empire has been already indicated, but quite apart from this, the Norman kingdom of Lower Italy—established on a Saracen basis, with the state of Frederic II. immediately succeeding it on the one hand, the Iberian Peninsula, with its interpretation of Arabic and Christian Roman ideas, extending over nearly 800 years, on the other—had even before the Crusades produced a mixed civilisation, which was continued to a certain extent for some time after their decay. Whether the Arabic civilising influence perceptible in the West came in any individual instance through Spain, Italy, Byzantium, or Syria, it is extremely difficult to prove, and in the review of the Oriental sources of our mediæval civilisation special care is therefore required on this very point of evidence of origin. In doubtful cases the Crusades have the presumption in their favour, because the points of contact were everywhere else very limited, and in any extension beyond these bounds could show but a limited effect—while the "Orient" of the Crusades for practically two centuries had exercised an almost unbounded influence over the West. Within these limitations, the European languages themselves show, by the unusual abundance of Oriental loan-words, what a mass of culture the West has received in these centuries from the Mohammedans. Only to mention a few, the words cotton, muslin, damask, baldachin (canopy), sofa, mattress, alcove, carafe (decanter), bazaar, barracks, magazine, arsenal, admiral, amulet, elixir, douane (customs), tariff, zechin, are cases of such Arabic loan-words. In the Romance languages they are particularly conspicuous.

Arabic Words in Modern Languages

To give another illustration, the Crusades have brought over to the West a knowledge of the Eastern animal world, and still more of many cultivated plants. The cultivation of the sugar cane, together with its name, and that of syrup, became known to the majority of Crusaders only on Syrian soil. And from the same source come the sesame lily, the carob tree (*Johannis brotbaum*), and saffron. Pistachio nuts and lemons still bear their Arabic names. Apricots were for a long time called "Plums of Damascus"; damsons are Damascenes; the little shallot onion is really the "ascalonette," the onion of Ascalon. And in the water-melon (*Citrullus vulgaris*; also called "Arbuse"), used to-day in Europe as an article of common food, came to Europe, if not from Syria, at all events through the Crusades; the Arabic name "pastèque" has reached France, the Greek name "anguria" is used in Italy.

The West's Debt to the East

Of plants which are of industrial importance, cotton, the name of which is in French "coton," in German "kattun," has an Arabic origin. It first came into more extensive use in Europe through Syrian commerce, and brought with it the Arabic invention of cotton paper, in place of the less convenient parchment. Of other clothing materials, atlas (satin) and samite (velvet) bear at least Byzantine names, brought over with the objects themselves at the time of the Crusades. We learned then for the first time to value and imitate the arts of carpet-weaving and embroidery. A knowledge of dyes and of dyeing materials came mostly from the East. Crimson and lilac are Arabic terms, as also azure and other shades of colour used in the escutcheons of the Crusaders. Very extensive were the changes in costume and clothing, the result of trade intercourse, and the necessity of adaptation to other climatic conditions. To confine oneself to philology, camelot, kaftan, burnous, even the old Bavarian "joppe," are Arabic words and objects.

The East as Teacher of the West

Besides many a new weapon and warlike ornament (target, chainmail, bow) we have also to thank the more luxurious East for the name and use of the slipper (pantoffel, pantoufle). From the East and Byzantium came, during the age of the Crusades, elegant fashions for ladies, objects for toilet use, and means for beautifying, such as rouge. Glass mirrors, instead of polished metal plates, were first known and valued in the East, and the use of vapour baths was first introduced from there. Such a striking innovation as the revived fashion of wearing the beard is the result of contact with the bearded sons of Mahomet. It was principally the sphere of luxury in which the closer intercourse with the East, and the increasing participation in its wealth, had permanent effect. A complete change in domestic and social life passed over the nobility and clergy, to be taken up soon afterwards by the most successful members of the new moneyed class—the citizens of the town.

Mention must also be made of the technical and industrial inventions which the youthful civilisation of Europe derived from old Asia, of the already mentioned changes in weapons of attack and defence, and with them of tactics, and of the enormous acquisitions to architecture, of plainer ecclesiastical buildings and more ambitious civil monuments. If we pass from such greater changes, which do not merely mark turning-points in the history of art, to the trivial and external, we shall hardly recognise customs which are everywhere in use to-day, such as the lighting of houses to express public joy, as borrowed from the Saracens, which they undoubtedly are. Ecclesiastical life itself bears witness to such enrichment from the East; the common use of the rose wreath in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries originates in an Oriental custom. Oriental myths found their way into literature, as in the "Squieres Tale" of Chaucer.

Effects of Eastern Luxury

The two crusading centuries coincide with the period in which the papacy, although often violently opposed, still, judged by the claims of the Gregorian system, in the main victorious, stands at the head of the western world. The Church of Rome as leader of the Holy Wars had at this time reached the summit of her power and of her universal supremacy, and while she subjected the minds of men to herself, she exercised at the same time an influence in temporal matters never seen before or since; the levying of the Crusade tithes is a very palpable proof of this influence.

Meanwhile, we have already seen, in our first review of the impressions made by the Crusaders on the West, why a secularist reaction of necessity immediately followed the overstraining of the Church's share in the Crusade idea. That lay primarily in the inner nature of things, in the necessity of moving purely worldly forces for the attainment of a sacred aim. The rest—also already estimated—was the result of closer contact with Islam and its confessors. In the twelfth century this contact had already been sufficiently close, as long as the forces on both sides were equally balanced. In the thirteenth century there resulted from it the permanent influence of a superior culture which had demonstrated its efficiency by political success.

Oriental Myths in Literature

It finally came to this, that a missionary like Ricoldo da Monte Croce held up the Mohammedans to his own fellow-Christians as models worthy of imitation with respect to moral seriousness and austerity of manners, religious faith, zeal for knowledge, sociability with strangers, and harmony among themselves; and so there remained but little of the zeal for warfare which was characteristic of the preaching of the crusading period.

Moreover, the accompanying alienation from a system which has made every spiritual emotion subject to the ecclesiastical conception, produced out of the gloomy fanaticism of the ascetic the spirit of a healthy secularism, which re-awakened or re-created chivalry, homage to women, joy of life, and love of song. Quite in the midst of a movement which the Church had created out of the spirit of religious repression, renunciation of the world, and the exercise of penance, there were forced on the minds of the Crusaders, through the mere extension of their intellectual horizon, the hitherto unsuspected greatness, wealth, and beauty of the wide world.

Half-way in this development from the self-tormenting renunciation of the world to the most decided acceptance of it there stands the spirit of chivalry born of the union of inspired ecstasy with the new secularism, a peculiar blending of fanatical devotion, of enthusiastic bravery, and of passionate love—all features which can be traced directly to the influences and impressions of the Crusades—to their ecclesiastical guiding ideas, as well as to their Virgin worship, a blending of enthusiasm and refined sensuousness, to the love of battle with its growing worldly impulses, and, not least, to the vision of a strange world of wonders.

Fruits of Crusading Chivalry

On the soil of the Crusades chivalry became the formative influence of the later centuries of the Middle Ages. It created a whole system of social regulations, of courtly customs, and of refined culture, in the centre of which stand, alongside the tournament, the love of romancing, and a hitherto unknown graceful homage to women. Not by chance is the first troubadour, Count William of Poitou, also the first Crusader poet who is known by name to us; the age has dawned when the theme of chivalric love rules the poetry of Provence as well as that of Germany, and, like the "Minnelied," the popular and court epic shows at every step traces of the East. But in this new social edifice which the Crusades erected as the consummation of mediæval culture there came forth unmistakably the special tendency of this period of perfection and transition to destroy its own creations. With unexpected rapidity the beautiful world of tournaments and love and song sank into decay.

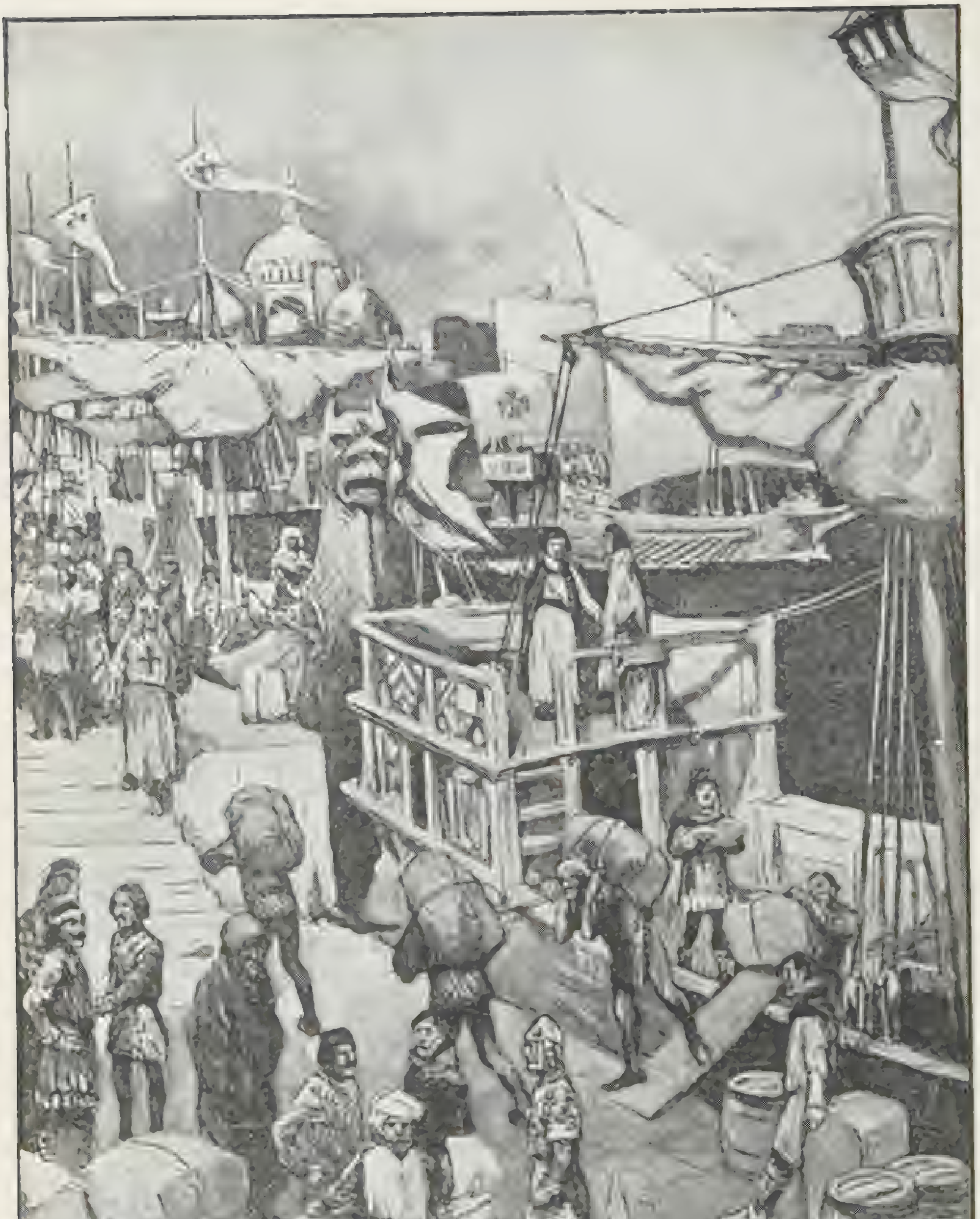
It would lead us too far to examine in detail the causes of its decay; there can, however, be no doubt of this, that the keen morning air, descending from the fields of action of the Crusades, blew so cuttingly on the dreamland of the Middle Ages, with its chivalric ideas, that it faded away and vanished for ever. New and far more permanent conditions of life in the Western world were created by the economic movement of the Crusades, which in its course elevated the hitherto lower ranks of labour, trade and commerce—in short, the middle class. When Europe entered on the Crusades, she stood for the greater part still in the agricultural stage, in that of the so-called natural economy, with its separate self-sufficing social units, devoting themselves to the production of all the necessities of life, without desire for interchange with other communities. In this primitive condition, which does not recognise labour and trade as distinct callings, and which had hardly need of commerce, the possession of land was the only source of power; its favoured possessors, the nobility and clergy, were the only cultured classes, and feudalism was the most suitable, if not the only possible form of government. This form of government was indeed brought from Syria, but the state which had been erected there on quite other foundations of a richer culture had also necessarily to fall to ruin. So much the more did the economic forms which we meet with on this old field of civilisation take root and thrive. Remains of the old financial system had been everywhere preserved in the West together with the original forms of barbaric culture, and the transition from the lower to the higher economic stage would have been also completed in the course of inner European development.

An Age of Limited Culture

In Italy, the country most nearly affected, which had, even before the Crusades proper experienced the blessing of international intercourse, this new spirit was first awakened, nourished from those springs which flowed towards it through the activity of the Syrian ports; Venice and Genoa, into whose lands Eastern trade, after driving back much Italian, French, and Spanish competition, gradually gathered itself, were the first to feel it, and soon became its pioneers across the as yet inhospitable Alpine passes, into the land of the Germanic barbarians. Then dawned the golden days of Augsburg, Nürnberg, Bourges, and Lübeck; the golden age of Upper German trade presupposes the changed routes of the Crusade period, just as Crusaders showed the way to Flemish and Hanseatic navigation.

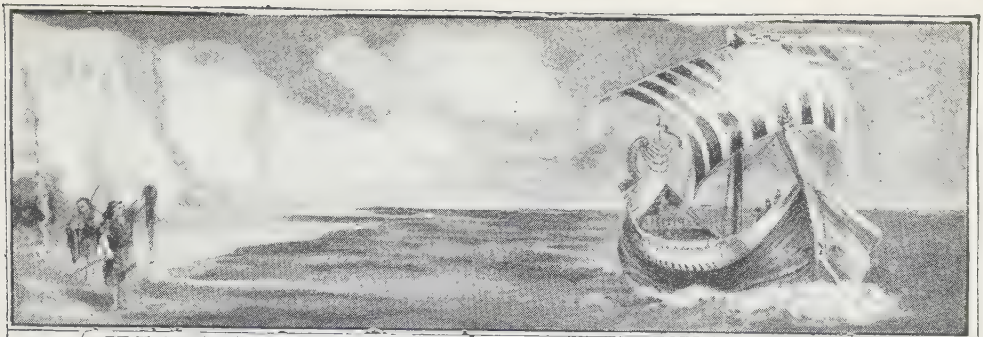
Dawn of Golden Days

CLEMENS KLEIN



THE PORT OF BYZANTIUM IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

From the original drawing by W. E. Wigfull



THE TRADE of the MIDDLE AGES

COMMERCIAL RIVALRY IN THE LEVANT

THE EFFECT OF THE CRUSADES ON COMMERCE

SINCE the beginnings of authentic history, since the times of the Phœnicians, Hellenes, Carthaginians and Italians, the Mediterranean Sea has been the scene of intercourse between races and of commercial activity more important and far-reaching in their effects than—at least in ancient times—have been witnessed by any other portion of the earth. Finally, the Romans united all the countries of the Mediterranean coast under their dominion; and when the economic and political downfall of the western empire took place, together with the development of a new Europe as a result of the migration of nations, the eastern empire still remained firm, maintaining both its dependencies and its civilisation, and renounced neither its commercial nor, theoretically, its political supremacy over the whole Mediterranean region. During the seventh century Mohammedanism forced its victorious way to the Mediterranean, and within a surprisingly short time gained dominion over the half of its coasts.

Where the Mohammedans Conquered

Thus three great spheres of civilisation came into contact on the shores of the sea which washes three continents: the Western Christian, or Latin, the Eastern Christian, or Byzantine, and the Mohammedan. Consequently a struggle for political and economic supremacy between the three great spheres of civilisation followed as a historical necessity. The victory was won by the Western Europeans, who of all competitors had the poorest outlook at the beginning of the contest. Before the Arabian conquests—that is to say, during the first half of the seventh century—the trade of the Mediterranean region still continued in the hands of the Eastern Romans. The Balkan peninsula as far north as the Danube, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, the northern coast of Africa to Mauretania, parts of Italy, and, until the year 631, a large portion of Spain, were all under the dominion of the Byzantine Empire. Trade, both foreign and domestic, was carried on by Greeks, Syrians, and Jews. Constantinople and Alexandria were the two great centres of commerce, although the cities of Syria, Asia Minor, Thessalonica, and Carthage continued to maintain a commercial activity that had been carried on from the earliest times.

The Great Centres of Commerce

Merchandise from India and China was brought to Byzantium viâ the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and various overland routes that passed through the interior of Asia. Byzantium was thus a centre of the carrying trade between east and west, the possession of which has ever been a token of control of the world's traffic. Another branch of Byzantine commerce was the domestic industry of silk-weaving. The Byzantine gold coinage, the gold "solidus" of Constantine—worth about twelve shillings and sixpence, in later times called the "byzantine," or bezant—became almost a universal standard of value; even Byzantine silver currency was accepted by foreign merchants so long as it maintained its face value. The commercial supremacy of the Eastern Romans passed away with the Arab conquests. Egypt and Syria, commercially the most active of all the Byzantine provinces, were the first to fall into the power of the caliphate; the coast lands of Northern Africa followed somewhat later—Carthage, rebuilt by the Romans, being again destroyed, and Tunis taking its place—and the more important islands of the Eastern Mediterranean. In the year 827 the Saracens occupied Sicily and Southern Italy, and this also was at the cost of the Roman Empire. It is true that the attacks of the Arabs upon Constantinople were met by a stout resistance on the part of the Byzantines; the capital and the continued control of the Mediterranean trade were rescued by the use of Greek fire; but the empire, hard pressed by Slavs and Bulgarians, and at the same time constantly diminishing in extent in Europe as well as in Asia, lost its position as the leading power of the world during this period of uninterrupted affliction and embarrassment.

Blows to the Roman Empire

The caliphate, however, which first had to carry on devastating wars against united Europe in arms and later became organised as a power, did not gain the supremacy which Byzantium lost, for the new European nations gradually absorbed eastern wealth and power. Since the ninth century there had been an increasing number of foreign commercial depots in Constantinople and settlements of merchants, attracted or kept by the trade of the Golden Horn. As the Byzantines no longer journeyed to foreign lands the foreigners came to them. The active trade of Constantinople became a passive one; its entire life was derived from foreigners.

There was even a Mohammedan immigration to Byzantium, where finally a mosque was built for them; here, as in Alexandria and in Antioch, the spirit of trade was more powerful than religious differences. The Red Sea having lost its importance for the Indian trade, to which the choking up of the old canal of Rameses may have in part contributed, the most important commercial route from India to the west was by the Persian Gulf and overland through the domains of the caliphate; even the Central Asian commercial routes passed through Mohammedan territory before they reached their goal at the Caspian and Black Seas. Since Constantinople was now the centre for traffic in the spices and other merchandise of South-eastern Asia, the peoples of Western Europe were compelled to journey thither, for they did not care to dispense with these products, and at that time trade with the Levant could be more conveniently carried on through Constantinople than by any other route.

Commercial Route to India

Thus a period of maritime and commercial expansion dawned for the peoples of Europe when Byzantium lost its former spirit of enterprise under the pressure of unfavourable circumstances. The tendency of this earliest commercial development of the young nations of Western Europe was towards the east—the same direction as that taken by the colonising expeditions of the Teutonic race from the time of the Carlovingian dynasty.

The first cities to enter into trade with the Eastern Roman seaports were the Italian towns which at least nominally recognised the sovereignty of the Byzantine emperor. Indeed, almost all communities that were neither under the rule of the Lombards nor of the Saracens stood in a like relation of partial dependence to the Eastern Roman Empire. Besides Bari, Brindisi, Taranto, Salermo, Naples, and Gaeta, Amalfi and Venice belonged especially to this class. Amalfi, which at least as early as the tenth century maintained relations with the Mohammedan countries of the East, with Egypt and Syria, imported Greek wares, and was even able to maintain its economic position after its conquest in 1073 by the Normans under Robert Guiscard, the sworn enemy of the Byzantines. Its fall as a commercial power was brought about by the rivalry of Pisa, which in 1135-1137 attacked and conquered it.

When Pisa Rose in Power

More fortunate than Amalfi, Venice soon rose to the position of mistress of Mediterranean commerce. The city on the lagoons also recognised the suzerainty of the Eastern emperor, and consequently obtained for her citizens the right to settle in Constantinople. In spite of religious differences, ever since the ninth century Venice also had been engaged in active trade with the cities of Egypt and Syria. The prosperity of Venice was due primarily to her favourable geographical situation, and this advantage remained to her so long as the Mediterranean continued to be the centre of the world's commerce. The Venice of the Middle Ages controlled an exceptionally extensive sphere of distribution. Situated at the northern end of the Adriatic Sea, the city was within a short journey of the Alpine passes; the rich plain of the Po lay behind it, the western coast of the Balkan peninsula and the approaches to the lands of the Save and the Danube before it. The two political parties of the city, the Byzantine and the Italian, represented two complementary commercial interests—the importation of commodities from the East and the exportation of merchandise into the various neighbouring regions of consumption. Moreover, both the eastern and the western empire courted the favour of Venice, which adroitly balanced between them; and thus at an early age the Venetians obtained the right of unrestricted trade with both.

When the Byzantines lost Southern Italy to the Normans they showered favours upon Venice, nominally subject but practically independent, in order to win her alliance. In fact, the constant grasping for territory of the Normans threatened the Venetians also, and they had defeated Robert Guiscard at Durazzo in Albania; the Emperor Alexius I. (Comnenus) granted them the right of commerce, duty free, with the whole of the eastern empire in 1082. In former days the Venetians had been compelled to pay two solidi on the entrance of every ship into port, and fifteen on its departure. From this time forth their position in regard to commercial trading with the East was the more enviable one of the "most-favoured nation."

PERSIAN AMBASSADORS BEFORE THE DOGE AND THE COUNCIL OF VENICE

The Venice of the Middle Ages rose to the proud position of mistress of Mediterranean commerce and controlled an extensive sphere of distribution. Both the eastern and the western empires courted her favour, and in the above illustration we see Persian ambassadors and merchants discussing matters of business with the Doge and the Council.

From the painting by Caliari Veronese

By the time when Venice gained this predominance at the Golden Horn, Pisa and Genoa had reached a commanding position in the western end of the Mediterranean; inasmuch as the decline of the caliphate at Bagdad had caused a general weakening of Islam, the seaports of Western Italy had been able not only to clear Sardinia of the Saracens, but also to extend their power over several strongholds on the northern coast of Africa. Just as the Venetians in Greece, the citizens of Pisa obtained freedom from all customs duties in the empire of the Zeirites. In the

Effect of the Crusades on Commerce

meanwhile, the Norman conquest of Southern Italy and Sicily had begun. The Pisans and Genoese also took part in this struggle, for it was clearly to their interest that the way to the East should be rendered open and secure. As Wilhelm Heyd says in his history of Levantine commerce, "The maritime traffic between Spain, Southern France, and Western Italy on the one hand, the Levant and Northern Africa on the other, equally affected Sicily midway between . . . where the letters patent of the Norman kings promised a cordial reception to merchants, and consuls of their own nation, or, at least, fellow-countrymen settled there, gave them every assistance." Thus Pisans and Genoese journeyed to Egypt and Syria even before the time of the Crusades, and also convoyed pilgrims to the Holy Land, which had become very difficult of access ever since the rise of the Seljuk dynasty.

The Crusades led to a complete transformation in the commercial relations with the Levant. Of the tremendous, and for the most part wasted, power expended by the nations of Western Europe in order to become and to remain masters of the Holy Land, at least a certain portion profited the maritime provinces, whose centre of gravity had for centuries been inclined toward the east. After the establishment of the first crusading states, the kingdom of Jerusalem, with its dependent principalities of Edessa, Antioch, and Tripolis (1097–1100), a new field of activity was opened up to Italians, Provençals, and Catalonians. Above all, an opportunity was offered them for crossing the boundaries of Asia, under the protection of western laws and institutions.

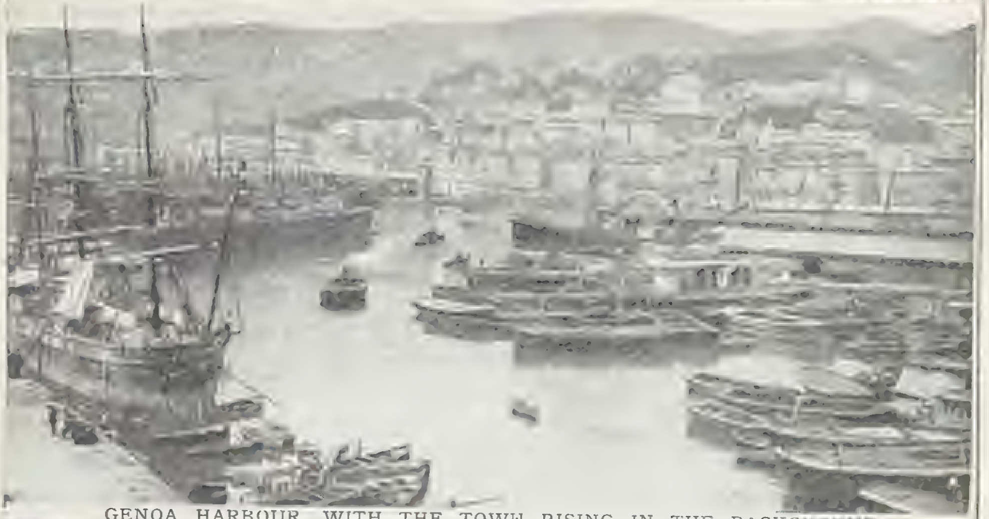
The Good Fortune of Europeans

There was also the possibility of winning new privileges, for the Franks or Latins required a constant traffic with the East, and, therefore, could not dispense with the services of the navigators of Southern Europe, whom they employed in transporting not only merchandise but men. Soon they acquired the possession of entire streets and quarters in the cities of the Crusaders, and also of land, upon which the Syrian peasants were compelled to labour as serfs. These Southern Europeans were also free from taxes—indeed, they often obtained for themselves a portion of the duties collected. The local authorities were not appointed by the king, but by the mother city. Trade was not difficult, for the coveted luxuries and spices of the tropics were transported by the Arabs to the western extremity of Asia viâ the old commercial routes, without the assistance of Europeans. Nor would it have been advisable for Christian merchants to set foot on the desert trails or the pilgrim roads of Mohammedan Asia. The dangers of traffic by sea between South-western Europe and the Levant were lessened by the use of convoys, which twice a year brought cargoes of European merchandise of metal and wood, arms and cloth, returning with a freight of silk, glass, cotton, sugar, and spices from the East.

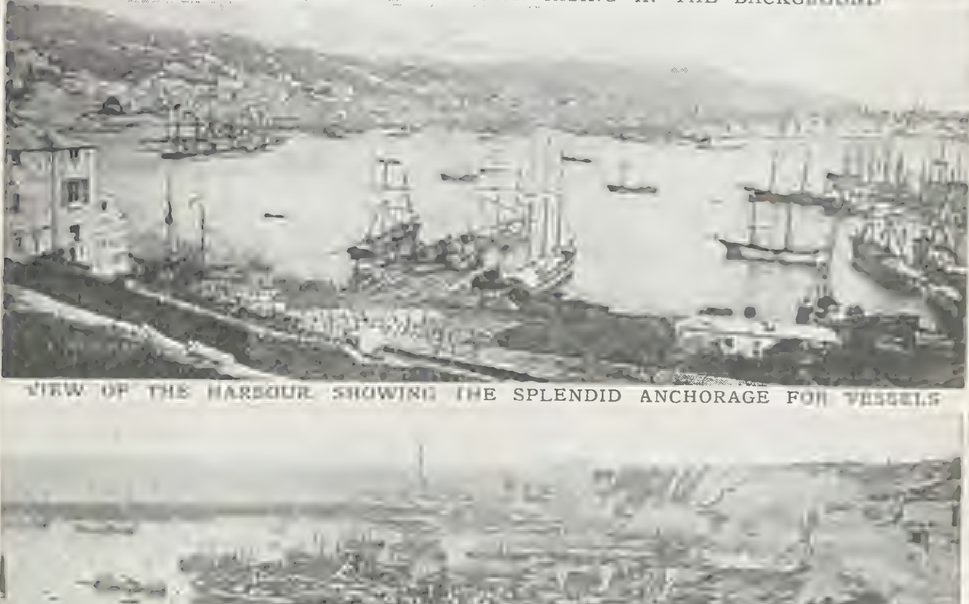
The Greek Empire in Danger

When the kingdom of Jerusalem fell, in 1187, to rise again nominally in 1229, the Western Europeans lost their Syrian possessions, together with all the feudal rights appertaining to them. However, a few seaports remained in their hands until the end of the thirteenth century, and more than this was not needed by the Frankish merchants in order to maintain their commercial connections. Even after the evacuation of Acre, in 1291, and of Tyre and Sidon in 1295, direct traffic between Europe and Syria was not entirely suspended. In the meanwhile, Western Europe was amply compensated elsewhere for what had been lost in Syria. After the arrival of the first army of Crusaders in Constantinople, in 1096, the policy of the Greeks had become unfavourable to the western nations. In fact, the sword of destruction was suspended over the Greek Empire. Each Crusade that passed through its territory threatened its existence, and the Normans of Southern Italy were still busied with their old schemes of conquest.

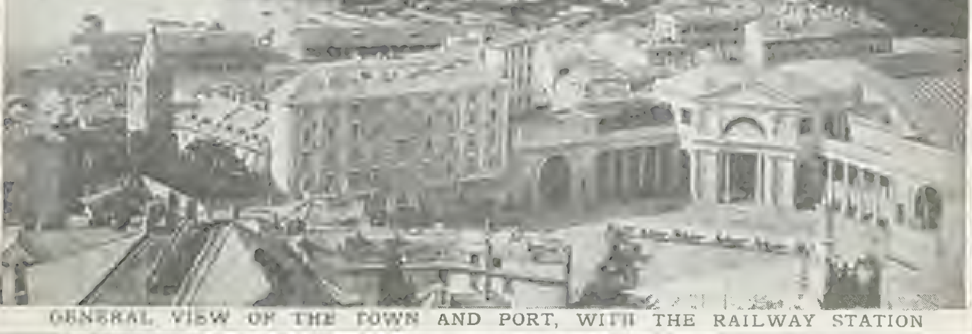
In order to divide their enemies, the Byzantines continued to shower privileges upon the Italians, granting to all the same favoured position that up to this time had been enjoyed by the Venetians alone. However, this action of the Eastern Roman Government was not at all in harmony with the spirit of hostility to foreigners shown by the populace. They had just cause of complaint against the Latins, and especially against the Venetians, who had robbed them not only of their foreign trade, but of a considerable part of their domestic traffic, who paid no customs duties, and who showed plainly enough the pride of mastery felt by a rising, active race towards



GENOA HARBOUR, WITH THE TOWN RISING IN THE BACKGROUND



VIEW OF THE HARBOUR SHOWING THE SPLENDID ANCHORAGE FOR VESSELS



GENERAL VIEW OF THE TOWN AND PORT, WITH THE RAILWAY STATION

VIEWS OF THE GREAT COMMERCIAL PORT OF GENOA a decaying people that would not attribute the results of its inactivity to itself but to the influence of the foreigners. The reaction against the ascendancy of the hated intruders made itself felt in a treacherous manner. In 1171 the Greek emperor, Manuel I., was compelled by the pressure of public opinion to issue a secret order in accordance with which all the Venetians in the empire were imprisoned, and their possessions seized. Venice answered this demonstration of hostility by entering into an alliance with the Normans, with the result that the Byzantines immediately endeavoured to make peace again.

Terrible Fate of the Latins

Soon, however, a still heavier blow was dealt, this time not only to the Venetians but to all the Latins. It was an act of national revenge similar to that once executed by the oppressed Asiatics upon the Romans in the days of Mithradates the Great. In consequence of a mandate issued by the Emperor Andronicus I. in 1182, all the Latins in the empire were suddenly attacked and either massacred or sold as slaves. Nothing could now save the Byzantines from the vengeance of Western Europe, although, after the overthrow of Andronicus, the Emperor Isaac Angelus indemnified the Pisans and Venetians so far as was possible, and restored to them their former rights and privileges. None of the weak Byzantine governments were in a position to offer any surety that atrocities such as those of 1171 and 1182 would not be repeated. However, common action against the Greeks was prevented by the rivalry of the Italian maritime states; single cities were powerless to deal out any effectual punishment to the great and still financially powerful eastern empire.

MARCO POLO

He was only fifteen when he set out from Venice to walk to China with his father and uncle; he grew up at the court of Kublai Khan, and rose to honour and wealth.

When, owing to the sudden death of the brilliant Hohenstauffen emperor, Henry VI., in 1197, the danger that had long threatened the Eastern Roman Empire from Southern Italy was averted, the Venetians, and they alone, had an opportunity both for revenge and for the attainment of future security. Doge Enrico Dandolo, powerfully aided by fortune, succeeded in directing the Fourth Crusade, in 1202, against Constantinople. Almost the entire Byzantine Empire fell a prey to the victorious Latins, and Count Baldwin of Flanders and Hainault ascended the throne of the "Latin Empire," which existed from 1204 to 1261. At the division of the Greek Empire three-eighths fell to the share of the Venetians, an amount equal to that granted to the new emperor. They retained possession of their share even after the fall of the "Latin Empire." The land consisted of strips of coast and islands, widely separated from one another, it is true, but capable of yielding great profit. Now for the first time the Venetians established themselves in the lands about the Black Sea and absorbed them all into their economic sphere of influence. The mediæval expansion of the Western Europeans over the Levant attained to its greatest extent when the Greek Empire was re-established with the assistance of the Genoese in 1261. The rivalry between the Ligurian and Adriatic capitals led to a healthy competition which was by no means detrimental to the policy of self-preservation pursued by the Byzantines.

During the second half of the thirteenth century the Genoese penetrated farther into Asia than any Western European merchants before them. A region of colonies such as had existed in Hellenic times arose about the Black Sea, of which the chief towns were Kaffa, or Feodosia, and Tana, or Azov. From this district the Black-Sea-China commercial highway extended through Turkestan and Dzoungaria to the Pacific coast. Missionaries and merchants brought to the West fabulous stories of the wonders of Nature and the civilisation of the Farthest East. As a rule, however, these tales had no effect except upon western imagination; fully another century and a half were to pass before imagination became transformed into action, and the apparently fruitless undertakings of casual adventurers were to awaken once more in the glorious discoveries of the Age of Conquest.

Discoveries of the Age of Conquest

The journeys of Marco Polo (1271—1295), who may be taken as a representative Asiatic explorer of the time, would not have been practicable had it not been for the existence of one of the greatest kingdoms of conquest known to history—the

Mongolian Empire, founded by Genghis Khan in the first half of the thirteenth century, about 1220. During the years 1240—1242 hordes of Mongolians encroached on the borders of the Western European sphere of civilisation, and for two centuries a large portion of Russia was ruled by Asiatic conquerors. Although during early times the East had repeatedly advanced against the West, such attacks had always had their origin in the power of expansion of races related to the Mediterranean peoples, Semites or Eastern Aryans. But with the advance of the Huns a period of repeated inroads of Mongolian races—Avars, Bulgarians, Magyars, Seljuks, and Ottomans—began, which threatened and indeed narrowed the territories of the stationary Indo-Germanic peoples quite as much as the great Arabic Berber invasions of the eighth and ninth centuries had done to the southern or Mediterranean region.

Turkish Gains in the Levant

When, in 1368, the native Ming dynasty again closed China—which had just been freed from the Mongols—to western immigration, the Ottoman Turks had already crossed the Hellespont and taken possession of Gallipolis in 1357. This was the turning-point in the history of Southern European dominion and commerce in the Levant. Each square mile of ground conquered and occupied by the Turks was from all points of view irrevocably lost to the Christian nations of the West. However, Constantinople and the Black Sea region still remained to them. The Mongolians again advanced, destroyed the army of the Turks, and thus procured a respite of half a century for the Eastern Roman Empire. After the second Mongol storm had abated, in 1405, the Turks returned, reconquered the Balkan countries, and finally turned their arms against Constantinople. The fall of this city in 1453 marks not only the end of the Byzantine Empire, but also that of Western European dominion in the Levant. The Genoese abandoned their colonies on the Black Sea in 1475. After this date Italian merchants were still to be seen in the Turkish Levant, but they became more and more isolated and unprotected and possessed of fewer rights. The Ottoman Turk locked up the Bosphorus and put the key into his pocket.

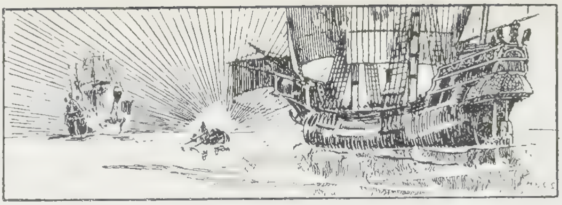
After the fall of the eastern empire the Venetians still possessed considerable remains of the plunder they had secured at the time of the Crusade of 1204. Many years were yet to pass before the Turkish sultans succeeded in wresting from them all their islands and strips of coast; even after the Morea was taken from Venice at the Peace of Passarowitz in 1718 she still retained the Ionian Islands and the Dalmatian-Istrian coast.

New Ocean Route to the East Indies

After the Crusades, Alexandria had once more become the chief centre of Indo-European commerce; Cairo also, with its dense population and bazaars, offered many inducements to European merchants. However much they had to suffer from the fanatical hatred of the Mohammedans for foreigners, as well as from the thieving government of pashas, their gains in trade acted as balm to all the ill-usage they received. They defied the papal prohibition to furnish munitions of war to the unbelievers, and soothed their consciences by the purchase of indulgences. But even before the Turks came to Egypt another event of note in the world's history had already begun to cast its shadow over the commerce of the Levant. This was the discovery by the Portuguese of an ocean route to the East Indies in 1498. The spice trade of Venice decreased with ominous rapidity; indeed, it had never been anything better than traffic at second or third hand. Lisbon now received merchandise directly from the places of production and became the first spice market of Europe.

At about the same time that the Portuguese depleted the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, Damascus, Alexandria, and Cairo fell into the hands of the Ottoman sultan (1517–1518)—a concurrence of events that ruined the commerce of Egypt, and greatly injured Mediterranean trade in general. The Mediterranean became more and more a rather dangerous cul de sac, with a considerable coasting trade, it is true, but one that lacked continental importance; in fact, the former centre of the maritime commerce of the world became transformed into a permanent theatre of war, where Mohammedan East and Christian West were constantly fighting their battles. Just as it had been during the heyday of mismanagement by the Roman Republic, the Mediterranean now became once more a scene of uninterrupted piracy; nor did this state of affairs cease until the conquest of Algiers by the French in 1830.

The Pirates of the Mediterranean



BEGINNINGS OF WESTERN COMMERCE

AND ENGLAND'S FOREIGN TRADE RELATIONS

Genoese Traders in England

THE inland seas of Northern Europe are separated from the Mediterranean by the entire width of the continent, gradually diminishing in extent toward the West. Just as in the pre-Christian period, so in the following thirteen centuries communication and traffic were carried on between the northern and southern coasts of Europe chiefly by means of overland routes. The way by sea around Spain—dreaded alike by Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans—was still avoided. Not until the year 1317 did Venetian and Genoese mariners begin to make regular voyages to the coasts of England and Holland, and even then they occasioned no injury to the traffic of the overland routes.

Already at that time a sharply defined intermediate zone of commerce and communication had come into existence, consisting of the central countries of Western Europe at a distance from the Mediterranean: Upper Germany, the Rhenish provinces, what is now Belgium (Flanders and Brabant), and North-eastern France. These central regions, with their large resources, their dense populations, already divided on an orderly social system, and their far-reaching lines of communication, held the commerce of Europe fast to its old continental routes and stations.

The Sources of Italian Supremacy

If the commercial position of Italy was founded upon the idea of world commerce—that is to say, the importation of the natural products of the tropics—into lands of a more temperate zone, her supreme position in the European markets was also due to her own subtropical products, and even more so to her industrial activity, which rested upon Byzantine-Oriental foundations. To a still greater extent the economic importance and prosperity of the central countries of Europe depended on manufacture and exchange rather than on the production of raw materials. On the other hand, the region surrounding the inland seas of Northern Europe was of the greatest importance to the trade in natural products obtained from all countries whose rivers flowed into the North Sea and the Baltic.

German Traders No Heroes

Moreover, by reason of its inferior culture, this region formed a natural area of consumption for wares manufactured by the more developed peoples of the south, and for the luxuries of other zones which passed through so many hands on their journey to the north. Such countries, rich in natural resources but poor in civilisation, require a commercial, in fact, a general economic guardianship until they have attained their economic majority. Geographical situation and an advanced state of development in municipal affairs caused the Low Germans of Germany proper and of the colonial regions to the east of the Elbe to take upon their shoulders the economic guardianship of the Germanic, Letto-Slavic, or Finnic, races of the north and east of Europe as an unavoidable historical necessity. The fact that these isolated, loosely united city communities, left by the emperor and the empire to their own devices, and torn by the feuds of the nobility, were able to undertake such a task was due to the influence of the German Hansa. Nevertheless, the story of the Hanseatic League seldom furnishes us with a cause for indulging in that enthusiasm which, according to Goethe, is the best thing we get from history.

Certain bourgeois romanticists with republican tendencies have not only enveloped the Hansa in a deceptive lustre, but have applied to it terms that, like the set phrases of epics, have been repeated over and over again in works intended to popularise history. Some of these regularly recurrent expressions, such as "grand" and "noble," are, perhaps, the least applicable that could be found in the whole language, if the general policy and activity of the Hansa are to be characterised by them.

Where the Vikings Sailed to

The connected history of the northern seas, and, in part, that of the lands whose shores are washed by their waters, begins with the expeditions of the Vikings, about 750–1050. It is well known that the Scandinavian freebooters were also discoverers, colonisers, and founders of empires. Their uncontrollable activity and their dread of the feudal service, which the rising monarchy sought to impose upon them, led them to venture into seas unknown to the average mariner of the Middle Ages. They occupied the Faroe Islands and Iceland, discovered and colonised Greenland, where their settlements remained until the beginning of the fifteenth century, and finally sailed along the eastern coast of North America as far south as Florida, without, however, establishing any permanent settlements. In the northern home of the Vikings, practically unknown to Europe until modern times, Old Icelandic, the language of the Eddas, developed from the primitive Norse tongue. The Old Norwegian spread from Norway over the Faroes, Hebrides, Orkney and Shetland Islands and the North of Scotland, extending as far as the Isle of Man and Ireland, where it was preserved until the fourteenth century, and on the Orkney and Shetland Islands even as late as the close of the eighteenth century.

The Danish, on the other hand, which had been introduced into Eastern and Southern England during the ninth century, had already disappeared in the eleventh; and the native speech of the Normans who settled on the Lower Seine had been replaced entirely by French about the year 1000. In like manner, Old Swedish, introduced into Russia at the end of the ninth century, continued its existence there only until the beginning of the eleventh. That the Scandinavians, relatively few in number, should, together with their language and customs, be absorbed into the more powerful and highly civilised stationary populations of the wide areas of northern colonisation, was of itself a proof that reinforcements were ceasing to arrive from the mother country, and that the migration of the Northmen was gradually coming to an end.

In the economically undeveloped countries from which the Normans had once emigrated, or in which they had settled, commercial representatives of distant nations of higher culture discovered a sphere of trade the possession of which could not be disputed, at least with any prospect of success, by the native inhabitants.

The Germans as Leaders of Commerce

The regions into which the Vikings had penetrated and the thinly populated lands of the Scandinavians were destined for centuries to commercial subjection. This condition applied to Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, and to a certain extent to the British Isles. That the Low Germans were to swing the staff of Mercury as a sceptre over the North of Europe was a matter that during the critical period—that is, in the eleventh century, at the end of the Viking Age—still hung in the balance. The deciding factors through which mercantile leadership was assured to Germany first made their appearance in the twelfth century; during the eleventh the only point in favour of the Germans was the fact that no other European nation was as yet sufficiently mature to undertake the position of leader in the northern sphere of commerce.

Cologne Merchants in London

England was the first northern country of Europe with which the Germans entered into an over-sea mercantile relationship. A statute of the reign of Ethelred the Unready enumerated the taxes paid by German merchants in return for the privilege of participating in the London market. Documentary evidence of the existence of an association of Cologne merchants in London has come down to us from the twelfth century. King Henry II. took these traders under his protection, nor did it matter in what part of the country they settled; in other documents their wine trade is spoken of on the same footing with the French, and their London house is mentioned. Richard I., on his return to England by way of Cologne after his imprisonment, granted freedom from customs and taxes, as well as the privilege of trading in English markets, to the Cologne merchants. Whether other Rhenish and Westphalian towns shared the rights of the Cologne Hansa, and to what extent, is not known to a certainty. At all events the merchants of Cologne, in later times, when a joint association of German tradesmen had been formed in

England, had their peculiar rights and privileges confirmed by the English kings; the special aims and endeavours of Cologne made their appearance again and again, even after it had become a member of the common German Hansa.

Why England's Kings Favoured Alien Traders

The policy of the Plantagenet kings was favourable to foreign merchants. Inasmuch as the one point of view from which rulers of the Middle Ages looked upon commerce was that of their own profit, it was quite natural that the English Henrys and Edwards should make use of foreign traders as objects of taxation and sources of revenue; and during the fourteenth century alien merchants were useful to the kings as money-lenders.

The English barons and large landed proprietors, who were the only possessors of power in addition to the then practically unlimited monarchy, also showed a decided preference for foreign as opposed to native merchants. If the policy of the English towns, in which, as on the Continent, the government was in the hands of mercantile corporations of the guild type, had for its aim the exclusion of foreigners, indispensable as they were to both import and export trade, from domestic commerce, or, in other words, to prevent the loss of their monopoly of the inland trade in England, the English nobility were of the opinion that the domestic middleman paid them too little for the products of their estates and charged them too much for foreign luxuries. In order, therefore, that they might sell dearer and buy cheaper without the intervention of the middleman, the landed proprietors favoured the granting of full commercial rights to foreigners within the kingdom.

London's League of Merchants

The granting of privileges to groups of foreign merchants—usually called by the names of their native cities—became more and more frequent during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and of these privileges the most valued was permission to trade in all parts of the kingdom with whomsoever one desired. Even before commercial relationships had been established between England and the northeast of Germany, the foreign merchant in England was already possessed of rights and privileges that in the course of time had come to be looked upon as indisputable. The Cologne Hansa, with its limited or local character, was during the thirteenth century outstripped by a commercial association that later became of great importance to the Germans as a model; this was the London Hansa of Flemish and Northern French towns. These were the same cities that had also appeared as a chartered association at the fairs of Champagne and Brie, the greatest markets existing at the time; there was, in fact, no difference whatever between the London Hansa and the "Hansa of the Seventeen Cities" known to the French fairs. The London League was by no means a mere association of Flemish merchants who traded in England; that is, it was no guild, or Hansa, in the limited sense of the term, but a union of cities whose merchants carried on trade in foreign countries.

England's Chief Export

The cities of Flanders and Northern France were dependent chiefly upon the manufacture and sale of cloth. For many years—since the tenth and eleventh centuries—they had obtained a large portion of their raw material from England, whose green valleys were eminently suitable for the raising of livestock, and sheep in particular, and whose damp climate brought the wool to an unusual degree of fineness. Wool had long been the chief article of export from England, and was certainly of far greater importance to the Flemings than the British copper, lead, and tin sought by the ancients and possessing an interest also for the German metal industries. The manufactured wool was exported by the Flemish-French towns back to England and elsewhere in the shape of finely dyed and finished cloth; England could produce little more than rough homespun during the Middle Ages, nor did she attain complete independence in this branch of manufacture until the sixteenth century, under the Tudors. Common interests of such importance soon caused the cities of France and Flanders engaged in the wool and cloth trade to set aside their rivalries and to form an association for mutual protection.

However, this association pursued other objects characteristic of its purely mercantile and undemocratic nature. In accordance with mutual agreements, the true producers of the cloth, the craftsmen, were excluded from the right of purchasing wool as well as from that of selling the finished product; thus the merchants were to retain all the profit, not only from the domestic but also from the foreign industries. The capitalists naturally looked with contempt upon the man who lived by the labour of his dye-stained hands. Only such men as had ceased to ply their trade as craftsmen for the space of a year and a day were eligible to the position of magistrate in their native villages, and later to the right of purchasing a membership in the Hansa. The purchase-money amounted to thirty shillings and threepence; on the other hand, the son of a member of the league had to pay but five shillings and threepence. The Flemish Hansa in London, which flourished during the thirteenth century, was not so much injured in after years by the German Hansa, modelled after it, as by the English Staple Guild and the Company of Merchant Adventurers that sought to make the trade in cloth and wool national and to wrest it from the hands of the foreigners.

Another type of mercantile association, which as early as the twelfth century had begun to extend its influence over the central and northern nations of the continent, developed in the South of Europe.

Germany's Exclusion From Commerce

Ever since the time of the Crusades the stream of Indian, Levantine, and Italian commodities that flowed from South to North had been growing wider and wider. Before the time of the Crusades a byway of the Oriental trade had passed through Russia to the Baltic Sea, and extended west as far as England. Moreover, during these earlier times products of foreign zones also reached the North from Southern France. Germany was then practically untouched by the routes of the world's commerce, for this was the period of a quadrangle of routes—unfortunate for Germany—the Mediterranean, French, Baltic-North Sea, and Russian. Germany suffered severely because of her unfavourable situation in respect to the routes of the world's commerce until well into the twelfth century.

There can be no doubt that it is right to ascribe the economic backwardness of Germany, her long continuance as a country of agriculture and raw products, and her late transition to modern trade conditions to the fact that she was so long excluded from a share in the world's commerce. But during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a rapid change set in. The products of the south that had been accumulating in the Italian markets sought the shortest and least dangerous route to the markets of Central and Northern Europe, and found it in the overland route through Germany. Once more there was an accumulation of goods in the Flemish towns and at the French fairs, and not till then was there an unrestricted and general distribution.

Where the Italians Led Europe

Like the ancient world, the world of the Middle Ages paid the balance of its account with the merchants of the tropics in gold. It was due to the ingenuity of the Italians that this balance diminished in ratio to the total of exchange until in the fifteenth century the produce of European, and after the sixteenth century that of American, mines rendered the flowing of precious metals into the tropics, whence there was no return, almost imperceptible. In their transactions with eastern countries, with the Byzantine Empire and the Mohammedan states, all of which had either an unsatisfactory gold standard or a double standard of gold and silver, the Italians, Provençals, and Catalonians rapidly developed their methods of trade and their knowledge of financial affairs far in advance of the rest of Europe.

Thus, when the Italians journeyed to the North, bearing with them the products of the South, they carried a superior commercial system wherever they went—at first as a personal possession, a secret of trade, for the exercise of which the northern peoples were not yet sufficiently mature. As early as the twelfth century two forms of mercantile association had developed in Italy: the "Commenda," the original form of the later "silent company," as well as of all forms of commission trade, and the "open company"; to these the stock company, which arose from the various shipping societies and associations of state creditors, was added in the fourteenth century.

Trade Customs of the Middle Ages

Such companies were established not only in Italy but also in foreign lands, where some of the largest houses were already represented by factors or agents; in general, however, during the Middle Ages the personal presence of the merchant himself was required.

The Italians established their consulates in Northern Europe as they had in the East; they occupied their own quarters and met together at certain fixed places in the foreign city, just as on the Rialto, or in the *loggias* of their own guild halls. The beginnings of the modern stock exchange may be perceived in these assemblies, in which business concerning money and bills of exchange was usually transacted.

Money-lending Forbidden to Christians

It is certain that the Italians, or Lombards as they were generally called, would have been able to remain in foreign countries undisturbed and without being exposed to the hatred of the various native populations had they not ventured into the doubtful region of money-lending and taking interest. This was the boundary line that separated Christian from non-Christian, the barrier set by an age of natural economy, thoughtful of the defence of the weak and of the consuming masses against the advancing age of money, capitalism, and international trade. So strong was the instinct of self-preservation in the social organism based on natural economy that religion itself was called upon for protection; the Church sought to enforce its prohibition against taking interest on loans of money by threatening the severest penalties. Still, at the time when the Southern Europeans came to the North, lending money at interest, or, as it was indifferently called, usury, was already in full operation. Forbidden to the Christians, it became a field for the commercial activities of the Jews, who were also active in mercantile pursuits.

The Jews Oppressed in England

In fact, at the very time that the commerce of Southern Europe was in the act of expanding over the central and north-western portions of the continent, the financial dominion of the Jews was beginning to break down under the burden of a detestation which had arisen not only from religious but also from economic motives. Thus the Lombards came forward in place of the Jews. With their superior capital they succeeded almost immediately in controlling the money markets of countries poor in gold; but they were unable to resist the temptation of succeeding and even outdoing the Jews in the profitable business of money-lending. For the latter a painful period began, during which the nobles protected them from extremities and even furthered their trade, in order to render them the more fit for a systematic extortion on the part of the state, and for various other plunderings exercised at times of special need, until they were finally driven away and banned for all time. The Jews were especially unfortunate in England, where they were forced to submit to all manner of indignities from the power which was supposed to protect them during the reigns of the early Plantagenet kings; their final expulsion followed in 1290 under Edward I.

A Royal Edict that Failed

But long before this, Christian usurers also had become objects of hatred to the English people; the Cahorsins, notorious throughout the whole of Europe, by whom not only natives of Cahors, but also Southern Europeans in general, are to be understood, finally gave their name to usurers of all nationalities. As W. J. Ashley says in his "English Economic History and Theory," the Caorsini first came to England in the year 1235 as "papal merchants"—that is to say, as individuals ready to offer a helping hand in the collection of papal revenues, and also to assist in sending them to Rome. For this reason it was difficult to attack the Cahorsins; nevertheless, they, and particularly the Sienese—a proof of the wide application of the term even at that early time—were exiled from England by King Henry III. in 1240. However, the edict proved futile; they remained in the country, acquired property, and successfully pursued a business identical with that of the Jewish usurers.

Not until the foundation of the great Lombard houses in the fourteenth century—by the name Lombards, Italians in general, and particularly Florentines, are to be understood—were the earlier Cahorsin usurers driven into the background. The new banking-houses of the Bardi, Peruzzi, Frescobaldi, etc., when Edward III. was no longer able to fulfil his obligations in 1339, made to the crown the loan which was destined to have such an influence on their own fortunes, as well as on those of their native city on the Arno.

In addition to merchants from Cologne, France, Flanders, Italy, Spain, and Scandinavia, the "Easterlings," from the German coasts of the Baltic, also came to England during the first decades of the thirteenth century. If the word "sterling" is derived from Easterling, it follows that the latter term must have been introduced into the English language at a still earlier period. The monetary significance of the term stands in close connection with the memorable reform in the currency that took place during the reign of Henry II.

That the English sovereigns of early times possessed great power is shown by the fact that England alone of all the nations of Western Europe had a uniformly regulated coinage during the Middle Ages. While in other countries the right to stamp coins was shared by various spiritual or temporal lords and cities, in England the crown was able to guard its exclusive privilege of issuing currency. A systematic coinage facilitated both domestic and foreign trade, even if it was to the disadvantage of the money-changers, whom the foreigners needed to change the money they brought with them into English coin, since foreign money was excluded from the kingdom. On the other hand, it was forbidden to carry English money out of the country, and thus English merchants about to go abroad were required to exchange it for foreign before sailing. Under Henry II., about 1180, the English standard returned to the full-weight Carlovingian pound; the silver penny, the single current coin, was struck, not according to the previously accepted West Frankish or French standard of lighter weight (*livre Tournois*), but according to the heavier East Frankish or German standard, which had been retained in Germany since the time of Charlemagne: 240 pence to the pound, the penny having the weight of 32 grains of wheat (22½ grains). Compared to the standard penny, pound, mark and shilling were mere units of reckoning until the time of the Tudors. This heavy penny of East Frankish standard was called the "sterling penny."

Money Standard in England

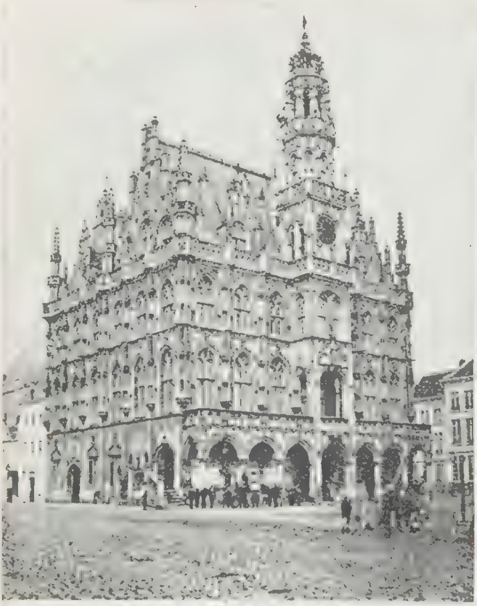
But at the end of the twelfth century the Easterlings themselves, the inhabitants of the German colonial lands which had developed on the shores of the Baltic, began to come to England. They must have risen to power within a very few years, for the old-established and privileged Cologne Hansa, the "Guild hall," opposed them with such violence that the burghers of Lübeck appealed for help to the Emperor Frederic II., who reprimanded the Cologne association, giving them to understand that the new arrivals had the same right to be in England as they had themselves. The Plantagenets soon began to grant privileges not only to single German cities, such as Cologne or Brunswick, but incidentally to all merchants subject to the "Emperor of Alemannia and the Duke of Saxony." Foreign nations gradually became more and more familiar with the conception—important enough for them—of the "associated German merchants," which summed up a large number of rights and served as a basis for common interests.

England's Concessions to Foreigners

In the meanwhile commercial relationships were opened between the cities of the North Sea, Bremen, Emden, Hamburg, Lübeck, etc., and England. On paying certain taxes the merchants of Hamburg acquired in 1266 the right to form a special Hansa, and in the following year the merchants of Lübeck received the same privilege, inasmuch as the closer alliance which had joined together Lübeck and Hamburg on account of their home interests also made them allies in foreign countries; and further, owing to the fact that Cologne had become weakened by domestic disturbances, and consequently was no longer able to offer opposition to the common German policy of the Baltic capitals, the three leagues were incorporated into one league and the three depots into one depot in 1282.

From this time forth the meeting-place of German merchants in London and England in general was the "Steelyard" on the Thames, a collection of storehouses and offices which the successors of the Hansa, known even in modern times as the Hanse towns, did not abandon until 1853. The Steelyard was surrounded by high walls, in which the heavy gates were kept carefully locked for fear of attacks. The side facing the Thames was open; a flight of steps led down to the river; a wharf with a crane aided in the unloading of goods that were brought directly to the depot on sea-going vessels. Magazines, cellars, offices, and dwelling-houses lay within the peaceful cloister-like enclosure; a monastic discipline ruled as well among temporary visitors as among the officials, who were bound to remain at their posts unmarried for ten years. It was only in the great hall, the common dining-room, and in the "Rhenish wine-house" that signs of a more joyful life were to be seen.

Where the Germans Met in London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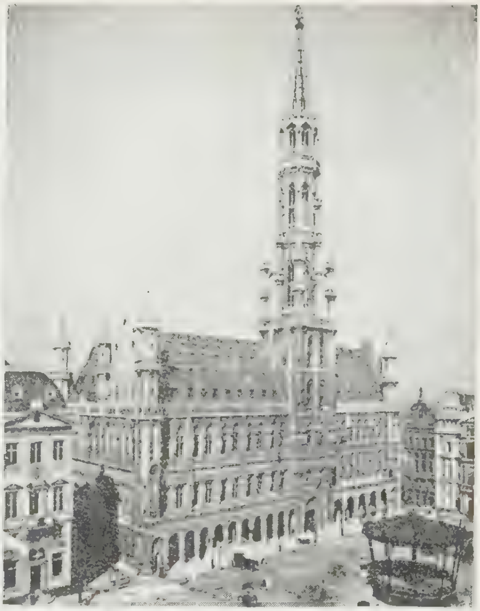
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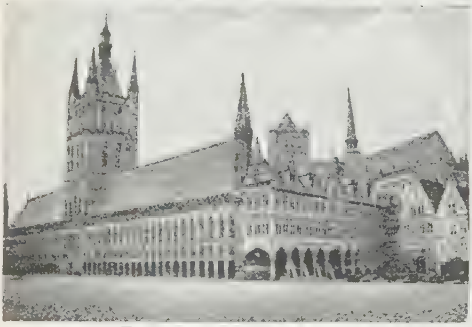
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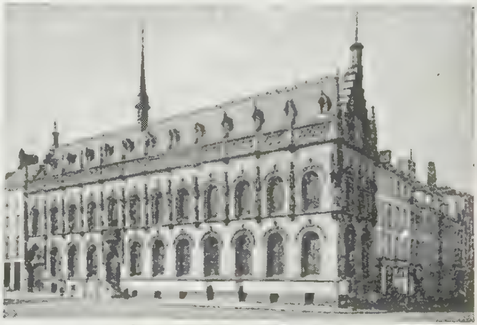
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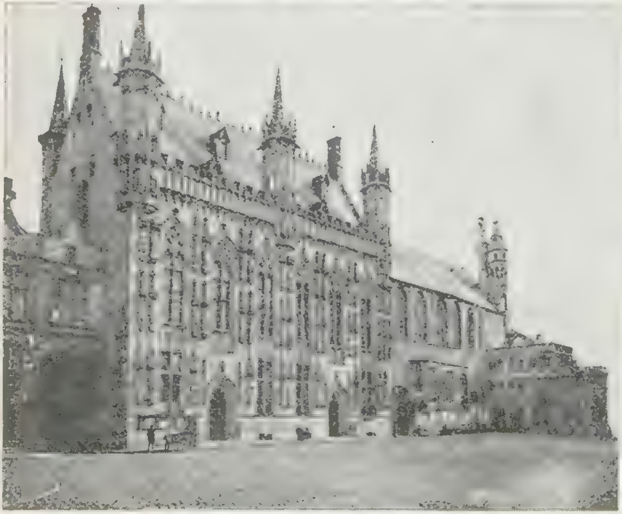
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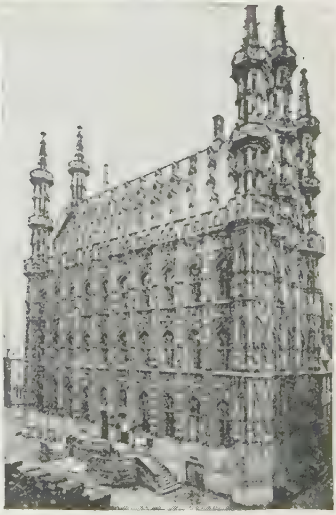

Louvain Hotel de Ville

MEDIÆVAL GUILD HOUSES AS MODERN TOWN HALLS

THE COMMERCE OF THE NORTH
AND ACTIVITIES OF THE GERMAN TRADERS

THE organisation of associated communities of merchants made more progress in the east than in the west. From the twelfth century German warriors, priests, and merchants had been steadily advancing in the Slavonic and Finnic countries, semicivilised and difficult of access, where, far more than in well-regulated England, they were thrown back upon self-protection or such aids as treaties and agreements might bring. Climate, race, and religion in these lands were new and strange to them, but their energy and daring made way against all hindrances.

Wisby in the Middle Ages

The most celebrated settlement of these German pioneers of trade was that of Wisby, the capital of the Swedish island of Gotland. Mainly, this settlement was of Westphalian origin, and to this day the ruins of Wisby attest the influence of the Westphalian style of architecture. Looking from the steep cliffs, one sees the old city enclosed by its great wall facing the sea, while ruins of the forty-eight towers and eighteen churches, and the lofty old Marien Kirche rising high above the surrounding houses, and St. Nicholas's with its rose-windows and its lighthouse-gable, show us what Wisby in the Middle Ages must have been—a miniature presentment of Europe organised on the bases of religion, trade, and war.

Russians' Dislike of the Sea

The population of Wisby was composed of Swedes and Germans. Here, unlike elsewhere, the Germans had no separate civic establishment, no depot, no guildhall, no Steelyard. But difference of race and creed made an impassable barrier between them and the native Gotlanders. They had to maintain themselves by active and ceaseless vigilance, for the Gotlanders were no mean commercial rivals. Long before the Germans came to Wisby these daring seamen had coasted into every creek and cranny of the Baltic, had opened up internal trade with Russia, had visited German markets, and had made Wisby the emporium through which Novgorod and Kiev traded with Lübeck and Cologne. Now, with Germans settled in Wisby this trade grew rapidly in volume and importance, and at the close of the twelfth century the Baltic route had practically superseded the uncertain and perilous communication by land over restless and unsettled Poland. Many things contributed to the success of German colonisation on the Baltic islands. Both Germans and Gotlanders were fearless mariners. Then as now the Russians of pure Slavonic descent disliked the sea. And although Viking adventurers had founded a Russian dynasty, the rulers, so far from leading their new subjects into maritime activity, were rapidly absorbed into Russian ways of life. Feeble attempts were made now and then to create a Russian sea trade. But they all failed. By the end of the twelfth century itinerant German and Gotlandic merchants made their way direct to Novgorod from Wisby, and in many Russian towns settlements of Germans and Gotlanders founded markets, built churches, and established merchant courts.

When Great Novgorod Flourished

Great Novgorod was known to the Germans as Naugarden and to the Gotlanders as Holmgard. As Lübeck was to Germany, so was this strange mart to Russia. With its vast suburbs it was a republic rather than a city. It was the common meeting ground for all who journeyed by the great waterways which opened up internal Russia to commerce. The German colony clustered round St. Peter's Church, the native merchants met at the Church of St. John the Baptist. At the head of this incongruous community stood elective princes, subject, however, to the control of the Vetsche, or popular body, in all affairs of moment. The great fairs were flocked to from all sides. The city was the emporium of East and West. Every winter and every summer the crowd of foreign traders filled the streets, and from the babel of tongues a rude jargon of business was evolved. In Greek orthodox countries all Western Europeans were called "Latins," and Latin churches and buildings, not only in Novgorod but also in Riga, Vitebsk, and Smolensk, show that along all the great rivers and their watersheds merchants from Lübeck and Wisby had made their way.

Russia's Trade Monopoly

The German and Gotland merchants who established themselves east of the Baltic region did not obtain free rights of settlement as in England, for the Russian merchants, organised into associations, and assured of the support of the native population, which was hostile to foreigners, never lost their grasp of the monopoly of domestic trade. The native retail dealers, and even the Prince of Novgorod himself, were compelled to avail themselves of the services of Russian middlemen in their transactions with foreign merchants. Only the Church traded directly with the foreigners.

Nowhere else did the Germans encounter such a difficult task from the very beginning as in Novgorod. The constant dangers to which they were exposed demanded of them the closest of union and the strictest of discipline. The oldest list of the house-rules of the German yard, the often enlarged and altered Novgorod "Skra," was drawn up in the fourteenth century. At first the superintendents of the St. Peter's depot, the two "aldermen," were elected from the winter or summer voyagers to Novgorod, irrespective of the city from which they came.

The profits of the depot were sent to the St. Peter's chest of St. Mary's Church in Wisby, and in all doubtful points of law appeal was made to the council of Germans in Gotland. During the course of the thirteenth century the city of Lübeck won a signal victory over her rival in acquiring the management of the Novgorod depot. From this time forth the posts of aldermen were alternately held by merchants of Lübeck and Wisby. The officials elected were responsible to their mother cities only, although the chief aldermen had power over life and death. The profits of the association were sent to Lübeck, and the high court of the league at this city, the authority of which was supreme over the entire Baltic colonial region, became the final court of appeal for the Novgorod depot also. Lübeck did not succeed in accomplishing her designs without opposition, nor did she henceforth remain undisturbed in her supreme position; Riga, the ambitious head of the cities of Livonia, also strove to obtain the leading place.

Lübeck's Days of Prosperity

During the thirteenth century the relations between the German merchants and the Russians repeatedly became so strained that the cities of Germany were compelled to exercise the sharpest coercive measure at their disposal, the interdiction of trade—that is to say, the suspension of all business with the penalised country. This took place, for example, in 1268—1269. Inasmuch as the Russians finally yielded to the demands of the Germans, the voyages to Novgorod were resumed in 1270. Lübeck first obtained the leadership, to which it now laid claim in all regions, in the eastern sphere of German commercial activity. After the embargo on trade with Russia was renewed, in 1278, Lübeck contracted an alliance with the Germans of Gotland and the merchants of Riga against all countries that were in a position to injure the traffic from the Trave to Novgorod, one of the numerous leagues formed by cities of various regions, and dissolved and renewed at intervals, until in the fourteenth century they assumed a more settled character. In general, even in later times the lesser alliances were more important and effectual than the great league of all cities engaged in the German northern trade, called by preference the Hanseatic League, and always more theoretical than real.

Germans in Sweden

Lübeck and Baltic North Germany did not long remain content with their successes in Wisby and Novgorod alone. In the thirteenth century relations with the Scandinavian kingdoms had become of the greatest importance.

Commercial development progressed far more smoothly in Sweden than in other countries. Some time after the Germans had first set foot in Gotland and Oeland they settled in Sweden itself, and obtained for themselves in the new cities, just then beginning to develop, a position of complete equality with the native population. Stockholm, the new capital, founded in the twelth century, was decidedly German in character. German merchants supplied the Swedes with luxuries from the south, worked the mines of Atvida and Falun on their own account, and bought up the iron of the forest smithies. By the end of the thirteenth century they possessed important privileges, such as exemption from taxes, rights of settlement, protection against the rights of wreckage and against piracy. But the land was poor, and trade was consequently very slight. Relations with Denmark, which never ceased its endeavours to obtain dominion over the Baltic, were of far greater importance, although more subject to disturbances. Denmark's claim to commercial power was supported chiefly by her geographical situation and extension. Inasmuch as the Danes were in possession of the provinces of Schonen and Halland, in Southern Sweden, they dominated the waterways leading from the North Sea to the Baltic. They were able to open and close the straits to the dwellers on the North Sea who desired to exclude Lübeck and the other Baltic ports from the North Sea, and in like manner they could either bar or unlock the Sound and the Great Belt to the Easterlings. Hence it became one of the earliest endeavours of Lübeck—an endeavour never abandoned and never achieved, except for a few brief intervals—to obtain possession of the straits in order to keep the western races out of the Baltic, and the Gotlanders, and, if possible, the merchants of all German-Baltic seaports, out of the North Sea. Lübeck desired to monopolise the entire trade between the two seas, to be the one centre of all commerce carried on between the east and west of Northern Europe.

Commercial Ambitions of Lübeck

Since the straits between the North Sea and the Baltic were not seldom impassable, Lübeck fell back on her favourable geographical location, and rendered the moderately long overland road through Holstein accessible; in fact, a considerable portion of the trade between East and West passed over this commercial route. In consequence of the construction of the Stecknitz Canal in the fourteenth century, an uninterrupted waterway, quite large enough to accommodate the moderate-sized vessels used in the Middle Ages, stood at the disposal of commerce.

The Danish Kings Favour the Germans

In the course of the thirteenth century the Danish kings granted, at first to single cities, and later to merchants from all parts of the German Empire, exemption from wreckage rights, tolls, and taxes. Thus the idea that members of German commercial associations were to be looked upon as privileged individuals became firmly rooted in that country also. Although trade in Denmark itself was of but little importance, the right to settle in Schonen, a Danish dependency in Southern Sweden, was of the very greatest value to the merchant. The southern coast of Sweden was the centre of the herring fishery carried on by Lübeck and its Baltic neighbours, as well as by Bremen, Hamburg, and the seaports of the Low Countries. Smoked or salt fish formed the chief article of the inland trade of these cities. Moreover, the Baltic herring was a valuable commodity even in foreign markets in those days of strict ecclesiastical fasting regulations. The great fishing settlements were situated in the neighbourhood of Skanör and Falsterbo, then flourishing trading places, although now almost unknown. Gustav Freytag has described the life at the fishing towns as follows:

Life at the Fishing Towns

> There, on the shore between the castles of Skanör and Falsterbo the Germans had marked off the land over which their rights extended, and where the banners of their cities waved, from Danish territory by a moated rampart and palisade. Each city or company had its own station, or "vitte," measured out to it in rods on the valuable ground, and each station was in turn surrounded by poles bearing the coat of arms of its owners. Within each vitte stood the stone houses in which the herrings were smoked and salted, the piles of wooden casks, and the huts for fishermen and labourers; and each was governed according to the law of its own city, administered by a merchant of standing, appointed annually. The superintendence of the whole was in the hands of the Prefect of Lübeck, except that capital cases were reserved to the representative of the King of Denmark. All details were regulated according to a certain standard, the size of the casks, the length of the fish; the quality of the wares was under the supervision of inspectors. The shore was deserted for the greater part of the year; only the armed watchmen and their dogs were then to be seen. But during the fishing season, between St. James's Day and Martinmas, the fleets of the North Sea and Baltic companies came like endless flocks of swans; the strand echoed with the bustle of busy workmen; thousands of fishing-boats lay with their nets in the sea day and night, and for the night haul torches blazed along the entire coast. On the shore, rope-makers and coopers laboured, and the merchant stored away his goods in the wooden huts. There, between mountains of fish, in the midst of salt and smoke, the most costly wares of the Continent—silks and wines of the South, cloth of the Low Countries, and spices of the Orient—were sold as at a great fair. The hastily freighted vessels made three trips each season to the mainland and back; at the beginning of each October the shores were again deserted.

In Norway, the classic home of the Vikings, the stormy impulses of bygone centuries were gradually disappearing at the time of the development of the German Hansa. Foreigners—Englishmen, Frisians, and Low Germans—brought to Norway, as poor in population as in products, the petty wares for which its inhabitants could afford to pay. The fisheries also enticed foreigners into Norwegian waters. The fish trade, especially traffic in dried codfish, was concentrated in Bergen.

Germans, chiefly merchants of Lübeck and Hamburg, acquired at first only the most general privileges—freedom from wreckage law, unimpeded trade with both natives and foreigners, rights of residence and settlement, equality with the domestic population in the courts. Although the beginnings of the settlement of German merchants in Bergen took place as early as the thirteenth century, the Norwegian trade did not reach the zenith of its development until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The Great Market Town of Bruges

The point at which the sharply defined and limited trade of the North of Europe, especially that of the Low Germans, came into contact with the world's commerce was at Bruges, the great international market that had arisen in the very focus of the Central European sphere of communication. Here were stored the valuable products of Western and Southern European industry, as well as the merchandise of the Levant. Bruges, like Ghent and Ypres—and, in fact, almost all the towns of Flanders, Brabant, and Northern France—was a manufacturing city, the chief industries being the various branches of cloth-making.

The population of this industrial region was so dense that in Flanders and Brabant (Old Belgium) it had been found necessary to import foodstuffs ever since the thirteenth century. The institution of guilds was in full sway. Even to-day the guild and cloth-halls with their towering belfries bear witness to the prosperity and organisation of the Low Country burghers. In the thirteenth century the industrial guilds struggled for representation in the magistrates' courts and city governments. The patrician merchants, the "Poortus," united with the French out of hatred for the industrial classes; Flanders finally became a portion of the Burgundian provinces of the kingdom of the Valois. The trade of foreign merchants in Bruges was frequently seriously disturbed by conflicts of the different social classes of the city, and by feuds with both domestic and foreign rulers.

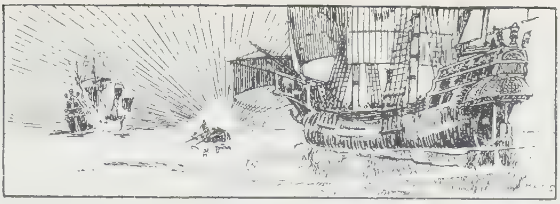
Bruges' Debt to the Sea

Bruges was indebted to the relative proximity of the sea for its commercial prosperity. It was connected with Sluys as well as with Damme by waterways. The harbour of Sluys was shallow and choked with sandbars; on the other hand, the Zwin, an arm of the sea extending inland and navigable as far as Bruges, was widened in order to form the future basin of the harbour of Damme. Vast dykes, built from 1180 on, protected Bruges from the floods of which we hear frequent mention in the history of the Netherlands of the Middle Ages. The bulk of the merchandise sent to Bruges by sea had always to be reloaded on smaller vessels before it reached its destination.

Until later than the thirteenth century, products of the Levant were transported overland from the Rhine or from the French markets. It is true that occasionally Italian vessels made their way to Flanders, but not until the year 1317 was there any regular traffic between Italy and the Low Countries by sea. From time immemorial ships of Western France, Spain, and Portugal, laden with wine, had landed at the Flemish coasts. Traffic with the German cities of the Rhine was also of unknown antiquity, certainly of earlier date than the appearance of Upper German merchants and Low German seafarers in Flanders. The Easterlings finally came during the thirteenth century, and were granted the same privileges as other foreigners, but no special rights. Margaret of Flanders conferred the usual privileges of trade in 1252 upon "all merchants of the Roman Empire who visit Gotland"; and thereafter, in Bruges also, the Easterlings occupied a position of complete equality with their West German predecessors.

German Methods of Coercion

Nevertheless, the claims of the associated German merchants were disregarded and resented in Bruges, and it became necessary for them to retaliate in 1280, temporarily removing their magazines from Bruges to Ardenburg—a means of coercion frequently employed in later days. In 1283 the Germans returned to Bruges, and wrested rights upon rights with unrelenting persistence until they became a practically privileged class.



RISE OF THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

TRADE TRIUMPHS OF THE UNITED CITIES

Merchants and Their Privileges

As we have already seen, at the end of the thirteenth century German commercial depots, in which not only the nearest German cities, but often towns situated a long distance off, had a share, were established in all the nations of Northern Europe. In all countries the merchants of single cities first received rights and privileges, until, finally, the total of these special rights was transferred to the great companies of German traders. The necessity for preserving their privileges, and also for settling all disputes among themselves without invoking the aid of foreign powers, led to a closer union of the merchants whose homes were in the "Empire of the Alemanni," but who lived abroad temporarily, and to the formation of self-governing associations, which remained fixed, in contrast to the constant changes that took place among their members. All these companies, yards, and offices retained their independence in respect to the mother city as long as they were able. They had the power of refusing entrance to whom they chose; there was yet no union of all the towns engaged in foreign trade.

Where the Trader had Security

In spite of this, however, in the thirteenth century common interests developed between the mercantile settlements in foreign lands and the cities from which they came. Indeed, the privileges were never granted by foreign rulers to individual merchants, but to the mercantile inhabitants or corporations of their native cities. Moreover, appeal was made to the courts at home on all difficult points of law, and it was not seldom that the mother cities, whose co-operation was indispensable, especially in laying embargoes on trade and in bringing about temporary removals of depots, were called upon for assistance. However displeasing it may have been to the self-governing unions of merchants in foreign lands, the fact was that the true security of the trader lay in the hands of his native city, which, therefore, acquired the superintendence of all foreign depots. The common interests by which the cities of the mother country and the depots were bound together finally united all the towns of Germany that were engaged in trade in the north and had common commercial privileges to defend.

A Check to Denmark's Advance

Before the end of the thirteenth century leagues of German cities whose merchants were engaged in foreign trade had been formed. The history of this century was characterised by a strong tendency towards federation. The decay of imperial power under the later Hohenstauffens compelled many cities threatened by warlike nobles to join together for the protection of their political rights and economic interests. The majority of the leagues were limited in area or time, although easily renewed whenever necessary. Since the fall of Henry the Lion there had been no ruler in North Germany capable of offering opposition to a foreign enemy. The empire left the North to its fate when Waldemar the Great extended his power over the Baltic and the new colonial regions. This advance of Denmark was checked by a league of which Lübeck also was a member; the battle of Bornhoved secured room for development to the German Baltic regions for many years.

During the following years of peace the towns and principalities of Northern Germany rapidly increased in strength; the "Dominium maris Baltici" and supremacy in Northern European commerce was transferred to the Germans. Now began the long list of leagues and compacts entered into by cities bound together by common interests, and whole groups of communities closely united by common interests were established. As early as 1241 Lübeck and Hamburg had entered

WAR ON THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE A SCENE IN THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN WALDEMAR IV., KING OF DENMARK AND THE ALLIED TOWNS

From the painting by C. G. Hellquist

into a treaty, pledging each other to protect the entrance to the Elbe and other rivers from pirates. As allies, they waged war in 1259 and cleared the coasts of the sea-robbers. Other cities had at times made similar alliances. But each city went its way, and often at critical moments would adopt a policy different from that of its allies. This was sometimes due to compulsion; for all the towns were not free cities of the empire, but were under some reigning house, and at best were only semi-independent. The Pomeranian towns were under the dukes, Rostock belonged to the house of Schwerin, Hamburg to the counts of Holstein, and so with many others.

Then there were the great ecclesiastical cities governed by bishops or archbishops. No general bond was possible in such circumstances. The cities were involved in the wars and quarrels of their rulers. They struggled for a position of direct relation to the empire, and in time under this constitutional demand they won many privileges and immunities, but until the Treaty of Westphalia their place in the imperial economy was ill-defined and uncertain. Many city groups were formed for common undertakings. There were groups of Westphalian cities, of Zuyder Zee cities, of Pomeranian, Prussian, and Saxon cities, of cities which were bishoprics and of cities which were mere markets; but all these groups were separate and self-dependent, in no way forming parts of a common league.

The Great Cologne Union

After the great Cologne Union of 1367 a general league seemed for a time possible. Aspirations for such a league were felt everywhere. The cities, separated as they had been by rivalries and feuds, saw that commercial interests pointed to common action in many ways. The security of the seas, the settlement of disputes, the protection of traders in foreign lands, were all matters of common concern. But no serious attempt to give shape and body to these purposes was made by any city except Lübeck. Again and again Lübeck had invited the other cities to form a real league. Her own interests coincided with the general interests of all. And from the Cologne Union onwards Lübeck laboured incessantly to bring about this desired result. By strict terms of compact in Hanse arrangements, by convoking general assemblies, by inscribing names of members in a common roll, by statutes, ordinances, and bylaws, she gradually attained this ideal; but in spite of the glamour that can be exercised by a name or a conception, even by a dream, there was no Hanseatic assembly that can be proved to have been attended by all the cities, no resolution by which all the towns usually considered Hanseatic were bound, no membership roll in accordance with which regular contributions flowed in from all sides, no universally recognised statute, no common policy of defence, and no war in which all the members were engaged.

Misconception of Modern Historians

In short, the so-called Hanseatic League was a union of cities, similar in every respect to the union of German states called the Holy Roman Empire. The same tendency to the grand style was shown not only in the artistic, but also in the political and economic, models of this age. The misconception into which the majority of modern historians have fallen arises from the fact that they all attempt to measure the mediæval Hansa, which was completely in harmony with the spirit of its age, according to the standard of modern ideas of confederations. They imagine that the old towns took the field at the suggestion of Lübeck quite as unanimously as the various divisions of the army of the confederate German states advanced against the French in 1870.

Why the League Fell

Lübeck was no Athens, and the Hansa was not a Delian League. An attempt to introduce the Greek idea of hegemony and alliance in war into a description of Hanseatic affairs would result in a mere caricature. Had Lübeck been as powerful as Athens of the fifth century B.C., perhaps then she would have been able to enforce the coercive measures without which it is impossible to create a community of political individuals. However, the coercive powers of the Hansa never attained to complete development, and the league fell because of their inadequacy. Nevertheless, the cities of the league were by no means unwarlike. All were constantly obliged to defend themselves against foreign princes and their own feudal superiors, against pillage by land and piracy by sea, against their sister cities; and the spirit of war was continually

Lübeck's Inability to Lead

aroused by internal dissensions. For all that, they were always weak from a military point of view ; and the only reason why it was possible for them to accomplish anything of a warlike nature was because at that time things were not much better with the forces of their ruling houses, even the large kingdoms. Since Lübeck possessed little more than the average of military power and ability, it is quite evident that an energetic leadership, such as once had been exercised by Athens, Sparta, or Rome, was out of the question for her. Lübeck as a free imperial city was superior to her confederates only from a diplomatic point of view, for the reason that she was not exposed to the hampering paternal interference of a reigning prince. This circumstance heightened the reputation of the city on the Trave even in foreign lands.

The Hansa cannot be likened to a Hellenic League, not merely because of the weakness of the leading power, but by reason of the dependence of the individual cities of the union. The Greek federations were alliances of cities which were independent states ; the city leagues of the Middle Ages, especially the Hansa, were associations of towns, all subject to an emperor, and, with but few exceptions, to an immediate lord as well ; thus they were never in a position to act independently except when the power of the ruling prince had been overthrown.

Features of the Hanse Towns

The Prussian towns, for example, were in the iron grasp of the Teutonic Knights for a century and a half, and had no opportunity for self-dependent action until the fall of the order as a power. Membership in the Hansa was of no benefit either to a town or to its confederates, in case the policy and interests of a feudal superior imposed upon it a definite and unalterable attitude in regard to political affairs. When asked what were the characteristic features by which a Hanse town was to be recognised, we cannot well name more than the one given by Dietrich Schaefer—participation in the rights of German merchants in foreign countries. If one were to enumerate all the cities that at least some time during their histories have been looked upon as members of the Hansa—in later times, when a permanent membership roll was required, it was found expedient to draw up lists—the result would be the respectable total of ninety. The geographical region over which the various members of the league were scattered was also very extensive. The northern boundary is formed by the North Sea and the Baltic, although Gotland, Oeland, and Kalmar were also included. The continental southern boundary extended from Dinan, through Andernach, Göttingen, and Halle, and curved downward into the regions of the Oder and Vistula to Breslau and Cracow. The farthest point to the West was marked by the towns of Zealand ; to the East, by Reval and Narva.

How the Hansa Applied the Boycott

Although the territorial groups of cities held their convocations with or without inviting neighbour groups, Lübeck endeavoured to convert the assemblies of the Lusatian towns into meetings of all the confederated cities taking part in foreign trade, and to transform these Hanseatic conventions, or "Hansetage," into periodically recurrent administrative and legislative bodies of the league. Many such conventions were held, not only in Lübeck, but in other cities. Lübeck issued the invitations, presided over the sittings of delegates, and preserved the minutes as well as the other records of the federation. In very few cases, however, were all the invitations accepted ; and very few assemblies were attended by a sufficient number of delegates to deserve the name of Hansetage. Full attendance was impossible, owing to the fluctuating character of the federation ; in short, the meetings of the league were in every respect counterparts to the imperial diets of the Middle Ages.

The only means at the disposal of the Hansa for the purpose of coercing refractory members was the boycott, or "Verhansung"—the suspension, nay, the prevention, of all traffic with the city in question, the seizure of its ships, cargoes, and other possessions, and the exclusion of its inhabitants from the common rights enjoyed by all merchants of the league in foreign countries ; in other words, non-admission to the depots and offices of the association from Bruges to Novgorod. It was a very uncertain means of coercion, and, moreover, one that cut both ways. The coercive measures adopted against foreign powers—suspension of commerce, removal of markets, and war—were also of the nature of a two-edged sword. It is no wonder that the sober merchants of the Middle Ages infinitely preferred the most interminable negotiations to action, which as a rule led to nothing but their own damage. The Hanseatic politicians always displayed remarkable dexterity and tenacity in their negotiations. Woe to the opponent when the Hansa possessed any written evidence against him! With a document in their hands, and with all their chartered rights behind them, they wearied their enemies into submission. The Hanseatic envoys were indebted for not the least part of their diplomatic successes to the advantage which results from a narrow line of thought, and persistency in always returning to the point of departure.

Tradesmen in the School of War

That the Hanse leagues made such headway during the fourteenth century, and that any practical results were attained, was due entirely to their enemies. They were drawn into the affairs of the Scandinavian kingdoms against their will, and war alone assisted them to the degree of unity of which they were capable. It may be said to their credit that they possessed at least a little heroism as an offset to their bourgeois narrow-mindedness. So long as a merchant was compelled to breathe sea air and face the dangers of long voyages, he could not grow altogether blind and stupid in the semi-darkness of retail shops and herring magazines. Robbers and pirates forced him to be constantly on his guard, and the hostile inhabitants of foreign cities caused him to spring to arms whenever their ill-will against the privileged strangers burst into flame—an event which the unscrupulous and overbearing conduct of the Hanseatics made by no means rare. In short, the mediæval tradesman had not much holiday from the school of war.

The halt in the development of Denmark which followed the defeat of Waldemar the Great at Bornhoved in 1227, and which proved to be of such advantage to the Baltic colonies of Germany, came to an end during the times of King Eric Menved (1285–1319). Not only did Denmark resume her earlier plans of expansion, but the counts of Holstein and the margraves of Brandenburg also aspired to a share in the "Dominium maris Baltici." For five hundred years dominion over the Baltic was contested from two different points of view; from the mercantile—as in the case of the Hanseatic League—and from the financial-political. To occupy the harbours, coasts, and seaports, to open them to commerce or to close them, as expediency demanded, and to be paid for doing it, were the objects held in view by all princes, great and small, who dwelt on the Baltic or who were endeavouring to advance towards its shores. It was with such an end in mind that Count Gerhard of Plön built a tower at the mouth of the Trave in defiance of Lübeck, just as Waldemar II had already done; Count Gerhard also occupied the region of commercial roads between Hamburg and Lübeck in 1306, in order to rob the merchants by compelling them to pay him for the escorts which he forced upon them.

Denmark's Rule on the Baltic

During the same period the Ascanian line of Brandenburg once more, as in 1283, advanced against the Lusatian cities and the Pomeranian princes, who immediately looked to Denmark for help. The lords of Mecklenburg and Pomerania could not do otherwise than acknowledge the suzerainty of Denmark; Rostock, Greifswald, and Stralsund became as good as Danish cities. And when in 1307 Lübeck also became subject to the protectorate of King Eric for ten years, and even arranged an annual tribute, it looked very much as if the Baltic states were to become entirely alienated from the Holy Roman Empire.

But Eric was a very incapable ruler, and unable to retain his new territories. The Baltic towns freed themselves from the dominion of Denmark, and got a high price for their return to their former lords. After the death of Eric the whole of Denmark was under German influence. The new king, Christopher II., was expelled from the country, and Count Gerhard von Rendsburg of Holstein, called by his countrymen "de grote Ghert," and by the Danes "the bald-pated count," became regent in the minority of his ward Waldemar III. At that time Southern Jütland, or Schleswig, was already united to Holstein. When Christopher II. attempted to regain his kingdom, and was once more repulsed, Gerhard the Great called to his aid the nobility of North Germany, who thereupon took possession of Denmark as a welcome prize. The Danish entanglements, however, were not favoured by the Hanse towns. When Magnus, King

Denmark the Prize of Germany

of Sweden and Norway, who had ill-treated them in Bergen, occupied Schonen, Halland, and Blekingen, adjacent to Denmark, they feared that the fishing-stations would be rendered inaccessible to them; nevertheless both Easterlings and Westerlings received a confirmation of their old rights and privileges in the towns and fishing-villages of Southern Sweden in 1336. Lübeck, whose star had in 1310 seemed about to set, was again, a decade later, playing the leading part in all negotiations with the northern rulers and the German lords.

Lübeck's Star again Shining

"De grote Ghert" was murdered at Randers in 1340 when at the height of his power; and to this day the Danes sing the praises of his assassin, Niels Ebbenson, as the avenger of their nation and their deliverer from the ignominy of foreign rule. Christopher's youngest son, Waldemar IV., Atterdag, now took possession of the kingdom, supported by the Lusatian group, which also aided him in expelling the Holstein nobility and in forcing the counts of Schauenburg back across the Eider. Waldemar regained possession of Zealand and Fünen, and successfully withstood the Emperor Charles IV. when, after conquering Brandenburg, he revived the Baltic schemes of the Ascanian margraves.

The princes of Mecklenburg were once more compelled to acknowledge the feudal supremacy of Denmark, in spite of the fact that the emperor had made them dukes and looked upon them as vassals of the empire. Only the distant province of Esthonia was, on payment of a sum of money, resigned by Waldemar to the Teutonic Knights. No further prospects were open to the Danes on the continental side of the Baltic; it would have been difficult to gain any ground against the power of the emperor and the Teutonic Order. On the other hand, opportunities for reconquest and for the acquisition of new territories were offered to the Danes on the breaking out of dissensions in the realm of King Magnus of Sweden and Norway. Leagued with North German princes, Waldemar regained Schonen, Halland, and Blekingen in 1360. The kingdom of Gorm the Old and Waldemar the Great was again restored to its former power. To the horror of the Lusatian towns, who had shortly before concluded a treaty with Waldemar Atterdag, the king turned against Oeland in 1361, conquered Bornholm, set sail for Gotland, and before any steps could be taken in its defence captured this most important island.

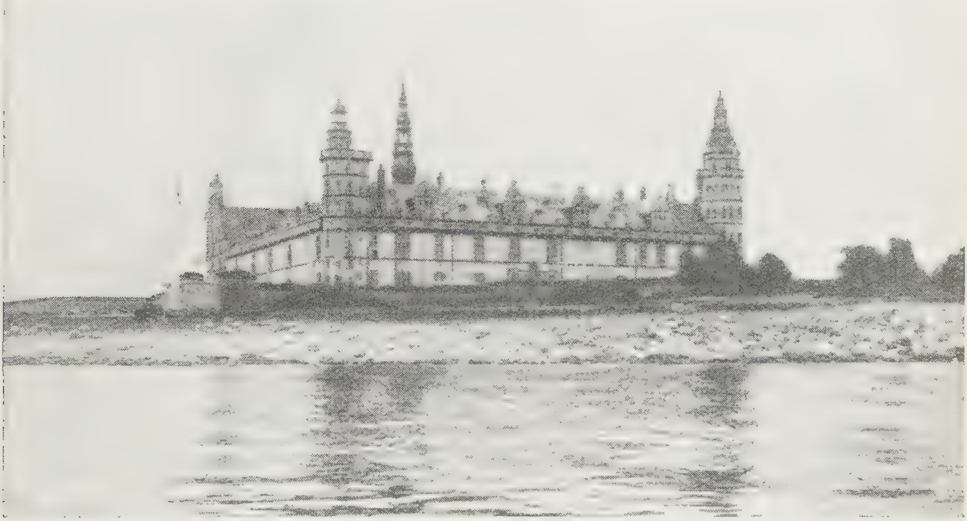
The Restored Kingdom of Waldemar

Defeated before their city by his fierce knights, the citizens of Wisby opened the gates to the victor; Waldemar, however, preferred to consider the city as taken by storm, and refused to enter it except through a breach knocked in the wall by his retainers, that so he might have the right to exact enforced contributions from the burghers. As for the fabulous wealth of Wisby, an old song has it that the Gotlanders measured gold by the hundredweight, that precious stones were playthings, that the women span with golden distaffs, and that the pigs were given to drink out of silver troughs. The last especially seem to have fired the imaginations of the Danish ironsides who followed Waldemar on his plundering expedition. The king of the Danes and Wends henceforth styled himself king of the Goths or Gotlanders also. But the prosperity of Gotland had vanished, never to return. However, it is quite certain that Wisby could not have continued to maintain itself as a centre of trade even under more favourable circumstances, for the towns of Livonia—Riga, for example—had already begun to show far greater powers of development.

Vanished Prosperity of Gotland

The conquest of Schonen and Gotland was a severe blow to the Easterlings, and by no means a matter of indifference to many a western city. Envoys from the various Lusatian and Prussian towns assembled at Greifswald resolved on a trade embargo against Denmark, and agreed to the raising of a war tax. In addition to the cities, the kings and princes of the countries of the Baltic coast were also roused to action by the conquests of Waldemar. Thus, six weeks after the capture of Wisby an alliance was entered into by the majority of the German towns, by the kings of Sweden and Norway, and the counts of Holstein, in order "to re-establish the balance of power between the Baltic nations, and to strengthen the position of the Hanse towns in Schonen. In order to allow for the possibilities of conquest, they pledged the entire southern coast of Sweden, together with the castles of Helsingborg, Skanör, and Falsterbo, to the kings." The Hanseatic fleet first turned toward Helsingborg. In the summer of 1362 it put to sea alone, before the allied princes had completed their preparations, and suffered a crushing defeat. The burgomaster of Lübeck, John Wittenborg, who had been in command, atoned for his ill-fortune on the scaffold. Soon the kings came to an understanding among themselves. Waldemar's daughter Margaret married Haakon of Norway, and thus the first step was taken towards the union of the northern kingdoms ; even the cities of the Low Countries entered into a special treaty with Waldemar. The defeated and isolated Easterlings were obliged to agree to an unfavourable armistice and conditions of peace. The league was practically dissolved on the Peace of Helsingborg, in 1365 ; each city wished to procure some special advantage for itself, yet none received any definite promises from Waldemar, not to speak of tangible concessions.

The impulse towards a fresh alliance against Denmark arose in the Prussian towns, which could not dispense with the passage through the Sound, and had a close community of interest with the cities of the Zuyder Zee region, of which the centre was Kampen in Oberyssel. The allied cities of Prussia and the Netherlands now entered into negotiations with the Lusatian group. A general convention was arranged to take place in Cologne in the late autumn of 1367. Here the representatives of Lübeck, Rostock, Stralsund, Wismar, Kulm, Thorn, Elbing, Kampen, Elborg, Hardwick, Amsterdam, and Briel instituted the celebrated Cologne Confederation of November 11th, 1367, in the name of the Lusatian, Prussian, Livonian, Zuyder Zee, and Dutch cities. No mention of the participation of Rhenish-Westphalian, Frisian, Lower Saxon, or Brandenburg towns has come down to us. At the Cologne assembly a military expedition was arranged for the next year, the size of contingents as well as the amounts of contributions to the cost of the war were determined, and every city agreed to the imposition of a war tax. In February, 1368, the Lusatian cities concluded a two years' alliance with the princes of Sweden, Mecklenburg, and Holstein, who were opponents of Waldemar, and also a league for one year with the cities of Prussia and the Netherlands.



THE HELSINGBORG CASTLE OF THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

The great combination of towns, chiefly for the purposes of trade, known as the Hanseatic League, found in Denmark a serious rival on the sea, and eventually war broke out between that country and the league. Victory rested with the traders, and by the Treaty of Stralsund, in 1370, Denmark was brought into subjection to the league, and the important Castle of Helsingborg was one of the strongholds which then passed into its possession.

In the year 1368 the allies captured Copenhagen and the strongholds of Jütland and Schonen, with the exception of Helsingborg, which held out against them until the autumn of 1369. A blockade, through which the English and Flemings also were excluded from Norway, compelled Haakon to negotiate for peace; and since the movement against Mecklenburg planned by Waldemar had also failed to attain its hoped-for result, the Danish Council of State entered into negotiations with the confederation in 1369, Lübeck representing the cities. Peace was declared in 1370, at a convention in Stralsund. This consisted of two series of agreements—one economic and commercial, and the other political. "In respect to the first, the Hansa obtained practically all the demands that had constantly been made, now by one city, now by another, during the last half-century"—free-trade throughout the whole of Denmark, freedom from strand law, their own jurisdiction over the fishing-depots, and reductions in duties. To the political changes that resulted from the Peace of Stralsund belong the pledging to the league of the most important castles of Schonen and those situated on the Sound—Falsterbo, Skanör, Malmö, and Helsingborg—together with the payment of two-thirds of the revenues accruing to them during a period of fifteen years. Waldemar was to recognise the peace as binding until Michaelmas, 1371, by affixing his great seal. In case of his abdication or death, no king was to succeed to the throne of Denmark without the approval of the Hansa.

Conditions of the Peace of Stralsund

Although the princes allied with the Hansa were not satisfied with the terms of peace arranged by the towns on their own responsibility, they were unable to continue the war unassisted, and so they too came to terms with Denmark at Stockholm in 1371. Waldemar IV. delayed the ratification of the Stralsund negotiations to the last moment, and finally sealed the treaty only with the small seal, obtaining further concessions in addition. The management of the pledged castles in Schonen was a source of many difficulties to the league, the division of the revenues especially causing many disputes. When Waldemar died, in 1385, and was succeeded by his grandson Olaf, son of his younger daughter Margaret and Haakon of Norway, who was crowned without the formal assent of the Hansa, a final settlement of Hanseatic affairs seemed probable. However, Olaf refused to confirm the Stralsund peace with the great seal until the Hansa had relinquished their claims to the right of ratifying the Danish succession. Negotiations of a like nature to those of Korsör took place in Kallundborg. Haakon of Norway confirmed all the privileges which had ever been granted in his kingdom to the Hansa, and, in addition, granted all Hanseatic vessels the right to enter the ports of Norway flying their own flags, which they were not required to lower until landing.

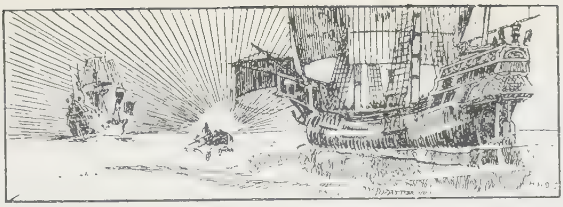
Waldemar's Grandson on the Throne

The Treaties of Stralsund and Korsör secured the rights of the Hanse towns in Denmark for many generations, and, with the exception of the pledging of the castles on the Sound, which was only for fifteen years, were on the whole faithfully preserved until the outbreak of the Thirty Years War. The negotiations at Kallundborg had also ended in satisfactory terms with Norway, and now for the first time the depot at Bergen began to prosper. The foundations of the rights of the Hansa were now so firmly fixed that the league tried to procure monopolies for its members in accordance with the general aims and purposes of all privileged classes and places in the Middle Ages, who looked upon the acquisition of monopolies as the final object at which they ought to aim. So long as the Leaguers held the castles on the Sound this policy was feasible; but when the castles were restored, monopoly was no longer possible. Still the Hansa by the application of vigorous effort won in open competition the predominant position in the Baltic trade.

Union of Norway and Sweden

All the Hansa cities had not joined in the Cologne Confederation, but only those whose trading interests were involved. The Peace of Stralsund in appearance confirmed the rights of the leaguers. But of the two pledges given for securing these rights, one, the right of the Hansa to ratify succession to the Danish throne, was only once exercised, and the other, the occupation of the castles, proved of no value, as the cost of upkeep and of policing the sea absorbed all the revenues available from the occupation.

As the league did not oppose Olaf's succession, his able mother Margaret confirmed the Danish privileges of the Hansa. But when Olaf succeeded Haakon of Norway, in 1380, and united both crowns, he declined to confirm the privileges of the Hansa in Norway. Five years later, when the castles reverted to Denmark, the Hansa was reduced to its former position as a purely commercial association, and although negotiations went on for years, the Hansa failed to better its status or to augment its rights. At Olaf's death, in 1387, Margaret played with the cities, cajoling and promising, but doing nothing to renew their privileges.



ERA OF HANSEATIC ASCENDANCY

TO THE DECLINE OF THE GERMAN SEAPORTS

IN Bruges from an early date German merchants had settled and opened factories. These factories obeyed the mother cities from which they had sprung. From 1360 to 1380 disputes arose, but the supremacy of the mother cities was finally admitted in Bruges as elsewhere. The rights of the Hansa remained in full force and effect up to 1560, when the markets of Bruges were removed to Antwerp. The success of the Hansa was due to strong measures adopted in 1358, and continued for a couple of years. An embargo was laid on trade and the markets were temporarily removed to Dordrecht. This drastic policy secured for the Hanseatic traders the right of free settlement in all Flanders. Slight differences arose again in 1388, and finally, in 1392, the Germans in Bruges were firmly placed in possession of all the trading rights for which they had contended, and all subjects of the empire were made participators in these rights when settled in Flanders for purposes of trade. In England also, the position of the Hansa at the end of the fourteenth century was becoming increasingly difficult; but here, too, the German cities succeeded in warding off all dangers. The three Edwards were friendly to foreigners, and granted them complete freedom in both wholesale and retail trade throughout the entire kingdom, even in the wool and metal industries. Richard II. also confirmed the rights and privileges of the Hansa shortly after his accession. But during the reign of this weak sovereign the national hostility to the commercial dominion of foreigners, which until that time had been held in abeyance, arose in full force. The House of Commons, as the representative of the people, induced the king to suspend all the privileges of the Hansa until the latter had cleared itself of various charges preferred against it. This was the beginning of a long struggle, frequently interrupted, but invariably resumed in order, on the part of the rising native trade, to free itself from the commercial ascendancy of foreigners, especially members of the Hanseatic League. Although at first a battle for the markets of England, it soon became a struggle for admission to all the Northern European markets, a privilege that the Hanseatics would gladly enough have kept to themselves alone. The English first demanded entrance to the Norwegian and Danish centres of trade, and then to the Hanse towns themselves. The struggle lasted until nearly the end of the Elizabethan Age, and closed about 1600 with the complete victory of England.

England's Kings Friendly to the Hansa

Great Trade Victory for England

During the reign of Richard II. a protracted dispute arose on account of the position taken by the Hansa in respect to all foreigners in Norway and Schonen after the conclusion of the Peace of Stralsund. The English merchants did not submit like the other non-German peoples. Now, as before, they sailed boldly into the Baltic and obtained whatever goods they required without the assistance of the Hanseatic, especially the Lübeck, middlemen. The hostile attitude of the Baltic towns was answered by the already mentioned temporary suspension of Hanseatic privileges in England. In addition, the English demanded an equality of rights in all towns and districts of the Hansa. The Germans received the usual confirmation of their privileges towards the end of the year 1380, without having granted full reciprocity to the English. The dispute that followed, made all the more acute through seizures and embargoes, lasted until 1388. From this time forth the English enjoyed free trade with the Baltic seaports. Their merchants organised according to Hanseatic models, and elected an alderman whose duty was to adjust differences and to represent the interests of his countrymen in all their dealings

Free Trade with Baltic Seaports

with foreigners. Although bickering still continued between Englishmen and Germans, even after the agreement of 1388, the position of the latter in England remained unaltered. The first of the Lancastrian kings, Henry IV., confirmed the charters of the Hanseatics on their agreeing to an increase in certain customs duties, a procedure indispensable to the well-being of the government The chief feature of Hanseatic-English relations did not lie in the recognition of former privileges, but in the fact that the league was compelled to grant free play to the growing sea-power of England, even while the latter was only beginning to develop.

The Growing Sea-power of England

Towards the end of the fourteenth century the Baltic was finally freed from the plague of pirates brought down upon it by the war of the Swedish succession. Long after Albert had been set free and Stockholm handed over to the Hansa as a pledge, the "Vitalienbrüder" had continued their marauding expeditions, still remaining in the service of the House of Mecklenburg, which had not yet abandoned all hopes of regaining possession of the Swedish crown. However, the Vitalienbrüder removed their headquarters to Wisby, although the greater part of Gotland continued under the dominion of Margaret. They also found places of refuge in the Gulfs of Finland and Bothnia, and even on the coast of Pomerania, but Rostock and Wismar closed their harbours to them. They were of the greatest injury to the associated German merchants. The situation suddenly became altered when the Teutonic Order brought Wisby and the rest of Gotland under its jurisdiction in 1398. Inasmuch as the Lusatian cities had just then completed their preparations for attacking the freebooters, and had agreed on the raising of a war tax, and since the queen of the three northern kingdoms had also taken steps against them, the Vitalienbrüder left their Baltic hiding-place for the North Sea, which they now made the scene of an activity that had absolutely no political motives whatever behind it.

Pirates in the North Sea

The North Sea had always pirates of its own, who were chiefly of Frisian origin. During the Hundred Years War robberies perpetrated by French and English buccaneers frequently gave the Hansa grounds for complaint. But now the Vitalienbrüder, in addition, disturbed the sphere of Western European maritime commerce from their new headquarters in Friesland Once more the Hansa was obliged to unite its merchant vessels bound for the Netherlands into fleets of about twenty ships each, accompanied by convoy boats. Although the league vainly endeavoured to obtain the assistance of the cities of Flanders, a squadron despatched from Lübeck and Hamburg proved strong enough to defeat the Vitalienbrüder in the Ems, in April, 1400. Some of the freebooters fled to Norway, others sought refuge with the counts of Holland; but Hamburg continued her campaign against the pirates until, finally, the chief of the buccaneers, Klaus Störtebeker, was captured and executed—an often-sung event that has long been retained in the memory of a people otherwise forgetful enough in regard to historical occurrences.

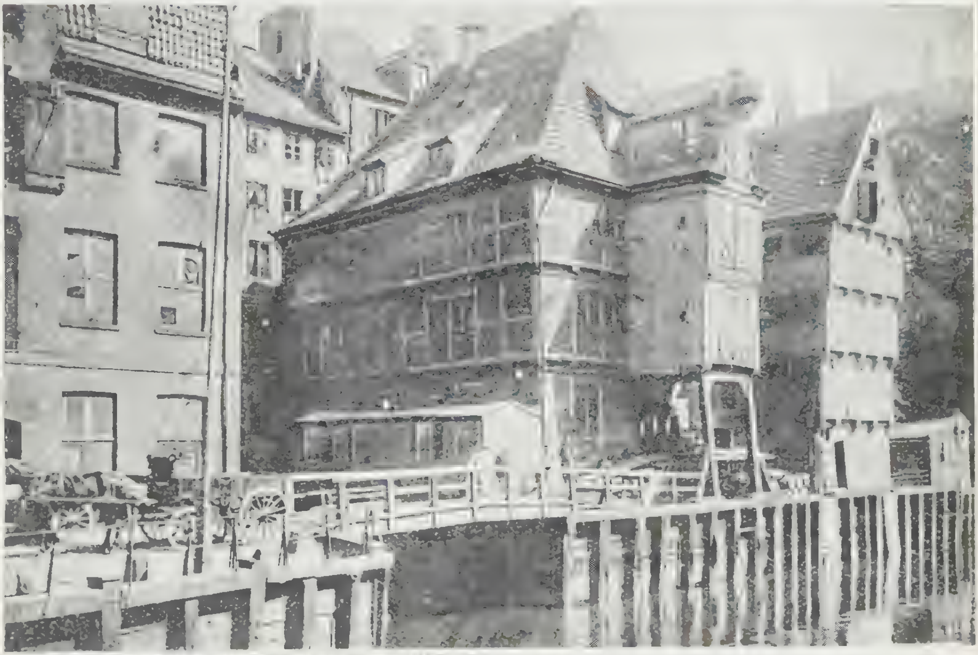
Nevertheless, piracy on the North Sea continued, and also the name of the Vitalienbrüder, who for many years enjoyed a second period of prosperity under the self-chosen designation *Likendeeler*, or "equal-sharers." The occupation of Gotland by the Teutonic Order was a source of great anxiety to the Hansa, for the order—with which the non-Prussian cities of the Baltic sought to stand upon as good terms as possible for the sake of their common interests—pursued its own special aims, and was a very untrustworthy ally; moreover, it opposed the union of the three northern kingdoms, and challenged Margaret of Denmark to battle for the political supremacy of the Baltic.

Aims of the Teutonic Order

This caused the Hanse towns, hitherto neutral, considerable embarrassment. Should they take part in the struggle between the two powers, or should they, as formerly, let events take their course, in order to be in a position to offer their services as mediators when the right moment arrived? The Teutonic Order would not be turned from its design of occupying Gotland, and its commercial policy immediately proved dangerous to the Hansa.

The Prussian, and especially the Livonian, towns had always striven in vain for equal rights with Wisby and Lübeck in Novgorod. Now, as a result of an agreement with Lithuania, an independent commercial region previously open to the Prussian group alone of the Hanse cities was suddenly closed to them also; the

HANSEATIC WAREHOUSES AT NOVGOROD IN RUSSIA



THE LEAGUE IN GERMANY SOME OF ITS OLD WAREHOUSES AT HAMBURG

HANSEATIC BUILDINGS IN THE ONCE FAMOUS COMMERCIAL CITY OF BRUGES

DEPOTS OF THE POWERFUL TRADE COMBINATION, THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE founding of a depot in Kovno resulted in a competition which threatened to injure the trade of Novgorod and Pskoff, and in fact did so. The treaty concluded by the Grand Master of the Order and Witold, Grand Duke of Lithuania, on the Sallinwerder in 1398 ended the tedious struggles which for a long time had kept both powers in check. This treaty, so favourable to the Teutonic Order, was made by Lithuania because it was necessary for the latter to protect its rear in view of the impending struggle with Russia; and Prussia was quite willing to come to terms now that Lithuania had ceased to be a heathen land and the scene of uninterrupted religious wars.

Lithuania Abandons Heathenism

Although the relations of the two powers soon became strained again, a fresh struggle culminating in the fall of the order, this had no lasting effects either on the independent trade carried on by the Prussian towns in Lithuania and Poland, or on the depot at Kovno. When the old connection between the Prussian Order and its cities was destroyed by the dissolution of the former, the latter did not seek for new relations with the other Baltic towns, but pursued their own course, which was entirely out of harmony with the Lusatian and general Hanseatic interests. The development of the federal character of the Hansa was over. The system of territorial groups of cities corresponding to the general development of the German nation proved fatal to the beginnings of a common league of German towns.

At the very time that the antagonism between the far-seeing commercial policy of the Teutonic Order and the narrower trade interests of the towns subject to it was in process of widening into a gulf that could not be bridged over, a new competitor for the "Dominium," or, rather, the Condominium, of the Baltic appeared, a pretender that barred the way of the Order-state to the sea—Poland-Lithuania, finally united in 1401. This union was a greater source of danger to the Teutonic Order than was that of the three northern kingdoms. It was impossible for it to live with foes on both sides, so it made peace with the North, ceding the island of Gotland, which it had retained for nine years, to Eric, King of Norway, Sweden and Denmark, in return for a small sum of money, in 1407. Previously, however, the order had obtained, in 1402, the "New Mark" of Brandenburg from Sigismund of Luxemburg in the form of a pledge, in order completely to bar the way of the Poles to the sea. Further events, such as the battle of Tannenberg in 1410, so ruinous to the order, have but little bearing on the present subject. The advance of the Western Slavs, who so often succeeded in bringing the eastern expansion of the Teutonic races to a halt—and, indeed, frequently regained extensive tracts of land from the latter—was also a constant source of injury to the Hanseatic League. Owing to their helplessness the cities were even unable to think of attacking Poland; but, on the other hand, they looked upon the catastrophe of Tannenberg as having been a desirable check to the ambitions of the order.

The Teutonic Order in Danger

The ancient Greeks have told us with a shudder of sympathetic awe about the children of fortune who, lifted up by fate and tempted to evil by success, suddenly found themselves cast down into the depths of misery from the very zenith of prosperity. To these self-destroying creatures, maddened by happiness, victims of the blind powers of chance, the German Hansa certainly did not belong. The gods did not abruptly thrust it into the abyss after the manner in which they treated the Teutonic Order; but they did not permit the league to expand or to attain to greatness—they hindered its progress systematically, as it were, and with a most conscientious attention to detail. Fate never permitted the Germans of the lowlands to develop their commercial activity beyond a certain point, either in respect to privileges or to area controlled.

Fate's Hand on the Germans

Even Nature herself seems to have taken part in this general conspiracy against them: through an unlooked-for caprice she inflicted an injury on their trade from which the mercantile politicians of the Baltic towns, for all their wisdom, were never able to recover. The herrings, which, together with the codfish, are admirable types of the most stupid of gregarious animals, were, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, unfaithful to the regions which since the very earliest times they had been accustomed to visit for the purpose of spawning. Why the herrings temporarily deserted the basin of the

Baltic Sea at the beginning of the fifteenth century, to return again and again—usually in "fish-periods," lasting sixty years—is a question for which history has no answer. Although, in spite of its wanderings into other seas, the herring still remained a fish accustomed to spawn on the coasts, to be caught in nets, and to be salted, smoked, and dried, completely unconcerned as to the nationality of the fishermen, this was by no means a matter of indifference to the Easterlings, who were joined by competitors at the fisheries in the shape of the dwellers on the North Sea coasts, now that the herrings had turned to the waters of England, Scotland and Norway.

In addition to the fisheries, there were so many different interests to be guarded that during the fifteenth century the Hanse towns, either singly or in groups, frequently found themselves involved in the most difficult of conflicts. As a foundation for closer union, especially between neighbouring cities, there existed a common necessity for protecting the privileges of the municipalities and the welfare of the league against the ill-will and deeds of violence of the ruling princes. During the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the majority of the cities of North Germany, in addition to losing many of their rights of self-government, were compelled by their territorial sovereigns to renounce all participation in the Hanseatic League. The fate of complete dependence on the power of a reigning prince was first visited on the Brandenburg group under the house of Hohenzollern. But the Burgundian, Rhenish-Westphalian, Low Saxon, Pomeranian, and Prussian cities were also gradually subjected to the power of the rulers of their respective states. The latter were supported by the fundamental idea of solidarity, the victorious advance of which could not be withstood by the weakly organised political formations of the Middle Ages.

Secessions from Hanseatic League

The attacks made by the ruling princes on municipal liberties were furthered not a little by dissensions which arose within the towns themselves. These conflicts were more serious in North Germany than elsewhere. Central and Southern Germany had already passed through the most dangerous phases of the crisis caused by the struggles of the guilds, when the same troubles arose in the Hanse cities. Not only in respect to commerce and culture, but politically, the northern and southern portions of the Holy Roman Empire stood in sharp contrast to one another.

As in the rest of Europe, a patrician class had also developed in the North German cities, an oligarchy of the rich, who held municipal government fast in their own hands, and laid claim to an inherited, exclusive right to the management of all public affairs. As time went on, the upper class became more and more isolated from the lower ranks of the community. It transmitted its privileges by granting equal rights to its decendants; in other words, it became a distinct and separate estate. Members of this class were called "Junkers," and exclusive assemblies and banquets were held in their residences, or "Junkerhöfen." The patrician class of the Hanse towns had arisen from the families of wholesale dealers, and many of them still continued to carry on trade on a great scale. It was not the fact of their being merchants, however, that gave them social standing, but the possession of freehold property, or of fiefs, from which they took the name of "Rentner," or capitalists. The ordinary merchants, who were accustomed to make annual journeys, often remaining abroad for years, formed a middle class that had no share in municipal offices, and exerted no influence on the general affairs of the city. The more wealthy of the craftsmen, the brewers, and the retail dealers in cloth, were also in the same position. The chief endeavour of this middle class was to obtain the right to take part in civil government. It was not difficult for them to stir up the masses, and to use the proletariat as a battering-ram in their struggles with the patricians.

The Patricians of the Hanse Towns

The usual course taken by events in a Hanse town during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was that, as a result of rebellions on the part of the middle and lower classes, the councillors or aldermen were turned out of office, and various changes were introduced in the municipal constitution. Patrician reactions almost invariably followed, and the earlier form of government was then re-established, perhaps with some alterations. At the period of the Reformation the city democracies once more began to struggle for

Democracy's Struggle for the Mastery

the mastery, yet without being able to retain it for any length of time, for the Lutheran clergy were no less anti-democratic and reactionary than their Catholic predecessors. The old class antagonisms in the towns gradually ceased under the increasing pressure of the ruling princes and of the legislation established by them, which now included all municipal affairs within its jurisdiction. Nevertheless, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century troubles between the different classes continued to lead to very serious results. Hate, barbarity, and treachery, with their attendant murder, execution, mutilation, arson, robbery, and pillage, were the chief characteristics of the town life of the period.

Horrors of Class Quarrels

Together with the desire for the protection of foreign trade, the tie that prevented the Hansa from falling to pieces until the second half of the sixteenth century was the endeavour of the patrician classes of the various cities to uphold constitutions favourable to their interests. Even Bremen, intractable as she had been, more than once expelled from the league, sought help from her sister cities when the patricians were banished in 1365. The Hansetag, or convention of 1366, decided that sentences passed in one town should be valid for all members of the league. Cologne, Brunswick, Stralsund, Anklam, and Dortmund were all visited by democratic revolutions during the fourteenth century; in Brunswick the guilds obtained the upper hand, in spite of temporary expulsion from the Hansa and trade embargoes. Also Lübeck, the chief city of the league, was compelled to employ force in suppressing a movement among the guilds in 1380.

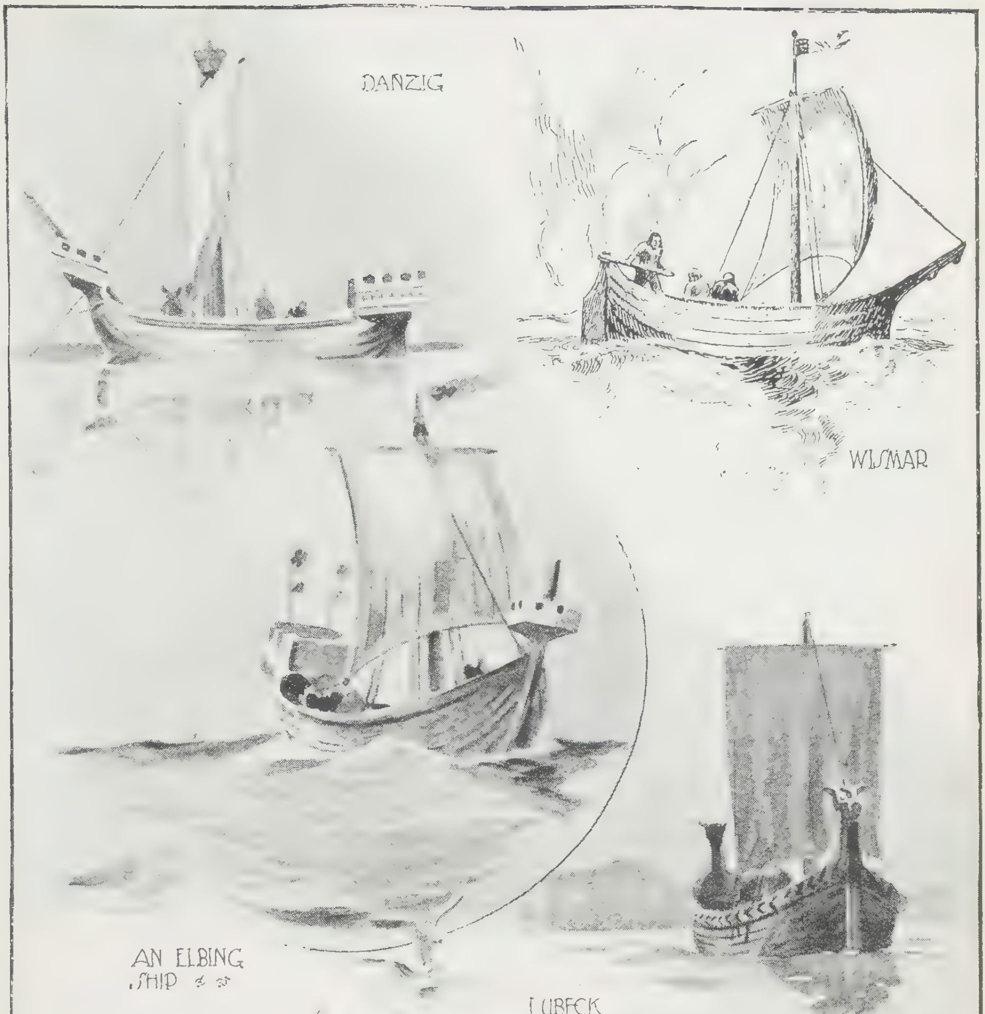
As a rule, the guilds were supported by the reigning houses in all cities governed by hereditary princes. Tyranny, Cæsarism, and legitimate unlimited monarchy are, in reality, democratic forces that assist in the destruction of privileged classes and professions. If the monarchical forms of government of the last few centuries have established themselves upon aristocracy of birth and the possession of landed property, it has been only in order that these qualities might be put to use, not because of any real necessity for them. Hanseatic policy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries centred in the relations of the league with the Scandinavian kingdoms. In this case neutrality was of no service—the adoption of a definite position alone could secure protection and extension of commercial privileges; in fact, it did not lie beyond the bounds of possibility for the Hansa to determine the course of events through an active interference in political affairs.

Guilds Supported by Princes

Both in the Slavic east and in the Romano-Germanic west the league was for the most part forced to permit great political events to run their course. Its position was one of toleration; by actively interfering it would merely have vainly exhausted its insufficient powers of coercion. The attack of King Eric on Schleswig and on the dukes of Schauenburg compelled the citizens of Hamburg to take up arms in defence of their Holstein neighbours. The strange spectacle was presented of Hamburg and the Vitalienbrüder—who had been persuaded to join their forces against Denmark—fighting on the same side. Lübeck avoided the struggle from the very first, and finally was successful in bringing about peace. At this time the Hansa again took up the policy of union which it had adopted during the wars of Waldemar; the Lübeck Confederation of 1418 was the first since that of Cologne in 1367. A large number of cities, in all forty-seven, became members of the new association. Inland towns were strongly represented, and many cities of the Netherlands also participated. A definite proportion was laid down for the provision of men and money, and it was decided that if any town of the confederation were attacked, it should receive assistance, first, from the four nearest cities of the association, later, from the eight nearest, and finally, if necessary, from the entire league. The confederation also introduced rules of arbitration, in case of disputes between members. These measures were directed chiefly against such princes as were hostile to the towns.

The Hansa's Policy of Defence

The confederation also adopted a very firm position against the democratic revolutionists. Agreements were also made as to commercial affairs; for example, the exportation of grain not purchased in Hanseatic ports was forbidden. This was a demonstration against the Dutch, who sought out unfrequented harbours and endeavoured to dispense with the intermediate carrying trade of the Hansa.



HANSE SHIPS OF THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

Affairs in the North kept the Hanse towns, especially the Lusatian group, constantly occupied. Lübeck was at first allied with King Eric VII., against whom Hamburg was already in arms. Then, through the obvious favour shown to the Hollanders, to whom he opened the Sound, Eric succeeded in alienating his former friends. Lübeck made war on him from 1426 until the Peace of Wordingbord in 1435. Schleswig, the bone of contention, remained with the dukes of Schauenburg; Lübeck was enabled to lock up in her strong chest a new confirmation of the hundred years' old Hanseatic privileges. The relations of the Hansa to the Scandinavian kingdoms underwent no change when Eric was deposed in 1439 and succeeded by Christopher of Bavaria, but complaints of the favours bestowed upon the Westerlings by Denmark became more and more frequent.

Favourites of Denmark

After Christopher's death, in 1448, Christian I. of Oldenburg, the forefather of the present house of Denmark, ascended the Danish-Norwegian throne with the approval of the Hansa. Although Sweden had separated from the Union, and was now engaged in a seven years' war with the other two kingdoms, the Hansa took no part in the struggle, content with a fresh confirmation of their valuable rights and privileges. Nor did they interfere when, after the main line of Schauenburg had become extinct in 1460, Christian I. was invested with the title of Duke of Schleswig and Count of Holstein.

From this memorable year date the sufferings of the provinces beyond the Elbe, whose destinies were now united with those of Denmark. Although the Danish-Norwegian king showed no open hostility to the Hansa, Lübeck and Hamburg were at least sufficiently on their guard to increase the height of their walls and to strengthen their towers. In England, also, the league preserved its settlements and privileges during the fifteenth century, although relations frequently became strained, once, indeed, to the point of open war. The English merchants continued their endeavour to nationalise export and maritime trade, and to wrest it from the hands of foreigners; they founded a wool market at Calais, and their mariners appeared in waters over which the Hansa claimed to have exclusive control. Scarcely able to make any headway in Norway, the lands of the Baltic—though the Wendish cities were practically inaccessible—offered them an asylum—also visited by the Hollanders—in Danzig. The metropolis of Prussian commerce had advanced in prosperity with the decline of the oppressive dominion of the Teutonic Order. Without breaking with Lübeck, the merchants of Danzig took their own course in regard to trade with Poland-Lithuania, Holland, and England. English merchants founded a depot on Hanseatic lines at Danzig in 1428, their rights being based on the treaties of reciprocity between England and the league. Nevertheless Lübeck, always ready to appeal to the law when her interests were threatened, was greatly displeased with the advance of the English into the Baltic regions, although she had little to fear from competition.

English Hostility to the Hansa

The commerce of England was not yet sufficiently developed for that. In fact, owing to the struggle with France and to the Wars of the Roses, England was in no condition to look after her commercial interests with any great care; the civil war gave the Hansa a welcome opportunity of mediating between the two parties, as well as of receiving payment from both for apparent services. During these days of king-making Lübeck boldly ventured to seize and to lay an embargo on English ships in the Sound.

Lübeck Seizes English Vessels

A proceeding of this nature gave the English government occasion to take violent reprisals on the Easterlings dwelling in Great Britain in 1468. Thereupon one of the weakest points of the Hanseatic League came to light; the merchants of Cologne, who had always looked upon themselves as the rightful owners of the London depot and as having been deposed by the Easterlings, deserted their associates, established themselves as the sole owners of the Steelyard, and obtained documents attributing to them exclusive rights over the German guild hall in London.

In the meantime the Hansa had decided to expel Cologne from the league and to boycott English commerce. Since not only Henry VI. but Edward IV., on recovering the throne, confirmed the possession of the Steelyard to Cologne, the suspension from the league and the trade embargo continued in force; in fact, a systematic naval war such as the Hansa had never before waged against England, though it had against Denmark, began in 1472. In February, 1474, the Peace of Utrecht was concluded between the English king and the league. The negotiations were conducted by the municipal dignitaries of Lübeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Dortmund. Münster, Brunswick, Magdeburg, Danzig, Deventer, and Nimeguen. The league regained possession of the Steelyard and of the depots in Boston and Lynn, and their privileges again came into force. Cologne, abandoned by Edward IV., was readmitted to the league under humiliating conditions four years after the Peace of Utrecht.

Free trade with all the Hanseatic cities, "as it had been the custom one hundred years before," was granted to England; but for yet another hundred years complete reciprocity remained an open question that each Hanse town answered according to its own interests. It was not finally settled until the Tudor kingdom gained new strength, and then in a way that proved fatal to German active trade.

The Rich Prizes of War

The exasperation felt by Lübeck ever since the time of King Eric outlived the Peace of Wordingbord, in 1435; and shortly after, in the year 1437, war broke out between the Easterlings and Westerlings. Each side captured the mercantile fleet of the other, but the Easterlings suffered the greatest injury, for their ships were the larger and their cargoes the more valuable. In 1441 Duke Philip the Good negotiated a truce, although the chief questions at issue remained undecided.

Even if war did not break out again, the connection between Easterlings and Westerlings was severed; moreover, the Hollanders, although no longer members of the league, could not be driven away from Baltic waters. The Hanse towns maintained their privileges in Flanders, especially in Bruges, during the fifteenth century; they employed their old means of coercion—threatening to remove their markets elsewhere—and always with success, against the merchants of Bruges, who were quite as desirous of obtaining a monopoly as they were themselves.

By the second half of the fifteenth century the city of Bruges was in a pronounced state of decline. Its harbours and canals became more and more choked up with sand; the city was already incapable of serving as the chief market for the trade between the Northern and Southern European spheres of commerce. The people of Bruges might have overcome their misfortunes to a certain degree by their own exertions; but nothing was done, owing to the political quarrels in which Bruges, accustomed to leadership, insisted on having a part. It occupied the most prominent position in the war that raged through the hereditary dominions of the house of Burgundy after the death of Charles the Bold, in 1477.

Bruges Falls from Power

The foreign merchants, from whose presence Bruges derived its greatness, emigrated in large numbers to Antwerp, a more favourably situated and quieter town. In spite of the horrors of war and pillage the Easterlings continued at their decaying depots in Bruges. They remained long after the other foreigners had gone; indeed, they were still at their offices when Antwerp surpassed Bruges as a commercial centre, and when the trade of Europe underwent a revolution such as it had never experienced before or since. For two generations the Hanseatics continued obdurate, singing the while the litany of their inalienable rights, until, finally, they also emigrated to Antwerp, and, naturally enough, arrived too late. The history of the Hansa when at the summit of its power, from the second half of the fourteenth until the end of the fifteenth century, is cheerless and dull, and worthy of but little consideration. Nevertheless, the league prospered, remained in possession of its foreign rights and privileges, and at home continued to be a power in political and economic life.

Other cities and groups of cities showed themselves to be no less tenacious than Lübeck and its following of Lusatian towns in holding fast to their traditional claims and pretensions. Indeed, they still maintained the supremacy in northern commerce, and possessed great influence in the northern kingdoms. But with the fundamental change in political affairs that took place within the Hanseatic sphere of influence during the fifteenth century, and produced still greater effects during the sixteenth, the German seaports, whether single or united, were no longer able to preserve their commercial supremacy.

Vanished Supremacy of Germany

RICHARD MAYR

GREAT DATES IN WESTERN EUROPE BEFORE THE REFORMATION

A.D.	FRANCE, THE SPANISH PENINSULA, AND THE BRITISH ISLES
510	Clovis sole king of the Franks
520	Scots from Ireland establish kingdom of Alban in Argyle
534	Burgundy absorbed by Franks
563	St. Columba at Iona. Spread of Keltic Christianity
577	West Saxon victory at Deorham
588	Kingdom of Northumbria formed
597	Augustine introduces Roman Christianity in Kent
617	Edwin king of Northumbria
630	Pippin the Elder, Austrasian Mayor of the Palace, dominates Merovingian monarchy
633	Penda of Mercia champion of Paganism
655	Penda overthrown by Oswy of Northumbria
687	Pippin of Heristal ruler of Franks
701	Rise of Wessex under Ine
710	Saracens invade Spain
711	Saracens overthrow Goths in Spain
717	Charles Martel head of Franks
732	Charles defeats Saracens at Poitiers (Tours)
735	Death of Venerable Bede
747	Charles succeeded by Pippin "le Bref"
752	Pippin king of the Franks ; Carolingian dynasty
758	Offa king of Mercia
768	Charlemagne king of the Franks
778	Charlemagne in Spain. Roncesvalles
789	First viking raid on England. Constantine I. king of the Picts (N. & E. Scotland)
800	Charlemagne crowned emperor at Rome
802	Egbert king of Wessex
820	Northmen in Ireland
828	Egbert over-lord of all England
839	Ethelwulf succeeds Egbert. Increase of Danish raids
843	Charles the Bald king of West Franks. Beginning of French kingdom
844	Pictish and Scottish kingdoms united under Kenneth McAlpin
845	Northmen penetrate to Paris
855	Danes winter in England for first time
871	Alfred the Great king of Wessex
875	Charles the Bald crowned emperor
878	Alfred defeats Danes at Ethandune. Treaty of Wedmore
879	Louis III. French king
885	Charles the Fat elected king of West Franks
886	Al Mondhir emir of Cordova
888	Odo, Count of Paris, king of France
898	Charles the Simple king of France
901	Edward the Elder king of Wessex
911	Cession of Normandy to Rollo the Northman
921	Extension of Moorish conquests under Abdur Rahman III.
925	Edward king of all England
936	Louis IV. (d'Outremer, king of France. Ascendancy of Hugh the Great, Count of Paris
937	Athelstane's victory at Brunanburh
959	Edgar the Peaceful king of England. Ascendancy of Dunstan
966	Edgar grants Lothian to king of Scots as fief
979	Ethelred the Redeless king of England
985	Extension of Moorish power under Almanzar
986	Louis V. last Carolingian king of French
987	Hugh Capet elected king of France. Capet dynasty
991	Danes renew invasions of England
1013	Sweyn of Denmark conquers England
1014	Canute the Great king of England and Denmark. Defeat of Northmen by Brian Boru at Clontarf
1018	Cession of Lothian to king of Scots
1035	Death of Sancho the Great of Navarre
1042	Edward the Confessor recalled to English throne
1058	Malcolm III. (Canmore) recovers Scottish throne
1066	Harold Godwinson king of England. Battles of Stamford Bridge and Hastings. William the Conqueror king of England

A.D.	SCANDINAVIA, ITALY, THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, AND THE EAST
500	Theoderic the Ostrogoth king of Italy
527	Justinian emperor at Byzantium
537	Belisarius, Justinian's general, in Italy
541–8	Contests between Belisarius and Totila the Goth
552–67	Narses recovers Italy for the empire
568	Conquest of N. Italy by Lombards
590	Gregory I. (the Great) Pope. Conversion of Lombards from Arianism
604	Death of Gregory the Great
636	Rothari king of Lombards. Extension of Lombard dominion
643	Lombard legal code
662	Grimwald king of Lombards
689	Frisians subjugated by Pippin of Heristal
718	Repulse of Saracens before Byzantium by Emperor Leo the Isaurian
726	" Iconociastic " decrees of Leo
727	Pope Gregory II. resists Iconoclasm
731	Gregory III. Pope : the last whose consecration received Eastern emperor's sanction
753	Lombards attack the papacy
754	Pope Stephen appeals to King Pippin
753	Pippin defeats the Lombards
774	Charlemagne conquers and annexes Lombard kingdom
775–9	Conquest of Saxony by Charlemagne
788	Conquest of Bavaria by Charlemagne
796	Conquest of Avars by Charlemagne
800	Beginning of Western or Holy Roman Empire
814	Louis the Pious succeeds Charlemagne
827	Saracens in Sicily
840	Partition of Carolingian Empire between sons of Louis the Pious. Lothair emperor
843	Treaty of Verdun. Lothair emperor, with central kingdom including Italy ; Lewis the German takes the east ; Charles, France
846	Saracens in S. Italy
855–75	Lewis II., son of Lothair, emperor
860	Pope Nicholas I. publishes forged decretals
869	Council of Constantinople
876	Lewis the German's kingdom divided among his sons, Carloman, Lewis, and Charles the Fat
878	Saracens complete conquest of Sicily
880	Lewis and Charles divide Carloman's kingdom
881	Charles the Fat becomes emperor
887	Charles deposed by Arnulf, son of Carloman
891	Saracen invasion of Italy
896	Arnulf crowned emperor at Rome
911	Death of Lewis the Child, last Carolingian king in Germany. Conrad of Franconia king
919	Henry I. (the Fowler) of Saxony king of Germany
926	Hugh of Provence king of Italy
933	Henry the Fowler overthrows Hungarians
936	Otto I. (the Great) succeeds Henry I.
951	Otto makes himself king of Lombardy
955	Final overthrow of Hungarians by Otto
961	Otto's second invasion of Italy
962	Otto I. crowned emperor by Pope John XII.
973	Otto II. king of Germany and Roman emperor
982	Otto II. in Italy
983	Otto III. king of Germany
996	Gregory V. (Bruno) Pope. Otto III. crowned emperor
999	Sylvester II. (Gerbert) Pope
1002	Henry II. of Bavaria king of Germany
1014	Henry II. crowned emperor at Rome. Canute king of Denmark and England
1024	Conrad II. king of Germany ; Franconian dynasty
1027	Conrad II. crowned emperor at Rome
1032	Burgundy united to empire
1039	Henry III. king of Germany
1040	Normans in Apulia
1056	Henry IV. king of Germany
1061	Alexander II. Pope. Ascendancy of Hildebrand

GREAT DATES IN WESTERN EUROPE BEFORE THE REFORMATION—II

THE PAPAL ASCENDANCY & THE CRUSADING ERA

A.D.	FRANCE, THE SPANISH PENINSULA, AND THE BRITISH ISLES
1072	Malcolm III. of Scotland does homage to William
1075	Rebellion of Norman earls in England
1085	Rise of Castile under Alfonso VI.
1086	Domesday Book
1087	William II. (Rufus) king of England
1090	Conquest of Andalusia by Almoravides
1093	Anselm archbishop ; quarrel with William II.
1094	The Cid Ruy Diaz in Valencia
1100	Henry I. king of England
1107	Alexander I. king of Scotland. Henry I. and Archbishop Anselm come to terms
1108	Louis VI. (le Gros) king of France
1124	David I. king of Scotland
1129	Geoffrey of Anjou marries Empress Maud, daughter of Henry I. of England
1135	Stephen of Blois king of England
1137	Louis VII. king of France ; acquires Aquitaine.
1138	Battle of the Standard (Northallerton)
1139	Portugal wins her independence
1145	Almohades overthrow Almoravides
1150	Union of Aragon and Catalonia
1152	Henry of Anjou marries Eleanor of Aquitaine
1154	Henry II. (Plantagenet) king of England
1159	War between Henry II. and Louis VII. Institution of Scutage in England
1164	Constitutions of Clarendon
1165	William the Lion king of Scotland
1170	Murder of Becket. Strongbow in Ireland
1174	William captured at Alnwick. Treaty of Falaise.
1180	Philip II. (Augustus) king of France
1189	Richard I. king of England. Treaty of Falaise abrogated
1191	Richard in Palestine
1194–9	Hubert Walter justiciar in England. Wars between Richard I. and Philip II.
1199	John king of England
1204	John loses Angevin provinces to Philip II.
1212	Moors defeated at Navas de Toloso
1213	John submits to Innocent III.
1214	Alexander II. king of Scotland
1215	Magna Charta
1216	Henry III. king of England
1219	Hubert de Burgh justiciar in England
1226	(Saint) Louis IX. king of France ; regency
1230	Union of Castile and Leon
1242	Unsuccessful expedition of Henry III. to Poitou
1248	First Crusading expedition of Louis IX.
1249	Alexander III. king of Scotland
1252	Alfonso the Wise king of Castile
1258	Provisions of Oxford
1263	Alexander III. defeats Norwegians at Largs
1265	Simon de Montfort's parliament. Fall of Simon at Evesham
1270	Philip III. king of France
1272	Edward I. (on Crusade) king of England
1275	Beginning of legislation of Edward I.
1284	Conquest of Wales
1285	Philip IV. (the Fair) king of France
1286	The Maid of Norway succeeds Alexander III.
1292	John Balliol made king of Scotland at conference of Norham ; does homage to Edward
1294	Edward I. at war with Philip IV.
1295	Model parliament meets in England
1296	Revolt and annexation of Scotland
1297	Wallace heads Scottish revolt. Confirmatio Cartarum.
1299	Scotland incorporated with England. Peace with France
1301	England rejects papal claim on Scotland
1304	Scotland again subjugated
1305	Wallace executed
1306	Robert I. (Bruce) crowned king of Scotland
1307	Edward I. marches against Bruce, but dies

A.D.	SCANDINAVIA, ITALY, THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, AND THE EAST
1073	Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) Pope
1075	Beginning of investitures quarrel between Pope and Emperor
1077	Henry IV. " goes to Canossa "
1080	Election of imperial anti-Pope Clement
1084	Robert Guiscard sacks Rome
1088	Urban II. Pope
1095	Council of Clermont
1097–9	First Crusade
1106	Henry V. succeeds Henry IV.
1107	Renewal of investitures dispute with papacy
1111	Henry V. crowned emperor ; forces papal submission
1115	German revolt against Henry V.
1122	War of investitures ended by Diet of Worms
1125	Lothair III. emperor
1127	Roger of Sicily in South Italy
1130	Rival Popes elected. Papal schism
1138	Conrad III. German king (Hohenstauffen)
1139	Roger of Sicily king of Apulia
1142	Henry the Lion duke of Saxony
1147	Second Crusade. Bernard of Clairvaux
1152	Frederic I. (Barbarossa) German king
1155	Frederic crowned emperor by Hadrian IV.
1158	Frederic's war with Lombard cities begins
1159	Alexander III. Pope
1167	Lombard League formed
1176	Lombards defeat Frederic I. at Legnano
1181	Frederic overthrows Henry the Lion
1187	Capture of Jerusalem by Saladin
1190	Third Crusade. Death of Frederic ; Henry VI. emperor
1194	End of Norman kingdom of Sicily
1197	Bohemia erected into a kingdom
1198	Death of Henry VI. Rivalry of Guelf (Saxon) and Ghibelline (Hohenstauffen) factions. Innocent III. becomes Pope
1201	Innocent supports Otto IV. (Guelf)
1209	Albigensian Crusade
1215	Frederic II. of Sicily (Hohenstauffen) crowned German king
1220	Frederic crowned Roman emperor
1227	Waldemar of Denmark defeated at Bornhovede. Frederic excommunicated
1229	Reconciliation of Frederic and Gregory IX.
1239	Gregory again excommunicates Frederic
1241	Alliance of Hamburg and Lubeck initiates Hanseatic League. Mongol invasion checked at Leignitz
1250	Death of Frederic II. Rival German kings, Conrad and William of Holland
1256	German interregnum for 17 years
1259	Long war between Venice and Genoa begins
1265	Charles of Anjou crowned king of Sicily. Birth of Dante
1268	Conradin, last Hohenstauffen, overthrown
1273	Rudolf of Hapsburg German king
1282	Sicilian Vespers. Peter of Aragon proclaimed king of Sicily. Charles retains Naples
1291	Confederation of the Forest Cantons
1292	Adolf of Nassau German king
1294	Boniface VIII. Pope
1296	Boniface publishes Bull " Clericis Laicos " ; opposed in England and France. Continued war between the " Two Sicilies "
1298	Albert I. of Austria (Hapsburg) crowned German king
1300	Boniface claims Scotland as papal fief
1302	End of war of the two Sicilies. Boniface issues Bull " Unam Sanctam "
1303	Captivity and death of Boniface VIII.
1305	Clement V. Pope. Papacy tranferred from Rome to Avignon. Babylonish captivity begins

GREAT DATES IN WESTERN EUROPE BEFORE THE REFORMATION—III

THE DECLINE OF THE PAPACY AND OF CHIVALRY

FRANCE, THE SPANISH PENINSULA, AND THE BRITISH ISLES

A.D.	
1307	Edward II. king of England
1311	Lords Ordainers in England
1312	Suppression of Order of Templars
1314	Independence of Scotland won at Bannockburn
1315	Edward Bruce in Ireland
1327	Edward II. deposed ; Edward III. king of England
1328	Independence of Scotland confirmed by Treaty of Northampton. Accession of the house of Valois in France : Philip VI. king
1329	David I. succeeds Robert Bruce
1333	Edward Balliol claims Scottish crown. Battle of Halidon Hill
1337	Edward III. claims French crown. Beginning of Hundred Years' War
1338	Flemings, under James van Arteveld, league with Edward
1340	French Fleet defeated at Sluys
1341	David I. restored in Scotland
1346	Battles of Crecy and Neville's Cross
1347	Capture of Calais
1348	Black Death
1350	John king of France
1356	Battle of Poitiers
1358	Rising of Jacquerie
1360	Treaty of Bretigny
1364	Charles V. king of France
1366	Statute of Kilkenny
1367	Pedro the Cruel obtains crown of Castile by aid of Black Prince
1369	Henry of Trastamare king of Castile
1371	Robert II. (Stewart) king of Scotland
1373	Disastrous march of John of Gaunt through France
1375	English lose Aquitaine
1377	Wycliffe supported by John of Gaunt. Richard II. king of England
1380	Charles VI. king of France
1381	Peasant revolt in England ; Wat Tyler
1382	Revolt of Philip van Arteveld
1384	Flanders joined to Dukedom of Burgundy
1390	Robert III. king of Scotland
1396	Anglo-French truce
1399	Henry IV. deposes Richard II.
1400	Factions of Burgundy and Orleans in France begin
1406	Regency of Albany in Scotland
1411	Donald of the Isles overthrown at Harlaw
1413	Henry V. king of England
1415	Agincourt
1420	Treaty of Troyes
1422	Henry VI. king of England. Bedford regent in France : Charles VII. claims French throne
1424	James I., released from England, reigns in Scotland
1429	Joan of Arc raises siege of Orleans
1435	Bedford dies ; Anglo-Burgundian alliance ends
1437	James II. king of Scotland
1440	Henry " the Navigator " in Portugal
1453	English expelled from France, except Calais
1455	First battle of War of the Roses (St. Albans)
1460	James III. king of Scotland
1461	Edward IV. of York king of England. Towton. Louis XI. king of France
1467	Charles the Bold Duke of Burgundy
1469	Isabella of Castile marries Ferdinand of Aragon
1471	Lancastrians crushed at Barnet and Tewkesbury
1475	Treaty of Pecquigny
1476	Caxton's printing press
1477	Charles the Bold overthrown at Nancy
1483	Charles VIII. king of France ; Richard III. king of England : Inquisition under Torquemada in Spain
1485	Henry VII. Tudor king of England
1488	James IV. king of Scotland
1492	Fall of Granada
1493	Voyage of Columbus
1495	Poynings' Law. Charles VIII. in Italy
1498	Louis XII. of Orleans king of France. Vasco da Gama reaches India
1503	James IV. marries Margaret Tudor
1509	Henry VIII., king of England, marries Katharine of Aragon

SCANDINAVIA, ITALY, THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, AND THE EAST

A.D.	
1307	Henry VII. of Luxemburg German king
1309	Teutonic Knights established at Marienburg
1310	Charles Robert of Naples king of Hungary
1311	Venetian Council of Ten established
1313	German crown contested for eight years between Lewis IV. of Bavaria and Frederic of Austria
1315	Swiss defeat Austrians at Morgarten
1316	John XXII. Pope
1322	Lewis IV. overcomes Frederic at Mühldorf
1324	New contest between empire and papacy
1328	Lewis IV. in Italy
1330	John of Bohemia in Italy
1334	Benedict XII. Pope
1338	German Electors declare their independence of papal authority
1341	Struggle between Florence and Pisa
1342	Clement VI. Pope
1347	Charles IV. of Luxemburg and Bohemia becomes German king. Rienzi's revolution at Rome. Lewis of Hungary at Naples
1348	Fall of Rienzi
1352	Innocent VI. Pope
1354	End of war between Venice and Genoa
1355	Charles IV. crowned in Rome
1356	The Golden Bull
1362	Urban V. Pope
1369	Charles IV. withdraws from Italy
1371	Gregory XI. Pope
1376	Wenzel king of the Romans. League of Swabian towns
1377	Gregory XI. at Rome. Babylonish Captivity ends. War of the Cities (Swabian League)
1378	Wenzel German king. Election of rival Popes, Urban VI. and Clement VII., begins the Great Schism
1385	Gian Galeazzo Visconti master of Lombardy
1386	Swiss defeat Austrians at Sempach
1389	Diet forbids leagues of cities
1397	Scandinavian kingdoms united under Erik by Union of Calmar. Margaret of Denmark regent
1400	Rupert Count Palatine elected king of Romans in opposition to Wenzel
1409	Council of Pisa elects a third Pope, Alexander V. Rival Popes refuse to resign
1410	John XXIII. succeeds Alexander V.
1411	Sigismund king of Romans
1414	Council of Constance
1415	Martyrdom of Huss
1417	Martin V. Pope. Great Schism ends
1419	Bohemian war begins, lasting 17 years
1431	Eugenius IV. Pope
1434	Cosmo de Medici at Florence
1438	Albert II. (Hapsburg) king of Romans. Henceforth empire remains with Hapsburgs
1440	Frederic III. king of Romans
1442	Gutenberg's printing press
1447	Inheritance of Visconti in permanent dispute between Orleans and Sicily. Nicholas V. Pope
1453	Fall of Constantinople
1458	Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius) Pope
1469	Lorenzo de Medici at Florence
1471	Sixtus IV. Pope
1477	Maximilian of Hapsburg marries Mary of Burgundy
1479	Lodovico Sforza (il Moro) at Milan
1480	Turks capture Otranto
1485	Saxony divided between Ernestine and Albertine lines
1489	Savonarola preaches at Florence
1491	Maximilian invades Hungary
1492	Alexander VI. (Borgia) Pope
1493	Maximilian succeeds Frederic III.
1496	Philip of Burgundy (heir of Maximilian) marries Joanna of Castile
1498	Savonarola put to death
1503	Julius II. Pope
1508	League of Cambrai against Venice

THE SOCIAL FABRIC OF THE MEDIÆVAL WORLD

AN HISTORICAL SURVEY OF FEUDALISM

By W. Romaine Paterson, M.A.

THE ORIGIN OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

VIRGIL described that man as happy who is able to understand the causes of things. And certainly, unless the study of human history is to be the mere idle inspection of a panorama, we are required to make an effort to understand, at least in part, the mass of historical causes which lie behind the mass of historical effects. Social and political institutions did not shoot up in a night. If we wish to trace their genesis we are frequently compelled to look far beyond the particular geographical limits within which they seem to have first appeared. And our search for their origins is made more difficult by the fact that certain institutions, at least in their rudimentary forms, were the result of natural and spontaneous growth among communities which had never been in contact. Thus, for example, in numerous tribes which had never heard of each other we find the existence of the kingship and of slavery.

Human Society Alike in all Ages

Although, therefore, a conquering people may impose its institutions upon a conquered people, the latter may have already reached independently the same stage of social development. Such a fact means that when human beings came together for the purposes of peaceful intercourse, or when they met in the collision of war, the same kind of problems arose everywhere and received the same kind of solution. There has, indeed, been a remarkable uniformity in the structure of human society in all ages and among all peoples, and we find even in savage tribes the rude plan of a later and more elaborate building. We are apt to suppose, for instance, that feudalism, which was the form into which society fell in Europe during the Middle Ages, was a purely European invention. Although, however, its maximum development did certainly occur in Europe during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, the germs of the system were already active, not only on European soil, long before the fall of the Roman Empire, but within the Asiatic empires of Babylon and Assyria, and even among uncivilised tribes in all the continents.

Feudalism an Ancient System

We may accept as a rough definition of feudalism in its agrarian aspect the statement that it was a system of land tenure, whereby individuals were compelled to exploit the land for the benefit of their overlords, and were themselves exploited in the process. But this system, which became complicated and elaborated to an extraordinary degree in mediæval Europe, was already practised by the conquering peoples of antiquity, both in the West and in the Orient.

The basis of feudalism was serfdom. But the main source of serfdom, like the main source of slavery, lay in conquest, and those two forms of hereditary subjection existed simultaneously in ancient states, and even in communities which could not be called states at all. It was natural for a people who had subdued and annexed a neighbouring territory to annex as well the labour of the original inhabitants, who were thus allowed to remain upon the land on condition of surrendering the greater part of their produce. Both in Fiji and in the Sandwich Islands serfdom was discovered to be an ancient institution. In Babylon and in Assyria there existed a great vassal population of agriculturalists who were sold with the soil, like the glebæ adscripti of Rome. The Babylonian temples, like the mediæval monasteries of Europe, owned serfs who tilled the lands dedicated to the gods, and in both cases the subjection was hereditary. We may even go so far as to say that in Assyria the feudal tenure of land was fully developed, since ownership or tenancy was accompanied by the obligation of military service. A number of bowmen were furnished according to the size of the estate, and when the estate was sold the same obligation was imposed upon the new proprietor. And, as in Europe, the serfs were never detached from an estate, since they were the implements of its exploitation.

The Ancient Basis of Feudalism

Moreover, it was mainly upon the agricultural serfs that the state laid claims for forced labour. The same system was introduced among European communities in antiquity. When the Dorians seized Laconia they compelled the Perioeci, who had probably been their forerunners in conquest, to till the domains of Sparta, the ruling city. In Messenia they reduced the Messenians to the condition of helots, who, while permitted to remain on the soil, were required to pay one half of the produce by way of tribute. A similar policy was carried out in all the colonies of the Roman Empire, and, indeed, "coloni" means rural slaves who were fixed to the domain: "servi terræ glebæ inhærentes." Thus, the agrarian basis of feudalism was laid centuries before the word feudalism was known.

Serfdom, indeed, was established on an immense scale throughout the Roman Empire. In the Codes of Justinian and Theodosius there are numerous statutes which regulate the social condition and ordain the punishments of the serfs in places so remote from each other as Northern Africa, Thrace, and Palestine. Thus, in the Codex Justinianus (xi. 48, 15) it is enacted by the emperor that serfs are to be regarded as integral parts of the domain which they cultivate, and that they are not to be removed from it "even for an instant"; "quos (*i.e.*, colonos) ita glebis inhærere præcipimus, ut ne puncto quidem temporis amoveri." In another passage it is expressly forbidden to sell the labourers apart from the land or the land apart from the labourers: "quemadmodum originarios absque terra ita rusticos censitosque servos vendi omnifariam non licet" (xi. 48, 7). Sales whereby the purchaser of a portion of land agreed to abandon his right over the serfs who had been working upon it are declared to be fraudulent.

Serfdom in the Roman Empire

In all such statutes we see already in operation the agricultural system which afterwards reigned in Europe during a thousand years, and was still flourishing in Russia in the nineteenth century. In the Code of Theodosius fugitive serfs are declared to be liable to the treatment of fugitive slaves: "ipsos etiam colonos qui fugam meditantur in servilem condicionem ferro ligari conveniet" (v. 17, 1). And, again, in the Code of Justinian provincial governors are warned that part of their duty consists in assisting landowners to recover the fugitive serfs of both sexes.

The future condition of the European peasantry of the Middle Ages is thus foreshadowed by the legislation of the Christian emperors of Rome. And yet in the eye of Roman law the serfs were not slaves. They owned property, although, indeed, it is true that without their master's consent they were forbidden to alienate it. Whereas there was no legal marriage between slaves, the marriage of serfs was countenanced by the state. Moreover, serfs received protection against the exactions of their masters, who, if guilty of criminal assault, were liable to be arraigned before a judge. If an estate were partitioned and sold it was declared illegal to separate the members of a single household of serfs.

Serfs who Owned Property

And it is worth observing that this humane provision of later Roman law contrasts very favourably with the treatment of the negroes by their American masters, for in the case of modern Colonial slavery and serfdom, husband and wife, parents and children, brothers and sisters, were frequently separated, to be sold in different markets. Nevertheless, Roman serfdom entailed great misery upon its victims. Although it involved a social status superior to that of slavery, in the opinion of Savigny its results were often even more disastrous for the well-being of the individual. Manumission was infrequent, and generations of serfs were kept chained to the soil. It was only if the serf had remained unclaimed by his master during thirty years that he could consider himself at last a freeman. On the other hand, he who had been a serf for thirty years without having petitioned for his liberty, was doomed to serfdom during the rest of his life. Although, too, the annual dues payable to the master were a fixed quantity regulated by statute, the dues payable indirectly to the state varied according to the state's needs.

The crushing weight of the imperial burden was, indeed, most severely felt by the agricultural population in their condition of semi-liberty and semi-servitude. The serf-owner was held responsible for the payment of the capitation tax on each of his men, and his exactions were often the result of pressure from the powers above him. But within his own boundaries the proprietor of a Roman villa exercised an authority no more despotic than that of the seigneur of a mediæval domain.

Now this colonial system, with serfdom as its basis, was fully developed by the Romans in Gaul during the 400 years which followed the victories of Cæsar. A land which had been a wilderness, sparsely inhabited by wild Keltic clans, was gradually transformed by incessant labour into a fertile province, in which cities like Narbonne and Lyons arose. Municipal government was perfected on the Roman model, and by means of the great roads there was maintained an uninterrupted communication with the capital of the empire and the imperial court. Moreover, to this civilising influence of Roman administration the Church lent her aid. Missionaries who were afterwards canonised as saints were early at work evangelising Gaul. Paganism waned as the new faith waxed in power, and about the middle of the second century of our era there were bishops at Lyons, and, later, at Paris and Tours. Churches were built in the towns, and the bishops and their clergy did not stand aloof from civic life, but frequently filled the office of magistrates.

Rome's Civilising Influence

But this combined agency of secular and ecclesiastical authority was unconsciously preparing the province for other masters. For as Rome was falling, new nations were rising, and were already knocking at her gates. While the power was withering at the centre, the European frontiers of the empire were feeling the pressure of those German tribes—Goths, Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Salian Franks, and Burgundians—whose appearance on the scene meant a new era not only for Europe, but for the world. Ancient Germany, from which the invaders came, comprised, besides the territory of the modern German Empire, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, Finland, and a great part of Russia. But the tribes did not form a single people. Rather they were fragments of a single race, and though the groups shared the same original blood, and spoke dialects of the same language, they were frequently at war with each other. Besides, they were at different levels of culture. Their earlier intrusions on Roman ground do not concern us. But the seizure of Gaul in the fifth century A.D. by Burgundians, Visigoths and Franks marked not merely the final ruin of the Western Empire, but the founding of mediæval and feudalistic France. Raids had been followed by settlements on a great scale, and we discern among those formidable enemies of Rome a growing sense of the value of land.

Founding of Mediæval France

Much had happened since Cæsar wrote about the Germans. Numerous successful winter expeditions across the frozen Rhine had brought them into closer contact with the power which they were to destroy, and they had had many a tempting glimpse of the fertile and smiling lands which lay south of their own dark forests. In Cæsar's age the Germans were acquainted with only the most primitive system of agriculture, and their wealth was measured not in terms of land, but in cattle. Some of the tribes were still nomadic. According to Cæsar and to Tacitus, however, among those tribes which were more or less settled on the soil there was an annual division of the land, and this fact indicates the continuance of a rude and simple form of tribal organisation. Tacitus, who was writing 150 years after Cæsar, tells us that the Germans of his own age had no cities, and that they abhorred contiguous dwellings. Their domestic architecture wsa of the meanest kind. Their houses, or, rather, their huts, were built of wattle or wood and clay, and were low roofed. Sometimes even such buildings as these were an impossible luxury, and the people chose caves for their homes. Certain of the tribes

Germans as Described by Tacitus

on the Danube and the Rhine still clothed themselves in the skins of the wild beasts which fell to them in following the chase.

But rumours not only of the wealth but of the increasing weakness of Rome had reached these wild and virile nations. Their incursions had become bolder, and at length a feeble policy permitted permanent settlements of the strangers within imperial territory. That policy was dangerous, and finally it was fatal. But during the slow ebbing of the strength of Rome some of the barbarians, like the Visigoths in 412 A.D., became her allies. They actually helped to fight her battles, and in 450 A.D. the Visigoths joined forces with the legions, and overthrew Attila and his hordes at Chalons-sur-Marne. Conscious of their own military importance the newcomers began to annex unhindered more and more of Gallic territory. The Burgundians arrived between 406 A.D. and 413 A.D., and made their headquarters at Lyons. Between 412 A.D. and 450 A.D. the Visigoths spread themselves along the banks of the Rhine and the Loire, and founded their capital at Toulouse.

Rome's Power on the Ebb

More formidable than either of those peoples were the Franks, who, between 481 AD. and 500 A.D., conquered Northern Gaul. Paris became their centre, and in 486 A.D. their king, Clovis, defeated the last remnant of Roman power at Soissons. The Middle Ages had begun. But early in the sixth century the invaders were fighting against each other, and first the Burgundians, then the Visigoths fell before the victorious Franks, who mastered the whole territory of France—with the exception of Brittany—and gave it its modern name. Here and there the towns, with the bishops at their head, retained their ancient municipal government, and the Church began to convert the barbarians to Christianity, and to teach them some of the secrets of the imperial rule. But in the country districts the Roman organisation of Gaul was destroyed. Out of the debris, and as a result of a slow fusion between the social systems of the victors and the vanquished, feudalism arose.

The Church Converting the Barbarians

It is to some of the main features of feudalism that we shall give our attention in the following pages, because feudalism was the great social fact of the Middle Ages. And it is especially the feudalism of France that we shall choose to study, because it was there that the system received the highest development.

At the outset it is well to grasp two important facts: (1) that what we might call the upper structure of feudalism—that is to say, the hierarchy of lords and overlords, vassals and under-vassals—was the creation of the Teutonic invaders of France; and (2) that what we might call the under-structure had already been firmly fixed on Gallic soil by the hands of the Romans, and even of the Gauls. We have already seen that in all the Roman provinces serfdom formed the basis of the agrarian system. But in Gaul itself the Romans had inherited the serfs and slaves who already existed in the country.

It is more than probable that the successive waves of conquest which swept over ancient Gaul made little change in the condition of the agricultural population. Kelts, Romans, and Teutons exploited in turn the mass of men who had been driven by conquest and by various economic causes to sell not only their labour, but their persons, to their superiors. At the moment of the departure of Roman power from Gaul, Gallic society had assumed the form into which every other ancient society fell. Although there were different grades among the freemen, and different grades among the bondmen, the variations may, in the one case, all be unified under the idea of liberty, and in the other under the ideas of slavery and serfdom. And it was the people at the bottom who felt most severely the violence and pillage of the invasions.

Germans who Sold Themselves

Not that the invaders were unacquainted with a servile class among their own ranks. Tacitus tells us that even free Germans sometimes sold themselves into slavery, and in his twenty-fifth chapter he allows us to see that serfdom was fully developed among them. The serfs, who, as we know from other sources, were called *lidi*, or *liti*, were an inseparable part of their lord's domain. "And," says Tacitus, "the owner requires from his slave, as from a serf, a certain amount of grain, cattle, and clothing." When we turn to the codes of law of such peoples as the ancient Saxons, the Salian Franks, the Ripuarians, and the Burgundians, we find various enactments dealing with this servile class. In their present form those laws were doubtless drawn up after the conquest of Gaul. The laws of the Burgundians, for example, belong to the period between 448 A.D. and 530 A.D. Some of the codes even betray borrowings from the law of Rome. But all of them are, at least in part, a retention of immemorial custom among the various groups of the German tribes, and in this rude jurisprudence the position of the slaves is made clear. They are the absolute property of their masters. Thus in the Lex Saxonum, x. 1, it is stated that the owner is to be held responsible for whatever act his slave or his serf has committed if that act has been done by the master's order (jubente domino). The same enactment appears in the Thuringian law.

In the Ripuarian code we see that already a great gulf was fixed between the freeman and the serf, for whereas in the case of the murder of a serf the compensation was only 36 solidi, in the case of the murder of a freeman the compensation amounted to 200. Again, in the Burgundian laws provision is made for the case of fugitive slaves, and penalties are fixed for those persons who assist them to escape. These passages are sufficient to prove, therefore, that when the Teutonic invaders at last became masters of Gaul they found nothing unfamiliar in the subjection of the agricultural population. It is true that their serfs appear to have enjoyed greater freedom than the corresponding class among the Gauls, and that sometimes they were recognised as genuine members of the community. And, according to one ancient Frankish authority, the servile class among the Saxons possessed as early as the eighth century a share of political power. But the serf remained a bondsman in relation to his lord, and he cultivated land which he could never own.

Teutons the Masters of Gaul

The problem which faced the conquerors was how to adjust their political institutions to the conditions which existed in Gaul, and, as we shall see, it was because a perfect adjustment was impossible that the feudal system gradually came into being. The Saxons had no kings until after the migration to England; but in tribes like the Franks there existed from ancient times a kingship which was both hereditary and elective in the sense that the nation chose the king from the members of a single family. They possessed also an aristocracy surrounding the king, and in their public assemblies, as in the Homeric Agora, the freemen were called together to deliberate on the nation's affairs. "They choose their kings for reasons of birth," says Tacitus; "their generals for reasons of merit." The founder of the royal house had been a successful warrior. Military valour thus brought rank and privilege in its train, for the time came when, as Tacitus tells us, "land was divided according to rank." This means that the old tribal equality had disappeared, and there was already a sharp division of the classes. Among the Saxons, for instance, marriage was forbidden by law between the free and the serf, and violation of this statute was punishable by death. The early communism had given way before a caste system, in which marriage was permissible only between persons of the same rank.

Marriage Laws of the Saxons

According to Tacitus the chiefs received a contribution or present, which became a means of regular income. A privileged class was thus gradually evolved, and only a successful conquest on a large scale was needed in order to transform its members into great territorial sovereigns. In the earlier time the chief had rewarded his followers by presents of "war horses and the blood-stained lance of victory," and by feasts and entertainments, for there was as yet no land to divide. But in the comitatus, or groups of "braves" who attached themselves to every prominent leader, we see the forerunners of those mediæval vassals who lived upon their lord's domain and obeyed his summons to war.

Again, in the criminal jurisprudence of ancient Germany some of the feudal methods are likewise foreshadowed, for, as prescribed by Teutonic custom, half of the fine by means of which certain crimes were expiated was paid to the king, who, like the later mediæval seigneur, thus enjoyed a revenue from the administration of justice. We have seen that according to Tacitus the ancient Germans had no towns, and this fact is important in the history of feudalism. For when they found themselves on Gallic soil the Franks instinctively turned from the Gallo-Roman cities. The centre of gravity was shifted from the towns to the country districts, and it was in the latter that the feudal régime was at first consolidated. In the

The Franks on Gallic Soil

former the bishops continued to control municipal affairs, and in some cases the ancient civic organisations appear to have survived the conquest. No doubt the towns and villages formed part of the seigneurial lands, and later there arose important problems concerning the relations which existed between the inhabitants of the communes and the lords of the domain. But whereas during the Roman occupation of Gaul the towns had played a predominant part, during the mediæval period they became subordinate to a powerful territorial nobility. Entire towns with all their inhabitants, in fact, could form part of a fief. The origin of this territorial sovereignty is to be sought both in the grants of land which the king gave to his immediate followers and in the seizure of Gallic estates by those of his warriors who were strong enough to secure their own interests. Hence, two kinds of property in land came into existence.

Roman Occupation of Gaul

An estate was either a beneficium (later a feodum)—that is to say, a portion of land presented by the king to a retainer in return for certain services—or it was an alodium or alod—that is to say, a freehold property held independently and claimed by right of prescription. The development of feudalism is marked by the tendency of the alod to become a feodum. In order, for instance, to secure the protection of a more powerful neighbour and to prevent his aggressions, the owner of a freehold was frequently compelled to become a vassal and to do homage. This act was termed "commendation." Although he retained his ancient rights over his property, the original freeholder was now an inferior and took the oath of fealty to his superior. The conquered territory became thus split up into great areas which fell under the jurisdiction of separate sovereigns. The principle of partition was applied even to the entire kingdom, as if it had been a royal estate. Both in 511 A.D., at the death of Clovis, and in 561, at the death of Lothair, the Frankish kingdom was divided into four parts. During the Merovingian period, especially when the strong hand of Clovis was withdrawn, the conditions of land tenure were no doubt more or less chaotic. Estates frequently changed hands, and sometimes they were granted by the crown only during the life of the recipient. Such gifts were called temporary benefices, or "precaria," and they were recoverable by the crown. But all estates tended to become hereditary. The personal relation of the vassal to his lord was expressed and merged in the property, and that relation was continued between their respective heirs.

Divisions of the Frankish Kingdom

The word feodum or fief is not found before the ninth century (884 A.D.), but according to Du Cange it was synonymous with "beneficium." Both words indicated the hereditary usufruct of an estate on condition of the faithful services of the vassal: "ut ille et sui hæredes fideliter domino serviant" (Du Cange voc. Feodum). And Du Cange tells us that at first fiefs were bestowed only upon families of noble blood. The word is supposed to be of Teutonic origin, and the old derivation from the Latin "fides" (fidelity) has been discarded. Feodum, or fief, is based on the Gothic "faihu," Anglo Saxon "feoh," and means goods and property—originally property in cattle (vieh), and at last in land. We observe, therefore, that feudalism originated in a great struggle for the soil. He who was landless was impotent. If he enjoyed neither absolute ownership nor usufruct he sank to a condition of servile dependence. On the other hand, the greater the estate, the greater the power of the owner, for he was lord not only of it but of all the men and women born upon it. When attacked by neighbours, his own immediate vassals and *their* vassals and serfs were compelled to flock to his aid.

The Veiled Anarchy of Feudalism

The feudal system thus contained within itself all the elements of disruption, and, indeed, it involved a kind of veiled anarchy. It was the most pronounced and most successful form of militant individualism which the world has seen. As long as the central power was strong, as it was in the hands of Clovis or Charlemagne, the tendencies towards disintegration were restrained. The freemen still sat in the local assemblies, or "mals," and administered the law. Provincial governors, called Grafs, were placed at the head of the jurisdiction of great districts, and were responsible to the crown.

Charlemagne, in order to identify the administration of justice with the throne, sent throughout his empire at regular periods his magistrates, "scabini" or "échevins," to superintend the procedure of the local courts. He convoked at regular intervals those general assemblies, or "placita generalia," in which, by his deliberations with his viceregents and agents he legislated as an emperor conscious of imperial needs. And he thereby created a sense of imperial unity. Moreover, in order to recover complete sovereignty he enjoined an oath of fidelity to himself as emperor on the part of layman as well as of ecclesiastic. But in the Capitulary of the year 805 A.D. we already discover signs of that coming collision between feudalism and the monarchy which took place in the reigns of his feeble successors. "Let no one," says Charlemagne, "swear fidelity to any person except to us and to his lord for our behoof and for his lord's behoof."

Sooner or later a conflict for the allegiance of the vassals was inevitable, since men were thus called upon to serve two masters. And the attempt to extricate the throne from the growing entanglement of the feudal relations was successful only so long as Charlemagne remained its occupant.

The Success of Charlemagne

In the reign of his successors the movement of decentralisation took place and was irresistible. The feudal seigneurs became again independent, the crown became merely a shadow and an effigy, and the crown domain merely another great fief. The national unity had perished. There was no state, and its place was filled by a conglomeration of minor and rival sovereignties. In the words of Stubbs: "The disruption was due more to the abeyance of central attraction than to any centrifugal force existing in the provinces. But the result was the same; feudal government, a gradual system of jurisdiction based on land tenure in which every lord judged, taxed and commanded the class next below him, in which abject slavery formed the lowest and irresponsible tyranny the highest grade, in which private war, private coinage, private prisons, took the place of the imperial institution of government."

The view that the rise of the feudal sovereignties was due merely to the failure of the central power is perhaps exaggerated by Stubbs, who seems to neglect the fact that the centrifugal tendency was active from the beginning, and was never wholly curbed. Even in ancient Germany, when there was still maintained a genuine co-operation between the tribe and its leaders, the restlessness and independence of the warriors found vent in perpetual expeditions. "If," says Tacitus, "their native state sinks into the stagnation of peace, many of the noble youths offer their services to other tribes which happen to be waging war because inaction is hateful to the race, and because renown is more easily won in the thick of danger, and because a great following is best maintained when war is afoot."

Tacitus on the "Stagnation of Peace"

The nomadic and more restless stage was now over, and the leader was settled upon his domain, was building his castle, was founding a family, and was arming himself against his neighbour. Nothing less than a revolution had taken place. Whereas during Roman times each particular subject was, by means of the complex machinery of administration, brought into contact with the central authority, now that authority was wholly dispersed. The coinage of the state had ceased, and the lord of the domain struck his own currency, framed his own laws, and judged his own men. In a word, the characteristic of feudalism was the fusion of property and sovereignty. It was a double triumph of aristocracy, for it meant that, on the one hand, the people had been crushed, and, on the other, that the authority of the crown had been eclipsed and overthrown. Again, no genuine coalition was possible between the lords of the domain. Temporary confederations did take place, but they were soon dissolved.

The lands of Gaul were already partitioned during the Roman times among the great nobles, who were called senatores because their rank entitled them to membership of the Roman Senate. But the Teutonic conquerors had seized those great estates, together with the slaves and the serfs who were at work upon them. In some cases the domains were voluntarily shared between the strangers and the old proprietors; and in the laws of the Burgundians, for instance, the Roman and the Burgundian nobles are mentioned as forming a single class. Out of a fusion of the great families of the victors and the vanquished there arose the feudal aristocracy of mediæval France.

Birth of France's Aristocracy

EMANCIPATION OF SERFS A BARON ON HIS DEATHBED GRANTING FREEDOM TO HIS SERFS

[illegible] by E. Armitage, R.A. By permission of the Corporation of Liverpool

THE SOCIAL
FABRIC
OF THE
MEDIÆVAL
WORLD

AN
HISTORICAL
SURVEY OF
FEUDALISM II
W. R. PATERSON

THE CHAOS OF THE FEUDAL AGE

RELATIONSHIPS OF LORDS AND VASSALS

WE shall now make an attempt to watch feudalism at work, and to seize some of the main features of the most intricate and bewildering social system which has ever been devised. But before we examine its vast understructure of serfdom, it will be well to consider the artificial fabric which was raised upon that basis. The origin of the contract which created a fief was purely personal and military. The Germanic invaders brought their own habits with them, and, as we have now seen, it was an ancient custom among them for a chief to make presents to his followers. At first each prominent leader was surrounded by a band of soldiers, who lived with him on the estates which he had seized, and he began to bestow upon these men the usufruct of certain portions of the domain. Doubtless the gradual increase of the numbers of such followers made it inconvenient to have them in continual personal attendance, and separate establishments were allotted to them. In this fact lay the origin of the feudal tenure of land.

Origin of Feudal Land Tenure

The fief was essentially the gift of a superior in return for certain services, and that gift was retained only as long as the services were rendered. But those gifts of land were not of equal value, and the obligations of service likewise differed. The more important men received a greater share, and were called upon to contribute military aid on a corresponding scale. Hence, at the beginning there were created inequalities among the possessors of fiefs. One vassal might enjoy the usufruct of an amount of land twenty times larger than that which fell to the share of another.

In the case of war, however, the former was required to summon a far greater number of men to his seigneur's aid. The difficulty of the study of feudalism consists in the multitude of relations which sprang up between superiors and inferiors, and especially in the principle of sub-infeudation, which caused the usufruct of a given area of land to be held by various men at one and the same time.

Feudalism and its Complications

A vassal could have vassals of his own. Moreover, the lord of a particular vassal might even be the vassal of his vassal. That is to say, the vassal might own land outside the jurisdiction of his lord's domain, and the lord might become the vassal's tenant. In the one case the superior bestowed a fief on his inferior, in the other the inferior bestowed a fief upon his superior. When the feudal system had reached its maximum development every seigneur had a seigneur above him and every vassal a vassal below him.

In France the lower vassal was called arrière-vassal, and sometimes those holders of fiefs within fiefs were, owing to the complications of the system, ignorant of their real obligations. Here, for example, is a brief extract from a late feudal contract made in Burgundy, which displays the results of this multiple ownership: "Item, Hugote, sister of the said Isabel, holds from the said Isabel forty-six livrées of land at Lusigny; the said Isabel holds them from the said William of Beligny; the said William holds them from the said Odet of Vanly, and the said Odet holds them from Monseigneur the Duke."

Women and Children in Fief

And let us remember that it was not merely land which could be thus held in fief, but every form of property, including men, women and children, taxes, and the right to hold an assize. When entering into any new obligations a vassal was always careful to reserve that portion of his services which could already be commanded by another overlord.

Here, for instance, is a declaration made in the thirteenth century, and cited by Seignobos: "Estevenius of Coligny . . .

has entered into the service of the said duke, and has done homage. But he reserves the fealty by which he is already bound to the Lord of Coligny, the Abbot of Saint Oyan, the Count of Savoy, the Lord of Baugié, the Count of Auxerre, Regnard of Burgundy, and Henry of Paigné." Now this attempt to serve so many masters often created a serious conflict of duties. If, for instance, the lords of a single vassal were at war, what was the vassal to do? If he assisted the one against the other, he became entangled in the quarrel, and might suffer reprisals at the hands of the seigneur whom he disavowed.

Light from the "Assizes of Jerusalem"

The jurists of the Middle Ages had considered the case, and had made provision for it. If we turn to the "Assizes of Jerusalem," which forms one of the most important of mediæval documents, we find a statute which is framed for the purpose of enlightening the perplexed vassal. "Se un home a plusiors seignors il peut sans meprendre de sa foi aider son premier seignor à qui il a fait homage devant les autres en toutes choses et en touts manières contre tous ses autres seignors, pour ce que il est devenu home des autres sauve sa loyauté et auci peut il aider à chascun des autres, san le premier et sauf cens à qui il a fait homage avant que à celui à qui il vodra aider, car à moi semble que se un seignor eust un home on plusiors qui fust on fussent homes d'autre seignor devant lui et li eust semons de li venir aider à deffendre sa terre contre ses ennemis mortels qui viennent pour lui devaster . . . celui home pour foi garder de mesprendre de sa foi devoit venir devant son seignor quant il seroit venus en champ et dire li en la presence des ses homes." (Assises. Ed. Thaumassiere. Ch. ccxxii.) The meaning of this somewhat obscure passage is that the vassal could promise different kinds of aid to different seigneurs, and that "loyalty" might in one case, although not in another, imply military service. And yet such a fact appears to be in contradiction with the strictest and most primitive form of feudal tenure. Brussel points out that there was a distinction between *foi* and *homage*, and that the one could exist without the other. It was possible, for instance, to hold a fief from a suzerain without having been born his subject. And, conversely, although a man might be born within the domain of the suzerain, he might not hold a fief in that domain. In the latter case the subject did not owe either homage or the services which homage implied, but merely the oath of fidelity. The conflict of obligations, however, was often serious, especially during war, when every seigneur became anxious to press into his service as many men as possible. The "premier seignor" mentioned in the "Assizes of Jerusalem" is the one to whom homage had first been made, and his claims to the vassal's service were held to be predominant. In some cases it was specially stipulated that if war broke out the vassal should deliver up his fortress or castle to his superior.

Distinctions in Feudal Service

If the vassal remained in the fortress, he was considered to be guilty of a hostile act. But if he quitted the fortress, he was not considered to be implicated in the war. "Se il demoure en la forteresse," says the ancient custom of Burgundy, "il est de la guèrre." All such provisions imply that originally the feudal compact was a compact between a military superior and his soldier, and in the earlier period the relations between the two were simple, and strictly personal. Owing, however, to the principle of sub-infeudation, and to the principle of heredity, the territorial organisation of feudalism became gradually more complicated. The instinct of property had become powerfully developed. Whereas in ancient Germany it had been easy for a young warrior to withdraw his allegiance from a particular chief, it was now more difficult for the vassal to transfer his fealty from one lord to another. For the price of the exchange was the forfeiture of his fief. If the vassal renounced his service, he and his heirs lost everything. This fact proves that the fief originated in a close personal relation between the grantor and the grantee. When the grantee died, his heir before entering upon the inheritance was required to take the same oath of fealty.

The Price of Feudal Allegiance

An elaborate ceremony preceded the bestowal of every fief. First of all, the vassal did homage to his lord, and the word "homage" is deeply significant. For homagium is derived from the Latin homo, and it meant that the vassal had become his lord's "man." The act of homage was performed in the presence of witnesses. The vassal, with head uncovered, came before his lord, to whom he swore fidelity and loyalty. Having removed his sword-belt and his sword, he made the following declaration on bended knee: "From this day henceforward, I become your liege man in life and limb, and promise my loyalty in return for the lands which I receive from you." Then came the oath of fidelity. The vassal, having placed his right hand upon a book, said: "My lord, I will be loyal and faithful to you on account of the lands which I hold, and will fulfil the obligations and the services which I owe on the terms assigned. So help me God and the saints!"

Edward II. as Liege man to the King of France

Du Cange, from whom we take these words, tells us in his exposition under the word "fidelitas" that when taking the oath of fidelity the vassal did not kneel, and was not required to make so humble a reverence as in the act of homage. Whereas, too, homage was done to the lord in person, the declaration of fealty might be made to the lord's proxy, a steward or a bailiff. The symbol of possession, a piece of turf or the branch of a tree, was then handed to the vassal, and the investiture was complete. Thus we see that the old personal relation which bound the Teutonic soldier to his chief persisted, at least in theory, throughout the feudal age. And even when the vassal enjoyed high rank, even if he were a prince or a king, the act of homage was no less compulsory. Thus Edward II. of England as Duke of Aquitaine did homage in 1329 to Philip of Valois, and became liege man (homme-liege) of the King of France.

An important part of the investiture consisted in the aveu, or statement, of the inventory of the fief. It was necessary for the seigneur to know exactly what he was giving, and for the vassal to know what he was receiving. Any attempt on the part of the latter to deny that he had received this or that portion of the fief was considered to be a crime, which was punished by forfeiture of the entire domain, for, says the Ancient Custom of Burgundy, no greater disloyalty is possible (*que plus grand desleauté ne peut estre*). The vassal was forbidden to alter or to diminish his fief in any way, or to alienate it, except on payment of an indemnity to the seigneur.

A Typical Inventory of a Fief

The following may be taken as a typical inventory of a fief of the fourteenth century in France, and the case is especially interesting because the fief in question was originally not a fief at all, but a freehold which had been formally surrendered by the proprietor to the Duke of Burgundy, and had then been recovered in order to be held under the ducal suzerainty: "Philip of Loiges, Knight, hereby makes known to all whom it may concern that henceforward he holds as liege man of the Duke all the property hereinafter mentioned which forms his own heritage, and was hitherto freehold and not fief nor liable to service of any kind: to wit, the tower, the house, the enclosure, and the fortress of La Palu, the trenches, and all the enclosure round about. Item, all the men, their allotments and their houses in the towns of La Palu and Croisey, all the said men being subject to the villein tax and to the jurisdiction which fixes the greater and the smaller fines and to mortmain, each of the said men paying eighteen livres tournois (*i.e.*, the livre containing twenty sous) of rent. . . . Item, the jurisdiction high and low over the towns and all over the above-mentioned property, to wit, all the woods and arable land. Item, the ponds, the mill, and dove-cot of the said house of La Palu together with all rights and appurtenances thereof. . . ." It was by such instruments that the rights of property, including the right of disposing of the lives and fortunes of villeins and serfs were secured throughout the Middle Ages.

What was Expected of the Vassal

A formidable array of duties faced the man who had accepted a fief and had become a liege. And, although to-day we may not have much sympathy with the feudal spirit, we ought to recognise that it often expressed itself in many chivalrous ways, and that it evoked some of the best qualities of human nature. In the "Assizes of Jerusalem" the sternest demand is made upon the devotion of the vassal to his protecting lord. He is expected to be unwearied in the service, and to be willing at any moment to sacrifice, not only his personal comfort, but his life in fulfilment of his duty. He is to offer himself as hostage, to go to prison, and to face death on his seigneur's behalf. If in battle the seigneur's horse has been killed under him, the vassal is required to surrender his own horse and to fight on foot. The duration of the military service in a particular war varied according to the extent and value of the fief. In some cases it was sixty, in others forty, and in others twenty days. Sometimes the vassal served alone, but oftener he was compelled to bring along with him a contingent of his own sub-vassals to swell his lord's ranks. The retention of the fief was conditional upon the fulfilment of these military obligations, and just as the villein paid rent in taxes and in produce, so the vassal liquidated his debt to his lord by service in the field.

The Vassal's Debt to his Lord

Seignobos even suggests that at least in two points the vassal and the villein resembled each other. For each enjoyed, not the absolute ownership of the land, but only its tenancy, and in both cases service was the price of the usufruct. Whereas, however, the villein exploited the land in the interests of the seigneur, the vassal defended it. The latter, in fact, was, in the strict meaning of the feudal relation, a soldier and companion-in-arms. But his duties were not confined to war. He was obliged to attend his suzerain's court, and to offer advice on matters of policy and the execution of justice. Lastly, the vassal was frequently expected to offer material aid, *auxilia*, to his seigneur. Some of these aids were voluntary, but others were specified on the bestowal of the fief, and comprised (1) a ransom when the sovereign had been captured in war; (2) a contribution when the seigneur's eldest son was received into the order of chivalry; and (3) a gift towards the dowry of the seigneur's eldest daughter.

It will thus be seen that the possession of a fief was no mere sinecure, and, indeed, the vassals suffered frequently from the exactions of their overlords. As we shall see later, the real weight of the entire system pressed most heavily on the villeins and serfs, but it would be wrong to minimise the serious obligations of the holders of fiefs. Sovereigns within their own domain, they had sovereigns above them, whose authority was likewise arbitrary. The threat of forfeiture (*forisfactura*) was often made a means of oppression. The suzerain was tempted to multiply the cases for which forfeiture was the penalty, and generally to extend the sources of his revenue. When a vassal died his heir paid a kind of entrance fee (*relevium*), which was a tax on the entry into possession, and the amount varied according to the suzerain's demands. It is true that in most of the provinces of France the tax was waived when the succession to the fief fell directly from father to son. In such cases, according to Brussel, the heir owed nothing except the formal declaration of allegiance and the military duties which that declaration implied (le fils succédant au fief du père n'y doit que la bouche et les mains). But when the heir belonged to a collateral issue the tax was payable, and it was heavy. Again, the suzerain possessed the right of choosing a husband for the heiress of any fief. In the event of a refusal on the woman's part, she was compelled to pay a fine to the seigneur, while in the event of acceptance an equal amount was paid by the husband.

Sovereigns Who Were Vassals

The reason for such a regulation is easily understood when we remember that the usufruct of every fief implied military service. Since a woman was incapable of rendering that service, it was in the seigneur's interest to provide her with a husband who could undertake the duty. According to the "Assizes of Jerusalem," the lady of the fief was offered her choice of one of three barons. One other important source of income for the seigneur remains to be mentioned. If the heir to a fief was a minor, the seigneur became his guardian, administered the fief during the ward's minority, and disposed of the revenue. We may add that the reasons for sub-infeudation and for the great multiplication of fiefs were both military and economic.

Marriage Customs under Feudalism

It was obviously to the advantage of the seigneur to have as many fiefs as possible, since every fief brought money as well as men. This process of sub-infeudation really weakened the feudal system from within since the alienation of the usufruct of the land involved the alienation of the rights which the land carried with it. When the real danger of the policy began to be perceived, many of the seigneurs attempted to attract vassals to their banners by paying them not in land, but in money; and thus they created mercenary troops.

But this device was a later invention, and was foreign to the ancient spirit of feudalism. Brussel tells us that there were three classes of vassals, which he enumerates under the following heads: (1) *Homo;* (2) *planum hominem;* and (3) *ligius.* In the first case vassalage involved the three great kinds of feudal service, which we have already mentioned—that is to say, service in the host (*servitium*); counsel in the court of the seigneur (*fiducia*); and assistance in the administration of the law of the domain (*justitia*). The expression "planum hominem" implied that the vassal was not bound to undertake any particular service, military or civil, but that in case of war he was bound to remain neutral. The vassal-liege, on the other hand, was required to serve at his own expense in any war in which his seigneur took part, whereas the ordinary vassal was not bound to fight after the fortieth day from the date of the assembling of the army. In some cases the vassal might be represented by proxy in the fighting line, but generally only when the war was one in which the seigneur was indirectly involved.

About the end of the thirteenth century the seigneurs began to transform their vassals into hommes lieges by attaching special gifts to the fiefs (*in augmentum feodi*). This policy was dictated by the need of securing continued service during a prolonged war, for an army composed of men who could withdraw after forty days' service in the field was obviously a weak and dangerous instrument. We may take the following as a typical feudal summons to battle by a seigneur to his vassal: "Hugo, Seigneur of Genley, to his friend and vassal, William Bandot, greeting. I hereby command you with all my authority to be present on Friday, eight days after Easter, at Chalon, and to be on horseback, well mounted, and well-apparelled in order to aid me in the greatest struggle which I have yet faced, and so conduct yourself as to win my goodwill. I commend you to God. Given under my seal at Genley this Easter Day." The date is 1325 A.D. The seigneur, however, was not always certain of obtaining his men, and in the present case the vassal was absent in Flanders. Sometimes the vassals suffered great losses in their seigneur's wars, and in certain cases they were indemnified. One, Guy de Rochefort, for instance, in the service of the French king was taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers in 1356 A.D., and he

THE CEREMONY OF CONFERRING KNIGHTHOOD IN MEDIÆVAL TIMES received (pour mes dommaiges de la bataile de Poitiers ou je fus pris) 600 florins. But the men who followed their seigneurs to the wars were not always vassals in the strict sense. For a feudal castle attracted needy adventurers, who were willing, in return for maintenance, to place their services at the disposal of rich and powerful leaders. Men who had lost their inheritance, or whose fief had been forfeited, became retainers, and entered into relations with the feudal nobles somewhat similar to those in which the ancient Roman client stood to his patron. Simmonet, for instance, cites the following case from the archives of Burgundy: In 1368 a certain Jehans d'Arc, a knight, surrendered his heritage to another knight, Hugo de Pontailler. The latter promised to lodge and to board the said Jehans, to clothe him, to provide him with a horse and a servant, and generally to minister to his needs. In return, Jehans d'Arc for himself and for his heirs assigns his property of whatever kind, both present and future, to Hugo de Pontailler. This kind of contract was either the result of bankruptcy or of *force majeure*, and although apparently it might be annulled, the vassal was generally too deeply mortgaged to be able to extricate himself.

Knights in Voluntary Bondage

Other documents belonging to the same period prove that powerful suzerains often succeeded in compelling weaker vassals to lend support beyond the limit fixed by the feudal contract. In an era when war formed the chief pastime of the governing classes, a seigneur could command the services of his followers in the prosecution of the most unjust aggressions on the territory of his neighbours. Frequently the extortion of a ransom was the motive which lay behind feudal pillage, and private war was kindled merely for the purpose of filling the coffers of a needy seigneur. The efforts of Saint Louis and other French kings, such as Philip the Fair, to abolish these raids were attended with little success. The nobles of Burgundy, for example, protested against the royal interference, and maintained their right to declare war whenever it pleased them. So that even as late as 1315 and 1367 the kings of France found themselves impotent to restrain a custom which formed both the strength and the weakness of the feudal system. And if the kings were unable to prevent the outbreak of war among the nobles, neither were the nobles always capable of keeping the peace between their vassals.

French Nobles Who Defied Their Kings

In the fourteenth century it was still possible for one petty seigneur to imprison another and liberate him only on the payment of an enormous ransom. A certain Simon Buguet, in the year 1364, seized the person of one Jean de Rougemont, seigneur of Thil-Châtel, in Burgundy, and threw him first into one dungeon and then into another. Deliverance was promised on a payment of a ransom equivalent to 40,000 francs of modern French currency. The conditions were that in default of payment the prisoner should surrender himself at the fortress of Chifferne. The protocol informs us, however, that, owing to the dangers of the roads, which swarmed with armed robbers, Jean de Rougement decided to pay the money at an intermediate station, and to abandon the journey to Chifferne.

Such a document presents a vivid picture of the daily perils encountered under the feudal regime. If justice existed, it was wild justice, and might was right. If a vassal became too powerful it was in the interest of his suzerain not to thwart, but to conciliate him. And not only individuals, but also entire communities were in danger at the hands of roving bandits. Whole villages were required to ransom themselves in order to escape being burned.

The Wild Justice of Feudalism

In November, 1435, the inhabitants of the village of Etalante, in Châtillon, were required to deliver up to some armed men who had come from Langres a silver pyx belonging to a church at Dijon in order to save the village from being set in flames (pour racheter le feu que les ennemies de Langres voulaient bouter en ladite ville). Such were the conditions of life in the feudal period, when society had ceased to form any genuine unity, when the central authority was impotent, and when power was in the hands of a few irresponsible territorial sovereigns.

According to one of the most important monuments of mediæval jurisprudence, St. Louis of France even acquiesced in the legality of a system which involved treason to the throne. In his "Etablissements" there is a striking passage, in which is admitted the right of a seigneur to summon his vassal to fight against the king, and on the refusal of the vassal his fief is declared to be justly forfeited. Such a passage indicates that the feudal system involved permanent sedition and a prolonged usurpation of the power of the crown.

It is true that modern research is inclined to deny that the code known as the "Etablissements of St. Louis" was drawn up by that king. Montesquieu called it "an amphibious code," meaning that it was a mixture of French jurisprudence and Roman law. Parts of it, according to Viollet, are based on the customs of Anjou, and other parts on the customs of Orléans and Paris. But no one denies that it gathers up the theory and practice of the thirteenth century; and in the passages in which the king, while forbidding private war between his own vassals and within his own domain, is made to recognise the seigneur's right of resistance even towards the crown, we catch a glimpse of the chaos of the feudal age.

Complications of Mediæval Life

It is important to remember that it was not only on account of a gift of land that a vassal owed service to his lord. For fiefs were of various kinds, and sometimes they consisted even of immaterial things, such as the right of dispensing justice within a given area. Du Cange defines a fief as a thing given to one person by another in such a way that the property of the thing remains with the giver, and that the usufruct passes to the receiver and his heirs. Before the eleventh century the conception of that form of tenure had become widely extended, and, as Du Cange says, everything was given in fief, "saeculis xi et xii omnia in feudum concedebantur." Among other things, he enumerates the administration of justice in the forests, which was termed "gruerie," the right of hunting, of conducting merchants to and from the markets, of collecting tolls and customs dues, of weaving, of changing money at the fairs, of grinding corn, gathering honey and making wine. In a word, industry and justice themselves had become fiefs, and we may add that human beings were included in the same category.

Vassals and their Rights

We can understand the complications of mediæval life when we hear that not only a domain, but the men and women upon it, might belong to two or more proprietors. In a Burgundian protocol of the year 1378 we read that one seigneur sold and ceded to another the ownership of "half a serf," and that the price was forty francs in gold. Thus men might hold joint property in the labour of a single serf. Again, the revenue from the administration of justice within a particular area was frequently shared by two or more persons who co-owned it in fief. A struggle sometimes took place for the possession of the person accused of crime, and the adjustment of the shares in the fine became a new source of dispute. We shall not be wrong if we say that the dominant characteristic of the feudal administration was the destruction of social unity and harmony for the sake of individual and egoistic interests.

Let us now ask, what guarantee feudalism offered even to the seigneur and the vassal for the maintenance of their respective rights? Vassalage was so minutely subdivided that we may well wonder to whom a vassal in the sixth degree, for instance, could appeal when his rights were invaded either by an equal or by a superior. Guizot points out that the word "compatriot" did not exist in the Middle Ages, and the fact is significant. For the word compatriot implies the idea of a social order, in the maintenance of which all the members are interested. The vassals were called "pares," from which our word peers is derived; but there was no genuine co-operation among those co-vassals. The social equilibrium which was maintained within a given domain was highly unstable. The vassals did not co-operate in order to carry out any genuine social purpose, and again the seigneurs did not co-operate in order to maintain any genuine balance of power among themselves.

Feudalism's Real Character

A fundamental antagonism lay hidden amid all the feudal relations. The seigneur was often as suspicious of the vassal's fidelity as the vassal was of the seigneur's claims and arrogated power. The real character of feudalism is expressed in this isolation of the various members of the feudal hierarchy. And it was an isolation which provoked suspicion, quarrels and reprisals. How did the seigneur maintain order within his own territory? In the modern world the public peace is guaranteed by the action of an executive which in the punishment of crime expresses the will

THE SPORTS AND PASTIMES OF MEDIÆVAL ENGLAND—A JOUST

of the nation. But feudalism did not create nations at all. It created only groups of arbitrary sovereignties, and in each case the will of the territorial sovereign was the nominal fountain of justice. It was the sovereign who appointed his baillis, or bailiffs, for the trial of causes within his own domain.

But along with the institution of bailiffs there existed throughout the feudal regime a judicial system both more ancient and more in accordance with the feudal spirit. We have said that the vassals were *pares*, or equals. When, therefore, a dispute occurred between any two of them the seigneur was petitioned to convoke all his other vassals in his court in order that they might pronounce their decision upon the case. For equals could be judged and sentenced only by equals. Numerous mediæval documents prove that, for instance, a count was judged only by men of his own class. Even in cases where the bailiff presided as representative of the suzerain, he was only the mouthpiece of the majority. In the event of a dispute between a seigneur and his vassal regarding some matter connected with the fief which the latter held from the former, the case was heard in the seigneur's court in presence of the vassal's equals. If, on the other hand, the dispute had no reference to the fief the vassal was entitled to have his claims heard not in the seigneur's court but in the court of the seigneur's seigneur. Hence, in a duchy like Burgundy, a case of this kind might be carried from court to court until it arrived before the Duke as supreme suzerain. Beaumanoir, who was the greatest jurist of the Middle Ages, tells us that the appeal was required to be made in such a way that no intermediate court was passed over, otherwise the case was vitiated in point of law (il apel doivent estre fet en montant de degré en degré, sans nul seigneur trespasser).

It often happened that in the litigation between vassals of equal rank the claimant or the defendant, although tried by his peers, refused to accept the judgment. Sometimes the refusal was justified, for the majority in the court might be made up of the vassal's personal enemies, while his own friends might be absent. Recourse

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was had, therefore, to a more summary method of bringing the dispute to an end. What is known as the judicial combat was simply the feudal private war reduced to a duel, and it was deeply characteristic of an age in which there existed no central administration of justice. The disputants took the law into their own hands. Right was declared to be on the side of the victor, and the vanquished paid a fine to the seigneur of the domain.

In Beaumanoir we find many details of the formal and legal procedure necessary in arranging a judicial combat. He gives the formula in which an appellant should demand satisfaction for the murder of a kinsman. In the event of denial on the part of the accused the claimant undertook to prove the truth either by hazarding his own life in a duel (prouver mon cors contre le sien) or by sending a proxy for the same purpose (ou par homme qui fere le puist et doie pour moi). The accused was required to say, before he had left the seigneur's presence, whether he intended to answer the summons. Permission to fight by proxy was granted for various reasons, such as ill-health or advanced age. When the combatants were well born (*gentils hommes* or *chevaliers*) the duel was fought on horseback, and those weapons which were allowed or disallowed were carefully specified. Men of lowly birth (*hommes de pousté*) fought on foot. In the arrangements for a duel between a man of rank and a man of base condition it is interesting to notice a touch of chivalry. If, says Beaumanoir, a knight calls out a villein, who, of course, did not own a horse, the knight was compelled to fight likewise on foot; for, adds the great jurist, it would be a cruel thing if in such a case the man of birth had the advantage of a horse and of armour. On the other hand, if a villein summoned a knight to a duel the affair was different. The knight, who had not sought the quarrel, retained the privilege of his rank, and fought on horseback.

The penetrating influence and the complete triumph of feudalism are made strikingly manifest by the fact that even the Gallic Church was gradually drawn within its orbit. We have already mentioned that the Church possessed considerable power in Gaul long before the date of the Teutonic invasions. Each bishop was supreme in his diocese. His authority over his clergy actually foreshadowed the authority of the feudal lord, and, indeed, it would not be too much to say that the Church was tending towards a kind of feudalism of her own. At any rate, it was by an easy gradation that the bishops transformed themselves into territorial sovereigns on the feudal model.

Militant Days of the Church

The transition had even become imperative, for during the chaos which followed the death of Charlemagne the Church found it necessary to protect herself in the midst of an aggressive and militant society. It was only by fighting the world with the world's own weapons that the bishops, canons, and abbots were able to take their place in the ranks of the feudal nobles. Great gifts in land had been bestowed upon the Church by the Christian emperors and by the Christianised barbarian kings, and the Church knew how to guard jealously those donations. Often the territory over which a bishop ruled was so extensive that it formed a small state. The domains of a single abbey sometimes included entire towns.

THE MEDIÆVAL CEREMONY OF BLESSING THE FLEET

It is profoundly interesting to notice that at first the Church was content to fight her feudal enemies only with spiritual weapons. It was by means of excommunication that she sought to terrorise those who attempted to invade her territory or to pillage her sacred buildings. But already, in the ninth century she began to arm herself with the temporal sword, and she paid special defenders, *advocati*, to fight her battles. In other words, she summoned mercenary troops to her aid, and sometimes powerful seigneurs were in her pay. But the bishop was likewise a seigneur. Long before the tenth century he had vassals of his own, and he began to increase their number, and gradually imposed upon them the customary feudal obligation of military service. Like a lay sovereign he administered justice within his own domain, and frequently he even in person led his vassals to war.

Moreover, in the exploitation of her own fiefs, the Church imitated and reproduced the entire feudal system. The villeins and the serfs enjoyed as little liberty within ecclesiastical territory as within the lands of the feudal seigneur. According to a decree of a council held at Orléans in the seventh century, all the lands, vineyards, and slaves of each diocese were the property of the bishop ex officio. By another council, held at Seville, the serfs who belonged to the Church were, like the serfs who belonged to the lay proprietor, forbidden to leave the place in which they had been born. And many documents prove that in the exercise of their authority the bishops, no less than the secular sovereigns, were guilty of oppression.

The Church Captured by the World

Numerous were the complaints against flagrant exactions. The Council of Toledo in 633 denounced a tyranny whereby even the monks were, at the commands of the bishops, reduced to abject slavery. Episcopal avarice had ruined the parishes; villeins and serfs were overwhelmed by arbitrary taxation; and in having put on the armour of feudalism the Church had put off the armour of God. A great historian says that even as early as the eighth century the disorder which raged in lay society raged also in ecclesiastical society. And as the bishops became more deeply entangled in feudalism it was difficult to distinguish them from their secular rivals. This loss of the spiritual hegemony of the Church is perhaps the most tragic fact in feudal history. She who had set out to capture the world had failed in her great mission, and had, instead, been captured by the world.

THE SOCIAL
FABRIC
OF THE
MEDIÆVAL
WORLD

AN
HISTORICAL
SURVEY OF
FEUDALISM III
W. R.
PATERSON

THE FLOURISHING OF FEUDALISM AND ENGLAND'S SHARE IN THE SYSTEM

LET us now turn to consider the fortunes of the class whose labour formed the economic basis of the ecclesiastical as well as of the secular power, and was indispensable for the maintenance of the entire fabric of feudalism. For if villein and serf had not been at work upon the soil during many generations, all the great and dazzling enterprises of the feudal age, its chivalry, its Crusades, its jousts and tourneys, and even its architecture never would have existed. Although mediæval wealth was also expressed in certain manufactures carried on in the towns, nevertheless the main economic source of the period lay in the cultivation of the soil by a class who, strictly speaking, did not enter into the feudal relation at all. The feudal relation which bound a vassal to his lord was the result of a contract between them, but there was no contract between a vassal and his serf. In the latter case the relation was expressed merely, on the one hand, by power, and, on the other, by subjection. Those writers, therefore, are correct who point out that serfdom was not the creation of European feudalism. Its origin was far older, and, as we saw, it may be traced to the domainal rights enjoyed by all ancient landowners. Serfdom formed only the natural and convenient basis upon which the feudal superstructure was reared. The basis itself was immemorial. Even though feudalism had never developed its own peculiar character, the agricultural population of Europe would have been composed of serfs during many centuries after the fall of the Roman Empire.

The Origin of Serfdom

So far as the Frankish kingdom was concerned, the condition of its industrial class remained essentially what it had been during the Roman occupation of Gaul. But if we look beyond mediæval France, if we look at mediæval England, for instance, we shall find the same system at work. The Saxons brought with them to England serfs and slaves. Among the Angles the *wergild*, or atonement in money for the murder of a slave, was only one-twentieth of that for the *adaling*, or well-born. Long before the Norman Conquest the Anglo-Saxon social system in England had been developed along feudal lines. The community was divided into men who possessed land and men who possessed none, and the landless were outside the pale of the law. Thus it was necessary for the man who had no land to seek the protection of some more powerful person who could represent him in the law courts. The price of that protection was servitude.

Feudalism Before the Conquest

Since it was the possession of land that bought the privilege of membership of the community, even a man of noble blood, if landless, was required to acknowledge the nominal suzerainty of another lord. The laws of Athelstan, like the Capitularies of Carolingian kings, agree in reducing the landless to a state of absolute dependence. Minute social subdivisions existed among the Anglo-Saxons, and there was even a hierarchy among the landless. But the lowest level was occupied by the *theow*, or slave, whether of British or of German origin.

British Serfs Bought and Sold

Again, in ancient England as in ancient Rome the debtor was reduced to slavery, and was never liberated until the debt had been paid. Moreover, slavery and serfdom were hereditary. The earliest English laws make it clear that slave and serf were like cattle, the absolute property of their masters. Their master was responsible for their offences just as he was responsible for the damage done by his cattle. The British serf had no social status, no legal rights. His services might be claimed and left unrewarded, and his emancipation depended wholly upon his master's will. The serf might be bought and sold and pawned like any other common chattel, and the master's right of possession in him was a right not only of use but of abuse.

Now, feudalism never reached in England the proportions which it reached in France, and yet the condition of the early English serf seems to have been worse than that of the mediæval serf of France. In other words, although feudalism could not have existed without serfdom, serfdom might have existed, and did exist, apart from an elaborate feudalism. The word "villein," which we use as a generic term for the feudal and mediæval peasant, was neither mediæval nor feudal in its origin. Villein is only the corrupt form of the Latin *villanus*, the serf who was attached to and undetachable from the Roman *villa*—a word which meant not a house in our modern sense, but a landed property. It was the Roman villa which became in France the unit of feudalism as an agrarian system, and the scene of a prolonged exploitation of servile agricultural labour. The word villein began to be applied before the end of the tenth century to the entire peasant population.

Who were the Villeins?

Beaumanoir, who wrote in the thirteenth century, when feudalism had reached its most complex development, tells us that serfdom ("servitudes de cors," as he calls it) had a manifold origin. We have already glanced at its general causes, but to these Beaumanoir adds some special causes which lay at the root of the system as it appeared in France. If, for example, the subject of a territorial lord disobeyed without good cause his summons to military service, the punishment was serfdom, and it was a punishment which was visited on the children as well as on the fathers.

When the feudal lords were warring against the tottering Carolingian monarchy, they were in need of soldiers; and if the feudal tie, which at that era was only beginning to be strong, was found insufficient to create a following, the lords by compulsion pressed new men into their service. In the second place, Beaumanoir declares that serfdom often originated in the piety and devotion of the serf. Sometimes voluntarily, sometimes involuntarily, and as a result either of suggestion or of pressure, a man was constrained to deliver himself and his heirs and his property to the Church.

Serfs in the Church

An act, therefore, which in certain cases had its motive in religious feeling, was responsible for the servitude of whole generations. A third origin of serfdom was traced to poverty and bankruptcy. A freeman who had lost his estate came to a seigneur, and said: "If you support me with the necessaries of life, I will become your serf" (vostres homs de cors). In some cases this demand for protection was the result of oppression by another seigneur. A still more striking cause of serfdom, and one which indicates the extraordinary difference between modern and mediæval modes of thought and life, is to be found in the fact that a man who was not free by birth became the serf of a lord if it could be proved that he had resided within the lord's territory for a year and a day.

Any person, male or female, who was unable to trace his or her free descent became the serf of the seigneur in whose domain he or she had chosen to dwell. There were some exceptions to this rule—as, for example, in Clermont. But the custom was widespread, and was very characteristic of feudalism. If within a year and a day the lord reclaimed his serf, the latter was surrendered. But if the lord neglected to assert his right, the serf became the property of the seigneur into whose domain he had passed. It was possible for a serf, with his master's consent, to purchase freedom by the performance of some special labour or the payment in produce or otherwise of some special tax. If, however, the seigneur immediately above the seigneur of the serf refused to agree to the proposal, the emancipation could not take place. On the other hand, if a serf who had won freedom both for himself and his family passed back into serfdom, his children remained free. The word "free," however, is in this case ambiguous. The villein was free only in the sense that whereas the serf proper never knew how much would be required of him, the villein paid, either in labour or in produce, a tax definitely stipulated.

The Tight Bonds of Serfdom

While it was possible for the serf to raise himself in the social scale, the conditions were frequently harsh and the obstacles were often insurmountable. If, indeed, a female serf purchased her franchise, the children born after that event were likewise free. Those, however, who were born while their mother was still a serf remained in servitude. Even in the case of the villein the ties which bound him to his lord could be broken only by death (car li eritage qui sont tenu en vilenage, si comme a ostises, a cens a rentes ou a champars ne se puent desavouer). In the event of disavowal on the part of the villein, the penalty was confiscation. There can be no doubt, however, that the condition of the agricultural population was far from uniform. There were, in fact, as Beaumanoir tells us, many different kinds of serfs with as many different kinds of fortune. In some cases the authority of the owner was so arbitrary that he had the power of life and death; he could imprison his serf whenever it pleased him, and he was responsible to no one. But in other cases the serf enjoyed greater independence, and was treated more humanely (plus debonairement). As long as he paid his rent in labour and taxes, the seigneur could make no further demands upon him.

If a serf disavowed his seigneur, the latter had the right to prosecute him in the court of the new seigneur whose protection the serf had sought. When the serf was able to give satisfactory proofs of free descent, the seigneur prosecuting him lost the case. If, for instance, the alleged serf could prove that his mother was a free woman, he won his claim, for the status of the mother regulated the whole question. Even though the mother and the grandmother had been serfs, but had been manumitted by anyone legally capable of bestowing manumission, the offspring could thereby establish the claim to freedom. On the other hand, the son of a knight and a female serf remained in the same social condition as his mother.

The Devious Path to Liberty

There was a curious exception, however, in the case of bastards. If a man could prove that he was born before the marriage of his mother (who had been a serf) to a baron, the alleged serf was then quit of servitude. Lastly, if a man who was being pursued by his former owner as a fugitive serf could make good his declaration that he had been in holy orders during ten years without any attempt on his master's part to reclaim him, the case for the master was held to be disproved. In all instances, however, in which serfs became free villeins it was necessary, as we have already seen, to obtain the consent not merely of their immediate owner, but also of the seigneur from whom that owner held them in fief. According to feudal custom a vassal was forbidden to diminish his fief. But since the fief consisted of human beings as well as of the land upon which they worked, to grant freedom to a serf was to alienate part of the property of the seigneur. Hence his consent was required before any proposed change of status of the serfs could be made. Let us not suppose that it was always, or even frequently, a humanitarian motive which lay behind the somewhat paltry amelioration of the serf's fortunes which such changes involved. The serf purchased the permission to enter the ranks of the free villeins. In other words, he who had been arbitrarily exploited was required to buy the privilege of being exploited in a less arbitrary way. We may feel sure that the men who at the end of the fourteenth century figure as hommes francs were the descendants of men who had been serfs The change was due to the fact that some of their forefathers had slowly and painfully purchased an entrance into those higher ranks of villeinage which, however, still remained far below the ranks of freedom.

Rights of the Villein Tenant

We can afford to make only brief mention of some of the methods of the mediæval exploitation of the peasantry. The rights of the villein tenant were limited to a part of the produce of the soil which he cultivated, and it was the best part of that produce which was reserved for the seigneur. If the villein ceases to deliver the yearly dues, the tenancy ceases, and the land goes back to the owner. The right of the usufruct, however, is transmissible from the villein to his heirs, and remains permanent in a single family as long as the obligations are fulfilled. Nay, the villein is even legally entitled to sell the usufruct against the proprietor's will.

From a business point of view, it mattered little to the proprietor whether this or that tenant was at work on the soil so long as the harvest was forthcoming. What feudal law and custom assured to the seigneur was a perpetual income from the land, and the serfs were only his agricultural implements. Some of the villeins paid revenue only on account of the land, but, in addition, the majority were subjected to a capitation tax, which was a guarantee against the arbitrary assessment by which the serfs proper were afflicted.

The Villeins' Burden of Taxation

The capitation tax was invariable in its amount in a given district, and it was payable either individually or collectively. Sometimes entire villages and towns were laid under contribution. Whenever we find a case in which the taxation of the individual varied according to the arbitrary demands of the seigneur, we may conclude that the individual in question was a serf of the lowest and most helpless class. "Messire le Duc," says the Ancient Custom of Burgundy, "s'il volait les porrait tailler ou faire tailler moins et plus haut et bas à sa volonté." Every serf was thus assessed at the will of the suzerain. And there were some special vexations to which the majority of the serfs were exposed. Among these, mention should be made of "mainmorte" and "formariage." The serf who was subjected to mortmain was legally incapable of making a testament. If he died childless, his property, which consisted mainly in his right to cultivate a certain portion of land, returned to the seigneur.

Indignities Thrust upon the Serfs

Still more formidable was the custom termed "formariage," whereby a serf was forbidden to marry a woman belonging to another domain. The ancient code of custom in Burgundy, for instance, declares that the penalty for such a marriage was the forfeiture of all that the serf possessed. An alternative was, indeed, offered; but it was of the most repulsive kind

There is evidence that the serfs made great efforts to extricate themselves from these indignities. The chief desire of their lives was to obtain a charter of freedom, which, however, was never a genuine charter, since it did not deliver them from taxation, which, although less arbitrary, was still oppressive. Often high prices were paid before the serf won immunity from the seigneur's right of "formariage." And yet after the immunity had been gained, the villein was by no means free. The seigneur's agents met him at every point, and revenue of other kinds continued to be extracted from his labour. It is important to remember that the fortunes of the villein were not merely the result of heredity. By birth he might be immune from mortmain and formariage, but if he settled on a domain in which those customs were in vigour, he immediately became subject to them. Originally, indeed, it was impossible for the villein to change domicile. The seigneur had the right to recovery (droit de poursuite). Later the fugitive villein, if unclaimed within a year and a day, could offer his service to another lord, supposing he was fortunate enough to find one. Since, however, he thereby lost all that he had possessed under his former seigneur, it must have been an intolerable tyranny which compelled him to take to flight.

A System of Intolerable Tyranny

As Seignobos points out, the real strength of the seigneur's position lay in the fact that the villein was helpless apart from the field which he and his forefathers had cultivated. To be a vagabond was to be in danger of being seized as a criminal. There was no certainty of obtaining the right to cultivate a piece of land in another domain, since all the domains were already parcelled out. Hence it was not necessary to chain the mediæval serf to the soil, or to place him under surveillance. Serfdom was better than famine, and it was because these were his sole alternatives that the serf, with rare exceptions, chose the former both for himself and for his children. Among the archives of Burgundy there are documents which prove that sometimes a serf after long wanderings returned in despair to the place from which despair had driven him. The administration of a feudal domain involved both labour and anxiety on the part of the steward or agent who was set over it. For it was seldom that the seigneur came into direct contact with his villeins or serfs.

Serfdom Preferred to Famine

In each of the three great economic divisions of feudalism in France—the châtellenie, the poté, and the prévôté, the revenues were collected by men appointed for that purpose by the seigneur. The châtellenie comprised all the lands grouped round a château, and in time of danger the inhabitants took shelter within the seigneur's fortified walls. The poté (Latin: "potestas") was a domain belonging to a church, and sometimes it implied an entire district, which, inclusive of towns, acknowledged the suzerainty of a bishop. The prévôté embraced the territory—generally a city which was administered by a prévôt (Latin: "præpositus"); that is to say, an agent to whom the proprietor of the city had delegated his authority. These formed the great social groups of the feudal age until the fourteenth century, and the condition of the serfs was uniform in all three. In each of them the methods of exploiting the land and its tillers were the same. The change from imperial to feudal rule had indeed brought some amelioration of the fortunes of the subject class, and yet, if we look deeply enough, we are struck not by the fact of progress but rather by the fact of stagnation. When, for example, we read the formulæ of Marculf for the sale of male and female serfs we seem to be witnessing transactions in the slave markets of Greece and Rome.

In mediæval practice as well as in mediæval theory, the peasants were mere accessories of the domain, and were subjected to detailed exploitation. Had Aristotle and Varro seen these men at work, they would have called them "animated implements." The Roman "villicus" who drilled his master's slaves was represented by the mediæval major, who taxed and over-taxed his master's serfs and villeins. Often this superintendent belonged to the same class as the men over whom he ruled, and his position was far from enviable. For he was personally responsible for the regular payment of dues, which, owing to destitution and to bad harvests, sometimes could not be paid at all. Simmonet even suggests that the burdens which pressed upon the seigneur's steward were heavier than those which pressed upon the serfs, for the revenues which he could not extract from the tenants were extracted from himself.

The Great Castles of the Feudal Age

In spite of all such facts it would be idle to deny the impressiveness of some of the aspects of feudal life, and it is not surprising that the human imagination has been fascinated, for instance, by the great portcullised castles which were built in that dim, troubled era. For those castles with their broad moats, their donjons, their prisons and their embattled towers, were structures whose significance lay in the strange anarchy in the midst of which they arose. When the seigneur's domain was attacked, it was the château which became the storm centre. Within its walls men and women and children with their cattle took refuge, and the villeins were called upon to mount guard (faire le guet).

The inferior nobles, if they did not possess châteaux, nevertheless built for themselves fortified houses often capable of withstanding a prolonged siege. Even the Church guarded her property by imitating the defensive methods of feudal war, and she built fortifications to ensure the safety of her own domains. And in times of peace the château and the church and the embattled tower played a part of no less importance, since each was the visible centre of the life which had grown up within its shadow.

What the Seigneurs Claimed

The great innovation which feudalism introduced in the cultivation of the soil consisted in the allotment of usufructs in the domain. In the Gallo-Roman Empire the proprietor of a villa housed and fed his slaves on his own land, and used for his own purposes the produce which their labour had wrung from the earth. But the feudal lord subdivided his land. The portion which he reserved for himself surrounded the château, and in extent it was comparatively small. The usufruct of the remainder was parcelled out among the serfs and villeins. Hence the mediæval landowner was relieved of the necessity of exploiting all his land. His policy was far shrewder. Although his domain suffered a kind of partition which was unknown in the Roman villa, this dismemberment really involved a financial gain. It was not the land, but only its usufruct which the seigneur alienated. He no longer needed to feed, clothe, and house his serfs, and yet he enjoyed a perpetual income from their labour and from special sources of taxation which feudalism invented.

What, then, were the sources of income of the feudal seigneur? We have already seen that when a fief was sold by one vassal to another, or when it passed from father to son, an indemnity was claimed by the overlord. Whereas, however, such gains were intermittent, the labour of the villeins and serfs of the domain brought a revenue which remained constant. That revenue may be divided into three parts, corresponding to the different sources: (1) rent, (2) monopolies, (3) fines. In the earlier period, when money was scarce, rent was paid in produce, such as wheat and hay, wine, wax, poultry, pigs, oxen, and sheep. When, too, the seigneur visited any outlying portion of his estate, his horses and dogs, and sometimes even his followers, were billeted upon the villeins. Again, rent was paid by corvées, that is to say, by forced labour on the land immediately surrounding the castle. And corvées were of various kinds. Sometimes the villein was required to work in his

Sources of the Seigneur's Income

lord's fields or vineyards during a fixed number of days; in other cases the demand upon his services terminated only when the work had been completed. Besides, the seigneur could commandeer the villein's beasts of burden, carts, and agricultural implements. Rents payable in money were called "cens"—the feudal quit-rents — but these were paid, not by the serfs, but by the free villeins. We have already mentioned the capitation tax, or taille, which was of two kinds, arbitrary and fixed. But it had remained arbitrary at least until the end of the eleventh century. In some cases it had probably replaced the old dues which used to be paid in produce. When a peasant paid a tax which was invariable, it was a sign that he had risen in the social scale, for it meant that his assessment was the result of a contract between him and his superior. In certain rare instances the villein was able to purchase his redemption from the corvées and other obligations by payment of an amount equivalent to the value of his allotment.

Villeins Freed by Purchase

In the second place, an important source of the seigneur's income consisted in monopolies in certain industries. The feudal theory was that not only the land, but everything that was upon it belonged to the seigneur. Any profits, therefore, whether direct or indirect, which accrued from the various enterprises carried on within his domain belonged to him. Hence the mills for grinding wheat and corn, the ovens for baking the bread, the market place, and the wine-press, were the property of the lord of the domain. Private mills, private ovens, private wine-presses were prohibited. If a villein wished to have his loaves fired, he was compelled to carry them to the seigneur's bakehouse, and to pay a tax for the firing of them. Simmonet has published some documents of the fifteenth century which prove that at a place called Mailley, in Burgundy, certain men were punished for having cooked Christmas cakes in a private oven. It can be easily understood, therefore, that in an extensive and populated domain, in which mills, ovens, and wine-presses were in constant use, the seigneur enjoyed a considerable revenue. Moreover, the weights and measures set up in the market place likewise belonged to him, and he levied a tax each time they were employed for the exchange of commodities. The rights of fishing, of hewing wood, and of drawing water, were also the seigneur's, and their hire formed part of his income.

A Reproach Against Feudalism

Lastly, the administration of justice within the domain formed a prolific source of revenue. One of the greatest reproaches which the historian may legitimately make against feudalism is that under its régime the judicial administration ceased to be disinterested. In this respect mediævalism marked a serious retrogression. Whereas within the bounds of the Roman Empire, of which France had been a province, the execution of the law formed part of the public service, and was the guarantee of social order, within the feudal domain the administration of justice became a matter of private speculation. The actual word "justice" became degraded, for it meant merely the right to collect rents and to institute fines. No central authority interfered within a domain for the purpose of drawing up a list of crimes or devising a scale of penalties. For even although a central authority had existed, it could not have abolished the seigneur's right to judge his men any more than it could have abolished his right to tax them. Both of these privileges had become immemorial, and they were conceived to be natural. At any rate, they were of the essence of feudalism.

Profits from Public Disorder

There are documents which show that sometimes a seigneur possessed a third or a fourth part of the judicature of a particular village or town—that is to say, he shared to that amount in the profits of the administration. Those profits arose out of the fines, and hence the interests of those administrators and lessees of justice lay, not in public order, but in public disorder. The tendency was to increase the number of cases in which penalties might be inflicted.

There was a graduated scale of fines which corresponded to the three kinds of justice—*basse*, *moyenne*, and *haute*. In other words, the results of judicial administration were reckoned according to their economic value. The "highest justice" (la haute justice) was so called because the judge fixed the amount of the penalty, not according to custom, but according to his own will. The greater the crime, the greater the fine, and the greater the seigneur's advantage.

THE SOCIAL
FABRIC
OF THE
MEDIÆVAL
WORLD

AN
HISTORICAL
SURVEY OF
FEUDALISM IV
W.R.PATERSON

THE CLOSE OF THE FEUDAL AGE
AND THE TRIUMPH OF MONARCHAL POWER

THE pressure of feudal taxation was felt not merely by individuals but by communities. When a town was included within the domain of a seigneur or within the diocese of a bishop, its inhabitants discharged the feudal dues collectively. It is not surprising, therefore, that it was in the towns that combined action towards relief from the more oppressive forms of seigneurial domination first took place. In the country districts the serfs were isolated and were as helpless and as incapable of combination as the slaves of antiquity. And yet even in the thirteenth century certain villages had already won concessions, whereby the villagers began to enjoy corporate privileges. The growth of the communes, however, was neither uniform nor rapid. It is true that the ordinances of the French kings from Louis the Stout to Charles the Fair are frequently concerned with the regulation of matters relating to communes. But the royal power, even if it had been willing, was too often powerless to effect reforms in towns which owed allegiance to suzerains of their own.

A Mediæval Rebellion that Failed

Corporate action was discouraged throughout the Middle Ages. In 1368 the inhabitants of Antilly in Burgundy united in opposition to their seigneur. They took an oath upon the New Testament "to help one another against all the world and to share a common purse." What happened? The seigneur put his forces in motion, the conspiracy failed, and the conspirators were compelled to pay an immense fine. If such things took place at the end of the fourteenth century, we can understand the difficulties of corporate action when, as in the preceding centuries, feudalism had thrown its entanglement closely round human society. It is true that the memory of the great Roman municipalities had not died out in France. Many of those municipalities, like Narbonne, Arles and Toulouse, were still in existence between the eighth and the twelfth centuries. A fact, however, which from our present view is of still greater importance, is that communities which were wholly new and had never shared the tradition of the Gallo-Roman cities slowly struggled into life, and although born of feudalism, were at last able to throw off the feudal bonds. Let us not mislead ourselves regarding the origin of all such movements. When we examine the charters granted to the village and the towns we find that the motive was invariably economic. Each commune paid an annual fine or "prestation" in return for its charter of liberties.

The Seigneur's Methods of Money-making

The seigneur granted privileges to the communes for reasons of good policy and not out of humanitarian motives. In many cases he reserved tolls and market dues, so that he owned a share in the commercial progress of the town. In the second charter granted to Dijon by Hugo, third Duke of Burgundy, in 1187, the yearly fine in return for certain concessions to the inhabitants amounted to 500 silver marks. According to Garnier's computation this sum was equivalent to 168,000 francs of the modern French currency.

Such transactions prove that the rate of social progress in mediæval times depended upon the needs of the governing class. Just as in antiquity the slave-master often found it more profitable to liberate his slave and live upon the new freedman's industry, so in the feudal age it was found that by easing the burdens which pressed upon individuals and communities alike there actually took place an increase of the seigneur's revenue. Some of the charters naively declare in their preambles that the motive which urged the grantor was merely one of self-interest. The oppression had become so intolerable that many of the serfs in

Serfs under Intolerable Oppression

Ravages of War and Plunder

despair abandoned the domain to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Thus, a certain Marguerite de Saligny in 1379 offered concessions to her people on the ground that "our land has become depopulated and our revenues almost extinguished," because "many of our men and women have quitted our estate either by direct disavowal of their servitude or by marriage and have betaken themselves to other domains in which there is greater freedom." Social amelioration, therefore, had to wait on economic ruin, and it was not until the feudal policy had been found to be disastrous that any attempt was made to lighten the burden of the serfs. Numerous documents prove that whole estates had become bankrupt. Fiefs which had once been flourishing were at last deserted by villeins, unable to withstand the exactions and tyrannies inseparable from the feudal administration. For when here and there a village or a town obtained relief, it acted as a centre of attraction for men fleeing from mortmain, formariage, and other arbitrary exactions.

Despair Leads to Emigration

Garnier in "La Recherche des Feux en Bourgogne" and Simmonet in "La Féodalité et le Servage en Bourgogne" have published archives from which we learn that entire districts had been devastated and the inhabitants decimated by war and plunder. In 1431 the inhabitants of Selongey and Sarry, in Avallon, addressed to the suzerain of Burgundy a petition which is a vivid picture of the miseries which had been accumulating during the long night of feudalism. The homesteads of Selongey had been reduced to the number of six, and this extinction of families was due chiefly to the tax on marriage, which had caused the young men to leave the domain in order to find wives elsewhere. Besides, a private war had been raging during three years in the neighbourhood, many of the men had been taken prisoners, and the payment of a high ransom had completed their ruin. The cattle had been driven off, even the goods which had been stored in the church as in an inviolable sanctuary had been seized, and in despair the owners had emigrated.

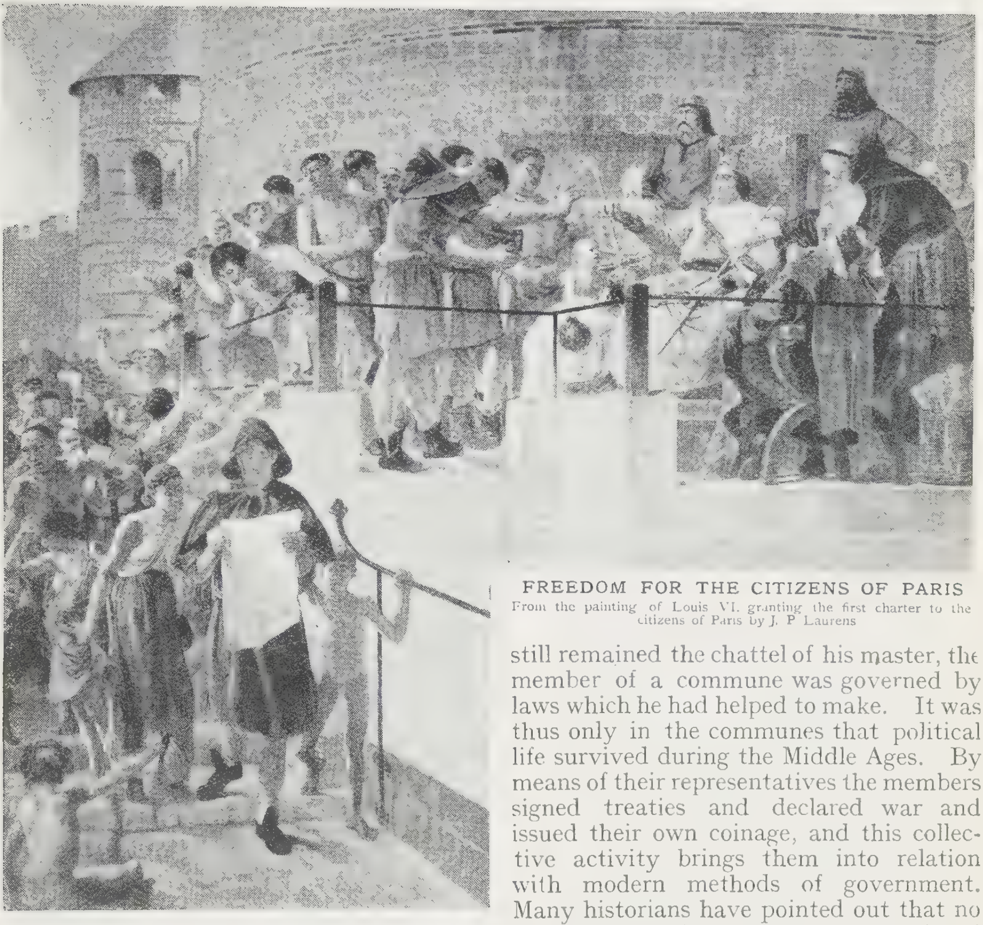
This is not an abnormal but only a normal picture of what was taking place throughout the feudal domains. And when we find seigneurs crying aloud about the depopulation of their lands we know that the social misery had reached its most violent form. For we cannot believe that it was for any trivial vexation that the villeins abandoned homesteads which had been the possession of a single family during many generations.

In the opinion of Michelet, the strange and dark beliefs which grew up around Satanism and sorcery in the Middle Ages were the outcome of the social terrors of the time. The epidemics of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were probably in large measure due to the inhuman conditions of human life, to the hunger and anæmia of generations which had been steadily starved from father to son. Both in its political, its social and its moral results feudalism ended in failure.

Breaking Feudalism's Power

Although in their experiments in self-government the communes were in the end unsuccessful, their creation is one of the most important facts of European history. It was not merely that those cities played a great part in breaking the power of feudalism. They fostered industry and commerce, they educated their citizens in corporate activity, and they foreshadowed the liberties which modern democratic communities enjoy. The mere fact of incorporation constituted a triumph in the midst of feudal conditions, even in those cases in which the charter of liberties was incomplete. For it meant that a new kind of contract had been invented, a contract in which the contracting parties shared equal rights.

Each member of the commune took the oath of fidelity to its constitution, and whoever refused the oath was expelled. So intense became the desire for strong union that in some cases, as, for instance, in Verdun, he who was absent from the town beyond a year and a day forfeited his property. On the other hand, strangers were encouraged to take up their abode in the communes, and having sworn the oath they became entitled to all the privileges of membership. The basis of that oath was mutual aid, for all rights were accompanied by duties. The greater communes possessed their own militia, were permitted to fortify their walls, and to hold meetings for the discussion of public business. The



FREEDOM FOR THE CITIZENS OF PARIS
From the painting of Louis VI. granting the first charter to the citizens of Paris by J. P Laurens

commune, in fact, was a resurrection of the old tribal system of equality, although it was not founded on blood relationship. The assembly was composed only of the citizens, and he who did not attend it when summoned by the town bell was liable to a fine. Mayors, magistrates and jurymen were elected by the people. In some towns, however, which had not obtained a full franchise the nominal head of the community was the prévôt, who still represented the seigneur. But to have abolished the seigneur's monopolies in mills, wine-presses and ovens, and to have secured a reduction in the feudal dues, and the right of being judged by one's fellow citizens, constituted a great victory over the feudal system.

Greek History Repeated

Even in towns in which the seigneur continued to be represented by a prévôt, the scheme of taxation was devised by the people's elected officers. In a word, whereas the serf in the country districts still remained the chattel of his master, the member of a commune was governed by laws which he had helped to make. It was thus only in the communes that political life survived during the Middle Ages. By means of their representatives the members signed treaties and declared war and issued their own coinage, and this collective activity brings them into relation with modern methods of government. Many historians have pointed out that no sooner were the communes established than they became the scene of internal dissensions. What happened to some of the cities of ancient Greece happened also to the mediæval towns. Mayors, jurymen, and magistrates, who had enjoyed power, were unwilling to surrender their offices, and sometimes the towns became the victims of an oligarchy. The ferment of the Italian republics troubled also many of the communes of France. Moreover, the overthrow or the restriction of the feudal suzerainty had not solved those great social and economic problems which reappear in every community, no matter by what name it is known. The members of the commune took the oath of mutual support, but that fact did not prevent the rich remaining rich, and the poor remaining poor. The result was that some cities offered scenes of anarchy and pillage which rivalled even the licence of feudal maladministration. Political liberty perished, and a reign of terror ensued. But such disorder only invited attack by those powers which had always been jealous of the wealth and activity of the communes. The town of Laon, for instance, had suffered under the tyranny of the bishop, its titular head.

The Fall of the Communes

After a period of struggle, which lasted almost twenty years, a charter was obtained from Louis the Stout in 1128. By that charter some of the worst of the feudal exactions had been abolished, and the government of the city had been revolutionised in the interests of liberty.

But Laon was not yet ripe for even a modified form of self-government. Its sedition was taken advantage of by its bishop, who in 1190, by a transaction with the French king, Philip Augustus, succeeded in destroying the commune. In the following year, by a new arrangement with the king, the citizens regained their liberties, and kept them for about a hundred years. In 1294, however, the commune was again abolished, only to be re-established later. This alternation continued until far into the fourteenth century, and the history of the town, beset from within and from without, enables us to see how precarious were municipal liberties in the Middle Ages. Perhaps the most disheartening fact of all is that sometimes the towns themselves, owing to the misgovernment under which they laboured, petitioned for the suppression of their charters. Such a fact, however, by no means justifies the feudal administration. The fall of the communes towards the end of the thirteenth and at the beginning of the fourteenth century was not followed by a feudal reconstruction, for feudalism itself was falling before the rising power of the crown. If the communes failed it was not because feudalism had succeeded. And, indeed, the fact which should interest and surprise us is that men who had been so long misgoverned, and who had almost forgotten the sound of the word liberty, were nevertheless able, in the face of immense odds, to improvise a form of government whose fundamental principles were sound.

Nobles Stronger than the King

The close of the feudal age is marked by a recovery of the central control, which had been in abeyance since the death of Charlemagne. That recovery was slow and gradual, but it was none the less steady. No doubt the heirs of Hugh Capet were as weak as the heirs of the great Charles; but Hugh Capet, although the founder of the new monarchy, was in reality only the head of the French barons. He founded a royal house, but during the reigns of his immediate successors the dukes of Normandy and of Aquitaine were far more powerful than the occupant of the throne.

The feudal system had so firmly established itself that, as we have already stated, the royal domain was likewise a fief, which required constant protection against powerful nobles. It was not until the reign of Philip Augustus (1180-1223) that by help of a vigorous policy the crown domain was not merely protected but enlarged. Henceforward, the monarchy was not content with a mere attitude of negation and defence, but, partly by war, partly by treaty, fresh territory was won, and with the increase of territory came increase of prestige. Philip Augustus, like our own Norman kings, set himself to ruin the great vassals. He did not scruple to attack his own uncle, the Count of Flanders, from whom he took Picardy. Besides, Normandy, Brittany, Languedoc and Champagne were compelled to acknowledge his sovereignty. Whereas, too, in former reigns the king had deigned in obedience to feudal usage to do homage on account of any fief which he held from an inferior, Philip Augustus refused to perform that act. There could be no surer sign that the crown had already recaptured part of its ancient hegemony.

Vigorous Reign of Philip Augustus

In the reign of Louis IX. (1226-1270) the royal authority was still further increased. Normandy was ceded by England, and towns like Chartres and Blois, Macon and Arles, were added to the kingdom. This process continued until the royal suzerainty was acknowledged throughout French territory. Just as in the great territorial divisions the seigneurs acknowledged a comte or duc as their suzerain, so those local suzerains one by one began to acknowledge the supreme sovereignty of the crown.

Thus the monarchy was one of the great enemies of feudalism in France as well as in England. The great difference in the two cases, however, is that whereas in England the triumph of the monarchy over feudalism came early, in France it came late. Before the absolutism of Louis XIV. was attained the throne had passed through a prolonged and often a humiliating struggle with the great feudal potentates.

But in England the evolution of events was different. It was owing to the action of the crown after the Norman Conquest that the growth of feudalism was checked. If, after the death of Charlemagne, France had possessed kings like William the Conqueror, Henry I., and Henry II., it is probable that in that country also feudalism, if not wholly arrested in its development, would have been at least controlled. In England there never took place after the Conquest that dismemberment of the land and of the central authority which characterised the feudal régime. This fact is all the more remarkable since before the Conquest the system of land tenure in England was, as we have already stated, likewise approximating towards the feudal type. In Saxon England the right of judicature accompanied territorial possession, and the man who had land sat in judgment on the man who had none. Even the old public courts, called "Hundred Courts," became private assizes in which a local proprietor passed sentence on the people of the district.

England After the Conquest

Moreover, there is evidence in Domesday Book that in England, as on the Continent, owners of land—that is to say, occupiers of a freehold—were compelled either by poverty or by force majeure to place themselves under the protection of superior lords. In some form, therefore, vassalage had already been developed in England before the eleventh century, and the obligation of military service completed the feudal character of the relations between the greater and the smaller landed proprietors. The system was feudalism except in name. Hence, when the Conqueror and his followers arrived in England the English method of land tenure seemed by no means unfamiliar to them. But whereas in France the central power had perished, and feudalism had risen on the ruins, in England the king was still the lord of the national land. In his seizure of the kingship William determined to maintain the English tradition. That determination on the part of the Conqueror and of his successors was not carried out except by means of a long struggle against the Norman barons. The royal policy consisted in pitting the force of nationalism against the force of feudalism, and in playing skilfully with both.

But the sufferings of the nation which the struggle involved were not in vain, for the king sided with the people, and a national, not a feudal, monarchy was founded. If we examine the coronation oaths of William the Conqueror and of Henry I. we shall find that both of those kings ascended the throne as kings of the whole nation. William declares that he will rule the entire people (cunctum populum) justly. Henry I. re-established the old provincial courts or shiremoots, which William had also favoured, and he confiscated the great baronial estates. By these and by many other acts forces which were hostile to feudalism were early brought into play, and thus caused the mediæval history of England to be widely divergent from the mediæval history of France.

Skilful Policy of the Conqueror

The English king was not a feudal potentate struggling against his equals. The allegiance to a particular lord was not allowed to override or to diminish allegiance to the throne, and England was not an assemblage of independent fiefs, but a nation whose national self-consciousness was already in process of development. No doubt, in the end the French, like the English, monarchy was able to crush the minor feudal sovereignties and to take back into its own hands the reins and bridle of government. But the process was far slower, and the consummation came later by many centuries. Not that the English did not endure manifold miseries of their own, for the disruptive feudal tendencies frequently broke loose. But those miseries would have been still multiplied and magnified if, like France, England had become the scene of a fully developed system of feudal misgovernment. In the preceding paragraphs we have endeavoured to present only in very rude outline some of the main aspects of a social system which, during a long period, profoundly influenced European life. We have mentioned that the reappearance of the monarchy was a chief cause of the disappearance of French feudalism. The

Feudal Lords Crushed

unity of the kingdom which had been broken in fragments was reconstituted. But it is not merely in the action of external factors upon societies that the student of social progress is chiefly concerned. When he has appraised the relative importance of the monarchy and the communes as destructive agents working against feudalism, it remains for him to ask whether also the system did not contain within itself the reasons of its own failure. Human societies are highly complex organisms, and they are no sooner formed than they become the prey of many contradictory elements. The battles which they fight against each other are often less momentous than the struggles of all of them with moral and economic forces of their own creation. The accumulation of those forces is often secret and slow, and it is not until the end of a period that we are able to discover the extent and meaning of their activity.

France's Restored Monarchy

In the foregoing sketch we have perhaps gathered together some facts sufficient in number and in character to enable us to understand why feudalism was incapable of creating a permanent form of human society. No man would dream of reviving it to-day. From a philosophic standpoint we should doubtless be prepared to say that, given the conditions of France from the fifth till the fifteenth century, feudalism was inevitable. But as we examine its internal organisation in the cold light of modern inquiry we are struck less by the system's virtues than by its vices. Boulainvilliers, who was writing in the seventeenth century as a defender of feudalism, attributes its decline mainly to the administrative incapacity of the seigneurs and holders of fiefs. He points out that they were guilty of ignorance of their own feudal customs and laws. And he especially condemns them for having delegated to professional jurists the administration of justice in their territories. The people began to regard the lawyers as the chief depositories of authority, and to consider as authentic and final legal decisions which were incompatible with the old feudal usage. But no one can accept to-day so superficial a diagnosis, for the causes of failure lay far deeper. Feudalism resulted in economic sterility and social paralysis, because the social and economic principles upon which it was based were unsound. No mere tinkering at its machinery could have saved it. Human society is an organism, but the vitality of an organism depends upon the harmonious co-operation of all its parts. If some members are nourished at the expense of others, the ultimate result will be the ruin of the whole body. And this fact is likewise true of the body politic. The process of exploitation can continue only so long as the material lasts. If the material happens to be human life, it, too, becomes at length exhausted.

Virtues and Vices of Feudalism

We have seen that the great method of mediæval exploitation was serfdom. But serfdom, like ancient slavery, did not pay its expenses. It has been shown that the fiefs became depopulated owing to the severity of feudal exactions. And the bankruptcy of the peasant was followed by the bankruptcy of the governing class. Numerous documents prove that impoverished nobles were compelled to mortgage their property. What is more interesting is that when the agrarian exploitation had ceased to be remunerative, the nobles, in defiance of feudal custom, which forbade them to engage in commerce, began to have transactions with the merchant class of those communes whose development feudalism had frustrated. This fact meant that the aristocracy had made wretched use of their immense opportunities on the land. They had strangled agriculture, and they had attempted to strangle commerce. There can be no wonder if this prolonged sapping of its own economic foundations brought about at last the collapse of a structure which even in its upper storeys was artifically built.

Collapse of a Great Structure

W. Romaine Paterson

THE RENAISSANCE

ITS GREAT MEN AND THEIR ACHIEVEMENTS

BEING AN EPILOGUE TO THE STORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

ITALY had already enjoyed a long period of development in culture at the time when the countries north of the Alps first became the scene of events bearing on the history of the world. The system of latifundia, or estate farming, under the later empire, had depopulated wide tracts and caused such general retrogression in civilisation that the Germanic invaders of the fifth and following centuries found almost primitive economic conditions prevailing there. The past was forgotten under the supremacy of the youthful Germanic nations. The old civilisation broke up. The remains of the ancient buildings were either wilfully demolished or fell to ruin from neglect. It was only after some centuries that, as the product of a great blending of nationalities, a new nation was formed, which, aided by a favourable economic development, was able to exhibit admirable results in the sphere of intellectual life.

In a country where the city of Rome, more than ever the intellectual centre of the whole world, daily recalled to men's minds the great past of more than fifteen hundred years, a past of which the mediæval mind formed a quite peculiar and inaccurate conception, the newly aroused intellectual interest could hardly occupy itself with any other object than the literary productions of the ancients. The most gifted intellects tried to understand the ancients, to breathe fresh life into them, and to emulate the old masters in their lives as well as in their writings. They did not, indeed, go much further than the attempt. Our later age must pass this verdict even on those intellectual heroes who thought themselves Romans in every respect. The laws of Justinian had in the last thirty years of the eleventh century been intelligently readapted for practical purposes in Pavia. After the founding of the University of Bologna, in 1088, this town became the home of jurisprudence on the basis of the abstract law of Roman imperial times. The importance which was attached both there and in Milan to the Corpus Juris is clearly shown by the fact that the law enacted about 1152 by Frederic I. for the peace of the empire, as well as two books on feudalism (*libri feudorum*) from the time of Hugolinus de Presbyteris, were actually regarded as supplements to the Corpus Juris Civilis.

Intellectual Heroes of Rome

An Era of Politics and Literature

It seemed to the men of that time that such an idea would do more to ensure the observance of those modern laws than the mere proclamation, which otherwise must have sufficed. The scientific treatment of the Roman legal monuments was due to a directly felt practical need, the want of legal standards, which should correspond to the altered economic conditions consequent on more frequent means of communication, and which were actually supplied by the law of the Roman emperors. On the other hand, the eager study of the ancient Roman literature, which began with the end of the thirteenth century, is closely connected with political events.

The new conception of the state is an important factor in that intellectual movement which we are accustomed to designate "Renaissance." The romantic attempt of Rienzi to transform Rome into a republic after the ancient model, and to place himself at its head as tribune on May 20th, 1347, is only the fantastic realisation of the ancient conception of the state which he had found in the works of Livy and Cicero. The relations of the revived classical learning to politics are clearly shown by the fact that the enthusiastic admirers of antiquity wrote history in a new and conspicuously different form from their mediæval predecessors. Albertino Mussato (1261–1329), when he wrote the history of his time, no longer started with the beginning of the world like a mediæval chronicler, but treated the political events of his century like a man who had himself taken part in political life and had a distinct prejudice in favour of the Emperor Henry VII. He evidently follows the style of the old Roman models, and their influence is still more apparent in his poems, particularly in his tragedies.

Even before Mussato, Brunetto Latini, a shrewd politician, familiar with the Latin writers, especially Ovid, had designated politics as absolutely the noblest and highest science, and thus proved that he had in a very marked degree risen above the Middle Ages. His practical grasp of political history is attested by a comparison which he drew up between England and France; but notwithstanding his familiarity with the ancients he wrote his own encyclopædic works in French, in order to be universally intelligible. He probably would have been forgotten by now had he not been the teacher of Dante (1265–1321), the man who first so absorbed the learning of antiquity that he created in its spirit works artistically complete and yet modern. These, being written in Italian, not only made the ancient world accessible to the widest circles, but also, by the employment of the national language, contributed largely to the awakening of a national feeling. His guide through the pagan world was Virgil, the Roman who, in the development of his ideas, came nearest to Christianity.

Dante's general philosophic ideas, as contained in the Divine Comedy, are therefore Christian as a whole, however much they may be in direct opposition to the prevailing theology of his day. He confronted the papal ambitions of Boniface VIII., and in his treatise in Latin, "De Monarchia," he insisted on the independent position of the Roman emperor by the side of the Pope. Although a republican by birth—Florence was his home—he advocated a powerful world sovereignty, with Italy naturally as centre. The personality of the Emperor Henry VII. may have been of considerable influence in thus shaping his thoughts. Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374) possessed less political talent than Dante. A member of a Florentine family, he had spent his youth in Avignon, and on April 8th, 1341, had been crowned as poet at Rome by King Robert of Naples. His Latin poems alone won him this distinction; but his writings, partly historical, partly philosophical—among others one on the best administration of the state, the

TITIAN'S GREAT PAINTING OF THE ASSUMPTION

Titian, who was born in 1477 and died in 1576, was the most famous painter of his age in Venice, and received commissions from the most distant parts of Europe. He lived a princely life, and vastly enriched the city with his art. He painted many "Assumptions," but although so much of his work was devoted to sacred subjects it is curiously lacking in soul, even when perfect in detail of colour and workmanship.

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI, BY PAUL VERONESE

Paul Veronese, as his name implies, was a native of Verona, but most of his life was passed in Venice during the flourishing of its great school of painting. His work, which abounds in the public buildings of the famous city, is singularly pure while instinct with life and character. Some of his masterpieces are to be seen on the ceilings and frescoes of the buildings of his time, notably his "Triumph of Venice," which is probably unrivalled as a ceiling painting.

"Liber de Republica optime administranda"—are still more steeped in poetic feeling and display some slight knowledge of politics. As an admirer of Rome and the Latin language he was no petty imitator of the ancients, but a writer in Latin with a style of his own. In some respects he shows a distinct advance as compared with Dante. He stands out as a truly modern man in the midst of a still mediæval environment from the manner in which he, almost alone at that time, regards astrology as a fanciful illusion, and by the form of his ideal attachment to Laura, whom he extols in his Italian poems.

Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375), the biographer of Dante and the friend of Petrarch, gives prominence far more than they do to a quite different idea, which is part of the literary property of the age. He remorselessly attacks the Church and the clergy, notwithstanding outward piety and submission to the Pope. The corrupt morality of the priests is lashed with biting satire in his "Decameron," which has unjustly caused him to be reproached with

"THE MARRIAGE AT CANA": A PAINTING BY PAUL VERONESE, NOW IN THE LOUVRE

THE HOMAGE OF THE DOGE: BY THE GREAT VENETIAN, GIOVANNI BELLINI

Of the two Bellinis, Gentile and Giovanni, the younger was the greater artist, and his work is unexcelled by any painter of the Venetian school. The most perfect decorative art of the Renaissance is to be studied in Giovanni's pictures, which were chiefly painted as altar-pieces for the gorgeous churches of Venice. That reproduced above is to be seen in the Church of St. Peter Martyr at Murano, the ancient neighbour of Venice across the lagoon. Gentile Bellini travelled to the East, and resided for a time in Constantinople at the court of the Sultan, whose portrait he painted.

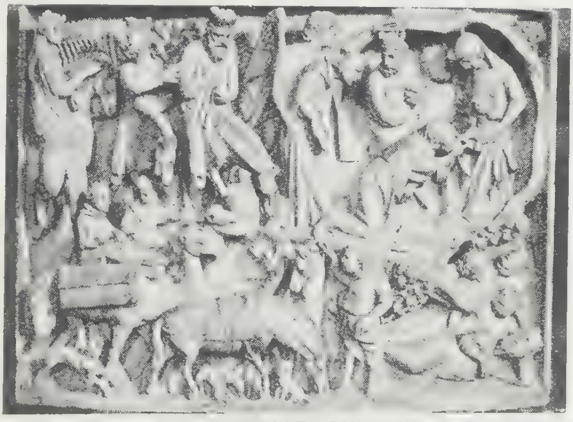
irreligion. He lacked the deeper political ability requisite to attack the secular position of the Pope, although, being often sent on diplomatic missions, he was certainly familiar with the politics of the day.

A MASTERPIECE BY GIOTTO OF FLORENCE

Giotto was one of the Florentine masters who made the fame of their city great throughout Europe. His influence on his contemporaries was even more marked than the beauty of his own work. In architecture his greatest achievement was the magnificent campanile, which stands close by the beautiful Cathedral of Florence.

All sides of an individual intellectual life are embodied in these three men, who went in advance of their age, and yet were influenced by it. They themselves were imbued with the idea that a new era was opening, even if their environment had slowly and laboriously to arrive at a similar knowledge. The number of those who understood the Latin of the ancients was still comparatively small. But this was soon changed. Colucio Salutati (1331–1406), chancellor of the Florentine Republic, introduced the language of Cicero into the state documents, and the Augustinian monk Luigi Marsili (1342–1394), filled with deep reverence for antiquity, was able to combine with his spiritual position vehement attacks on the papacy. Numerous scholars joined him, and Florence became the seat of the ancient learning in a new form. The writings of the Latins were still almost exclusively the subjects of study. Petrarch himself, with all his reverence for the Greek world, did not master the Greek language. Boccaccio was one of the first who thoroughly understood it, and throughout the whole fourteenth century it was very difficult in Italy to obtain instruction in Greek. It was, therefore, an event when, in 1393, in order to escape the dangers which the siege of Constantinople by Bajazet brought with it, two Greek men of letters, Demetrius Cydonius and Manuel Chrysoloras, came to Venice. Young Florentines were to be taught by them, and in 1396 Chrysoloras was summoned to the University of Florence as public teacher of Greek grammar and literature. He soon afterwards taught the new language in Pavia, Venice, and Rome. Then, in 1439, at the invitation of the Florentine council, the aged Gemisthus Plethon appeared in Italy, lectured first in public on the doctrines of Plato, and by so doing created a counterpoise to Aristotle, whose philosophy then dominated the schools. Platonic academies sprang up at Florence and Rome, and in both towns translators began to show a feverish energy. Polybius, Aristotle, Plutarch, Epictetus, Strabo, among others, were translated into Latin. Homer alone was as yet left untranslated. Latin and Greek towards the middle of the century stood as equals side by side, and were equally favoured by the two centres, Florence and Rome. Cosimo de Medici (1389–1464) was the son of a Florentine merchant. From 1429 onward he stood at the head of his native town, and after 1434 guided its fortunes permanently. An enthusiastic patron of all learning, with ample means at his disposal, he developed great energy in building. At the same time, being himself deeply erudite, and possessing a refined knowledge of the authors of ancient Rome, he formed, by means of transcribers and translators, an absolutely unique library of manuscripts. Roberto di Rossi translated Aristotle, Lapo da Castiglionchio Plutarch. A complete circle of scholars assembled round Cosimo; the best known among them is Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499). Cosimo's grandson, Lorenzo the Magnificent, who died in 1492, was, like his grandfather, a patron of art. Of artistic and poetic nature himself, he became the Mæcenas to the artists and poets of his time. The library was further enlarged by him according to the plan of Cosimo; architecture, painting, sculpture, working in bronze, and even music, flourished anew under his rule.

VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH ANGELS, BY BOTTICELLI
A painter of scriptural and allegorical subjects, Botticelli displayed great inventive genius, and all his work shows the minutest care. His colouring is noted for its brilliancy, and is often enriched with gold.



A BEAUTIFUL BAS-RELIEF BY GIOVANNI PISANO
A son of the famous Niccolo Pisano, Italian sculptor and architect, Giovanni Pisano, born at Pisa in 1240, was distinguished for his beautiful bas-relief work, an example of which is here shown. He built the first and most beautiful campo santo—cemetery—in Italy.

The Archbishop of Bologna, Thomas Pasentucelli, was elected Pope on March 18th, 1447, and took the title of Nicholas V

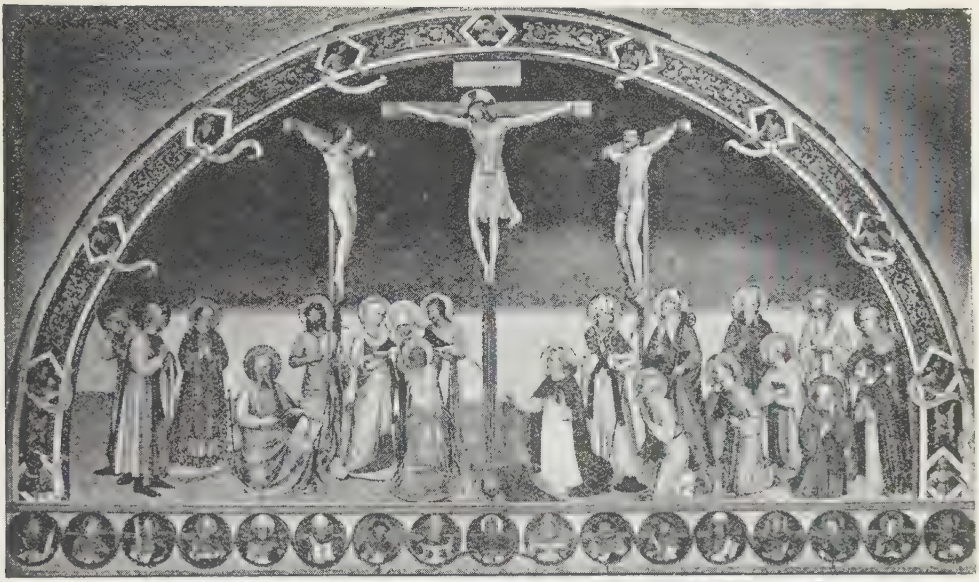
He had lived at Florence in the circle of Cosimo, and now, on his accession to the pontificate, he founded a similar scientific centre by the formation of a second library of manuscripts. He sent out collectors to travel and search for manuscripts of ancient writers, and raised his collection of books under the care of the librarian Giovanni Tortello to 5,000 volumes, of which Greek works formed no small part. Among the scholars whom Nicholas V. collected round him, Lorenzo Valla, who died in 1457, incontestably takes the first place. In the domain of historical criticism he stands supreme. Besides him, Maffeo Vegio, who died in 1458, an Augustinian monk well acquainted with antiquity, and Flavio Biondo (1388–1463), the author of a mediæval universal history from the capture of Rome by the Goths to his own time, are worthy of record. This work shows great progress in method. Almost for the first time the events of the thousand years which were afterward called the Middle Ages are recorded by the side of ancient history. The efforts of Pope Nicholas were not appreciated by his successors. Calixtus III. (1455–1458) dispersed the library which had been collected with such pains. Pius II. (1458–1464), before his pontificate known as Æneas Silvius Piccolomini, was himself familiar with the classics, and was also a spirited and vigorous writer, but he had nothing to spare for other scholars. Paul II. (1464–1471) absolutely hated all science, and persecuted the Humanists, although he showed a wish to preserve old buildings. Sixtus IV. (1471–1484) was no scholar; but under him the library and the archives were transferred to new and larger rooms, and placed under the competent direction of Bartolommeo Sacchi ("Platina"). Art found once more a vigorous patron in Julius II. (1503–1513), and literature in Leo X. (1513–1521).

THE MARBLE CATHEDRAL OF FLORENCE

Set in a city of many splendours, the Cathedral of Florence stands out as the chief architectural feature. Built between 1296 and 1436, it is one of the largest churches in Italy, and its interior is adorned with sculptures by Michelangelo and other great Florentines. Giotto's campanile is also shown in the picture.

Zeal for learning was not so prominent in the other states of Italy as in Florence, and intermittently at Rome. Even in Venice, where, owing to the general rich development, much might fairly have been expected, very little was done. Only spasmodic efforts were made, and these often failed. Nevertheless, towards the end of the fifteenth century Aldus Manutius, the liberally educated printer and publisher, acquired his world-wide reputation there. Artistic life, on the contrary, was more flourishing in Venice than in any other city excepting Florence. At first, indeed, it was almost entirely carried on by the people of Murano in the pay of Venice, but soon, under Paduan influence, art flourished at Venice with almost unparalleled luxuriance. The Bellinis in rich and skilful colouring found still more splendid successors in Giorgione, who died in 1510, in Titian (1477–1576), and in Paul Veronese, who died in 1588. At the court of Ferrara lived Lodovico Ariosto (1474–1533), the poet of the "Orlando Furioso"; and at Naples Giovanni Pontano (1426–1503), an eager patron of mathematics and astronomy.

By "Renaissance" we understand primarily what the word literally signifies, the "new birth," that is, of the antique. The antique was the great model



"THE CRUCIFIXION": A NOTABLE PAINTING BY THE ARTIST MONK, FRA ANGELICO

Fra Angelico was one of the most attractive characters in renaissance Florence. A monk of St. Mark's in the days when Savonarola was the head of the monastery, he devoted his life to painting, and few sights in Florence are more interesting than the series of beautiful paintings in the cells of St. Mark's from the brush of the gentle artist brother. He was known as Angelico because of his love for painting angels, and all his pictures, though weak in detail and draughtsmanship, and conforming to the oldest notions of design, have a rare and gentle beauty in colouring and in the features of his figures which gives to them a somewhat ethereal feeling that is peculiar to this artist.

which the supporters of the newly-awakened intellectual life followed, or zealously tried to follow: for in truth, to the observer who looks back the classical model seems to recede far into the distance as compared with the newly-discovered independence which forms the chief feature of all this age of culture. Thus the new conception kept the name "Renaissance," but the idea implied something quite different. The Renaissance owes to the antique an infinite abundance of incentives. Ancient works of art were collected, excavations were begun, ancient architecture was sketched and copied. The results of this continuous activity were applied to the new creations, but these were themselves of a quite different style from their models. It is not so important a fact that Niccolo Pisano, who died in 1280, adopted figures, and even groups of figures, from the remains of sculpture which existed at Pisa, giving them a new and Christian meaning, as it is that he drew his love of the beautiful from the contemplation and study of the antique. The style of his reliefs is quite different from the art of the Roman sarcophagi, and on the whole he owes what is great and new in his work far more to himself and the newly-awakened feeling for the life around him than to any model. The slight connection that this new art has with the antique schools is seen best in the productions of his son, Giovanni, to whom the storm and stress around him and within him was everything and antique art was nothing.

AN ANGEL BY ANGELICO

Within certain limits Giotto (1266-1337) represents a similar stage of development in painting. If the art of the two Pisanos had been already spread throughout all Italy by pupils and fellow-craftsmen, this was still more the case with Giotto's art. The Italian painting of the fourteenth century may without exaggeration be termed

Giottesque; and the overpowering impression produced by this new art is due to its vigour, till then unprecedented, its inner truthfulness, which aims at the essential—in a word, its realism. The painting of the fourteenth century derived nothing from antiquity, because there were no remains of ancient pictures. To architecture, on the other hand, the Roman soil, although then much still lay buried, offered, in particular cases at any rate, a supply of good models. But even here the influence of the antique was far less than was once supposed. The problems had become quite different, and they were differently solved. Brunellesci (1377–1446), the builder of the dome of the cathedral at Florence, who is called the first great architect of the Renaissance, has borrowed from the antique little more than the ornamentation and the shaping of the pillars and the entablature, certainly an important part of the edifice.

It is noteworthy that it was not in Rome, with her world of ancient relics, but in Florence, that the early Renaissance was chiefly developed. It is true that very many artists from the Tuscan capital came to Rome in order to copy the Roman remains, and a great Florentine, Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472), who worked far more outside his native city than in it, tried to excel the antique in ornamentation, especially in the shape of façades. But Padua, still more than Florence, became the chief centre of that revival of ancient art. Squarcione (1394–1474) had founded there an atelier, in which copies were made of originals collected from all sources, even, it is said, from Greece itself. This fact explains the stiff sculpturesque style of the art of his pupil, the painter and etcher, Andrea Mantegna (1431–1506), who has also become known by his representations of ancient subjects, especially by his "Triumph of Cæsar." [See pages 2670 and 2671.] He carried his art from Padua to Mantua and Rome, while in Venice the Paduan spirit was seen in many works of Jacopo Bellini and his sons, who surpassed him in importance, Gentile and Giovanni. The remains of antique architecture, which in many places lay buried under ruins, were not only studied by artists, but preserved. Indeed, they were often formed into collections of antiquities, while, strange to relate, a quite barbarian delight in destruction often simultaneously showed itself. Nicholas V., the enthusiastic patron of art and science, actually used for his new erections stones from the ruins of Roman architectural monuments, and commanded the Temple of Probus to be destroyed; yet under him the enlargement of the Capitol was begun, and much care was devoted to the preservation of old pavements and early Christian tombs. Pius II. took more decided steps for the preservation of Roman buildings. Even before his pontificate he cautioned persons against burning the ancient marble to obtain lime, and, as Pope, he issued—although, indeed, without much success—a rescript which threatened the most severe penalties for the further destruction of old buildings. Even Pope Paul II., the enemy of the Humanists (1464–1471), not only showed a refined appreciation for the ancient works of art, but was an indefatigably keen collector, who made his museum of Roman

THE ART OF LUCCA DELLA ROBBIA

In the great days of Florentine art, when the fame of the city as an art centre had spread throughout Europe, Lucca della Robbia invented a process of modelling in clay and hard-glazing, the work, chiefly in white and blue, which had a finished effect, resembling porcelain. He and his family carried on for many years a brisk business in this pure and beautiful art, the secret of which was long preserved.

antiquities noteworthy even by the side of that of the Medici. A rich native of Treviso had as early as 1335 founded in Venice a collection of medals, coins, bronzes, cut stones, and manuscripts. In the next century the town preserved her reputation and became the chief repository of ancient works of art.

The great personality with whom the history of Italian painting in the fifteenth century begins is Masaccio (1401–1428). The feature which distinguishes his most important work, the frescoes in the chapel of the Brancacci, from all earlier productions of painting is its absolute truthfulness. The realism already budding in Giotto had completely ripened in Masaccio. His thorough anatomical knowledge, his better developed perspective, the breadth of his compositions, and his distribution of masses, raised his art far beyond that of the previous century. The art of painting flourished in similar luxuriance throughout the whole fifteenth century. A contemporary of Masaccio is the Dominican Fra Giovanni Angelico (1387–1455), who, from the feeling manifest in his works. is almost more Gothic than a follower of the Renaissance, but nevertheless is in this sense typical of a whole group of artists. After him come Lippo Lippi, Lippino, Botticelli, Domenico Ghirlandajo, and the group of the painter-sculptors Pollajuoli, Verrochio, and Lorenzo di Credi, who decorated with their skill the altars and the great surfaces of the walls in the churches of Tuscany.

A PAINTING BY MASACCIO

It is with Masaccio that the history of Italian painting in the fifteenth century begins. His most important work, the frescoes in the chapel of the Brancacci, is distinguished for its absolute truthfulness, while his broad genius raised his art far beyond that of the preceding century.

Ghiberti's Early Triumph

At the same time, however, amid the great tasks which architecture presented, plastic art had developed a luxuriance to which it had attained only in ancient Greece. The century opens with the competition for the bronze door of the baptistery. Lorenzo Ghiberti was the victor, but Donatello is the foremost plastic artist of the century. He is thoroughly original in every respect. Only in his very earliest works can any connection with the older masters be traced. Then he cast aside all that was non-individual, and gave play only to his uncompromisingly realistic nature, which did not shrink even from what was ugly. He worked for different patrons in wood, clay, stone, and brass. He created for Padua the bronze equestrian statue of Gattamelata, completed in 1453 [see page 3965]. After more than a thousand years a technically difficult task had once more been set, and had been performed artistically on the grandest scale.

The Great Work of Donatello

An abundant stream of art flowed in the fifteenth century through every part of Italy. Towards the end of the century the foremost artists from Florence and Umbria were summoned to Rome to decorate the Sistine Chapel. In Florence itself all art culminated in the three names Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo Buonarroti, and Raphael. Leonardo, who died in 1519, was a "universal man," like Goethe, a marvellously gifted nature—architect, sculptor, painter, engineer, physicist, and anatomist, a founder and discoverer in every department, and yet in every other respect a perfect human being, immensely strong, beautiful till extreme old age, famous as a musician and composer. In 1505 the Florentine Michelangelo (1475-1564) became his rival. He too was painter, sculptor, and architect, and in addition a thoughtful philosophic poet. The chief scene of his activity was Rome, where the Popes of the time, being lovers of art, gave his creative imagination the right opportunities. In Raphael of Urbino, who died in 1520, the whole purpose was at last fulfilled which the painting of the fifteenth century had prepared. All the tones ring out full and true in his art.

The direction of all these efforts towards the revival of the classical antiquity implies for the men of that time an immense increase of knowledge and extension of the field of view within a comparatively short time. But scanned from the standpoint of the later development the value of the whole movement consists less in the knowledge actually transmitted than in the stimulus to intellectual freedom, in the promotion of individual thought, which should inevitably lead to a struggle against the spirit of scholasticism. By the side of Christian authority embodied in the papacy there appeared the completely different system of antiquity, and by the side of Aristotle stood Plato. The question was how to reconcile two authorities which were completely opposed one to the other. From this resulted a struggle against authority generally, out of which individualism emerged in renewed strength. The restoration of the rights of the individual is the essential feature of the new era, which in the sixteenth century saw the religious revolution, in 1517, and the regeneration of the Catholic Church at Trent, in 1563.

Features of the New Era

Pope Boniface VIII. (1294–1303) had waged a bitter war with the French kingdom for the secular supremacy, and King Philip IV. (1285–1314), who was fortunate in his struggle for absolutism, had proved victorious, even if he could not carry the successor of St. Peter a captive into France. The brief reign of Benedict XI. (1303–1304) was not able to weaken the opposition and at the new election on June 5th, 1305, a Frenchman, the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Bertrand of Got, was raised to the papal throne as Clement V. Being entirely submissive to the influence of the French court, he removed the papal residence to French soil. For seventy years from 1306 Avignon, a town on the Rhone, was the permanent abode of the Vicar of Christ. This event was due entirely to political circumstances, but became of great importance for the civilisation of France and countries beyond. Up to Louis VIII (1223–1226), who, in consequence of the war with the Albigenses, acquired the Burgundian lands of Raymond VI. of Toulouse, France had been divided politically into two parts, which showed for centuries marked differences in the development of civilisation. In the south the idea of the Crusades had found from the very first a more favourable soil. The Provençal poetry, mostly lyrical, had flourished there, and had developed highly a language which was intelligible in the whole Romance world.

Southern France was the first country of the western world to have a literature of its own in the language of the people. Down to the days of Dante verse and prose even in Italy itself were subject entirely to this Provençal influence; even Brunetto Latini still employed the French language. Although the poetry of Southern France had fallen into decay after the Albigensian wars, which inflicted deep wounds on the land, yet an attempt was made in the fourteenth century—at Toulouse, in 1324, to inspire new life into it artificially by founding a prize for poets.

Meantime the epic of chivalry, at first in the Latin tongue, had been developed in Northern France, but after the time

THE APPEARANCE OF THE VIRGIN TO ST. BERNARD

Filippino Lippi, of whose work the above is very characteristic, was the son of the famous artist, Fra Filippo Lippi, and was born at Florence in 1457, dying in 1504. He painted many frescoes, notably those in the Strozzi Chapel, Florence.

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI, BY GHIRLANDAJO

In the days of Lorenzo the Magnificent, Dominic Ghirlandajo was one of the foremost artists of Florence, noted for his powers as a teacher no less than for the mastery over composition and detail which such works as the "Adoration of the Magi" displayed. This beautiful example of decorative art is preserved in the Children's Hospital at Florence, for which it was originally painted.

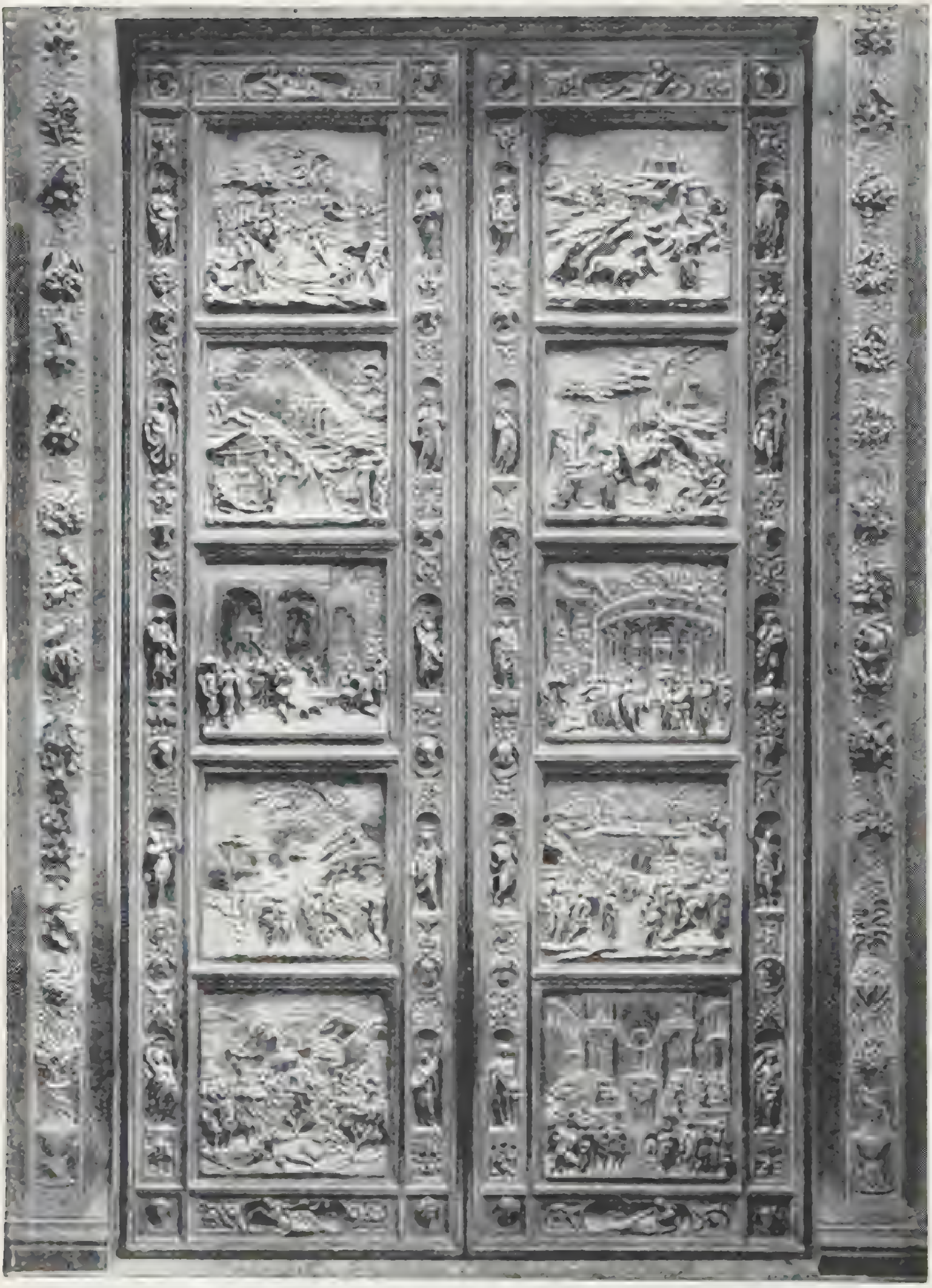
of Philip II. (1180–1223) the national language seemed here also to have acquired the flexibility requisite for poetical productions. This stage, accordingly, was reached considerably earlier here than in Italy. In the South of France the relations with antiquity had never been lost to the same extent as on the other side of the Alps. Thus there could not be a violent awakening of ancient life such as was seen in the neighbouring country.

The awakening was peaceful and calm. The national literature soon produced admirable results, which were not so completely overshadowed by Virgil and Ovid. A more advanced national feeling hindered the outbreak of such fervid enthusiasm for a foreign culture. Even the political conditions there were not on the whole so confused that a republic on the model of antiquity was necessarily considered the ideal constitution. Politically, indeed, France was untouched by classic influences.

While Italy, even in the eleventh century, had possessed a seminary for science in the University of Bologna, and another in the twelfth century, in Salerno, and in the thirteenth century had added four others—Naples, Padua, Rome, and Ferrara—France could not indeed present an equal number, but possessed instead the recognised foremost theological faculty of the world in the University of Paris, dating from 1200. This, rather than any of the Italian universities, became the model for all future foundations of the sort in the West. Parisian teachers left their chairs in 1378 on account of the schism, and were instrumental in founding German universities in Heidelberg, Cologne, and Erfurt, while two other teaching bodies after the Paris model had already arisen—at Prague, in 1348, and at Vienna, in 1365. The movement in England had found expression in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. In the South of France the University of Toulouse was founded in 1228, and that at Montpellier in 1289. The latter began to contest with the Italian Salerno the reputation of being the most prominent school of medicine. The University at Lyons followed in 1300.

The Popes at Avignon

Such was the intellectual life of the environment into which the papacy was removed when it prepared to establish itself at Avignon, at a time when Rome, of all the more important towns of Italy, was perhaps the least affected by the spirit of the Florentines. During these momentous seventy years constant intercourse between Rome and Avignon was maintained. Several of the most enthusiastic admirers of antiquity, above all Petrarch, came to Avignon, but an independent literary renaissance was not developed at the papal court. Even the University of Paris appeared to be the citadel of



"THE GATES OF PARADISE": DOORS OF THE BAPTISTERY OF ST. JOHN AT FLORENCE

It would be difficult to tell any story which would so strikingly illustrate the devotion of the Florentines to their ideals of art as that of the making of the world-famous bronze gates of the Baptistery of St. John. Of course only the barest summary of the story can here be told. After a remarkable competition, the order for the making of these gates was given to the youthful Lorenzo Ghiberti, and just half a century was required for carrying out the entire work. During most of the time when the modelling had been sufficiently advanced for beginning the process of casting, Ghiberti had to work far into the night, and as in those days the streets of Florence were practically deserted after dark, the nobles keeping within their stout castle walls and the common folk being prevented from trafficking at night, Ghiberti and his workmen, by special licence, were allowed to carry their lanterns through the streets and to continue with their work on the gates, in which they never suffered any molestation, although the times were so unrestful. Michelangelo is said to have summed up his admiration of Ghiberti's work by exclaiming that the doors were fit to be the gates of Paradise.

LEONARDO DA VINCI'S FAMOUS PAINTING OF THE LAST SUPPER

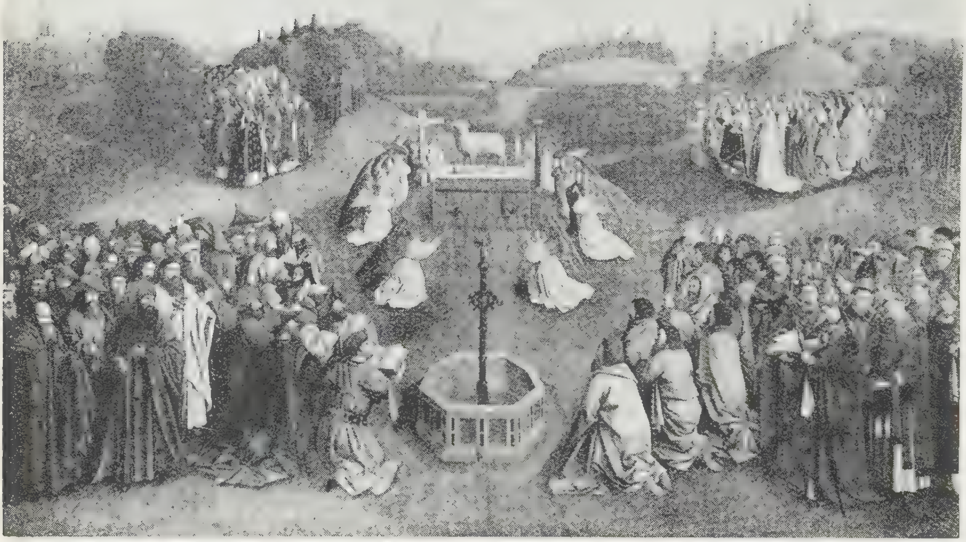
The genius of Leonardo da Vinci did not run in one direction only, and while famous as a painter he busied himself in many other directions. Born at the castle of Vinci, near Empoli, in the Val d'Arno, about the year 1450, he gave evidence of extraordinary skill at a very early age, and he was sent as a pupil to Andrea Verrocchio. He died in 1519.

scholasticism, and too long opposed the efforts of the Humanists. Yet it was there that the beginnings of a renaissance had shown themselves even before Dante and Petrarch. But after the middle of the fourteenth century these efforts died away without having had any results comparable to those accomplished in Italy.

A BEAUTIFUL EXAMPLE OF RAPHAEL'S ART

This celebrated picture is a fine illustration of Raphael's mastery of composition. Contemporary with giants in art, Raphael occupied a unique place among them, and rapidly rose to fame and fortune. A native of Urbino, a town in the Apennines, where he was born in 1483, he settled in Florence in 1504, and died on his birthday, April 6th, 1520.

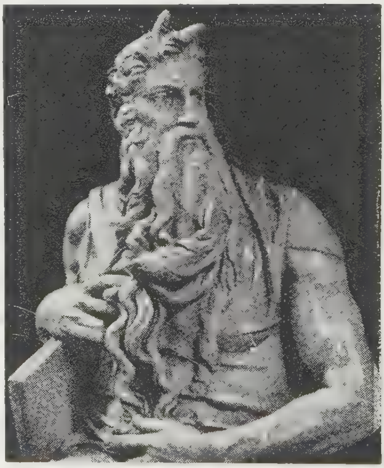
In art, however, Avignon, and Southern France as a whole, could seriously challenge comparison with Upper Italy. And the artistic development stands, at least partially, in direct connection with the study of the monuments of antiquity, which in this region are peculiarly numerous and imposing. This also, like the literary activity in the South, was the result of a more ample accumulation of wealth, which provided the means of livelihood for many men who were not directly producers. Ecclesiastical and secular powers early vied in the construction of splendid buildings, and Gothic art developed here by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries its finest fruits. In the fourteenth century a decadence in the development of the style had already set in. Its full decorative richness was, however, first developed in the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The church of the Madeleine at Troyes, the cathedrals at Albi, Narbonne, and Toulouse, are buildings in this style, which is represented by numerous examples, especially in the southern district. At the same time castles and town fortifications, town halls, and private houses sprang up in motley variety.



JAN VAN EYCK'S MASTERPIECE: THE ADORATION OF THE LAMB

Standing out prominently among the great artists of the fifteenth century, the brothers Hubert and Jan van Eyck reflect in their paintings a wider circle of life than is to be found in the compositions of their predecessors. Jan, the younger and abler of the brothers, showed wonderful skill in fathoming and reproducing character. The crown of all his creations is the altar-piece at Ghent, which, not merely relatively, presents a masterpiece of painting for all times.

The Louvre, which Philip Augustus had built in the year 1204 outside the former boundaries of the city of Paris, was reconstructed by Charles V. on a more complete and splendid scale; the castle gradually gave way to the château. At the same time there arose as the royal palace proper the Hôtel de Saint-Paul, an enormous pile, intended especially for holding festivities, which unfortunately, like the old Louvre, was destroyed in the sixteenth century. A splendid ecclesiastical counterpart to these products of secular art is the palace of the Popes at Avignon. The episcopal palaces at Beauvais, Angers, Auxerre, Narbonne and Albi had gradually taken on the appearance of fortresses as a consequence of wars and feuds. But the papal palace, whose pile still fills the spectator with wonder, was from the first constructed as a fortress, so that it has with justice been described as the edifice which unites to the most conspicuous extent beautiful outlines with strong defensive capabilities. When Clement V. (1305–1314) selected Avignon as his abode a spacious dwelling was first erected on a high rock rising above the Rhone; but Benedict XII. (1334–1342) had it pulled down, and began in 1336 the building of the colossal fortress-like palace after the plans of Pierre Obrier. The northern part of the castle with four towers was finished under him; Clement VI. (1342–1352) built the main block, and his arms even now adorn a gateway. Innocent VI. (1352 – 1362) added another tower, Urban V. (1362–1370) the eastern façade and a seventh tower (the Angel's Tower); and under Benedict XIII., after 1394, the palace had to endure a siege. This gigantic pile, of eighteen thousand square yards, was completed in less than sixty years, although at the same time the town fortifications, nearly three and a half miles long, had been constructed under



MICHELANGELO'S "MOSES"

Michelangelo, the great Florentine, was the giant figure of his time in the world of art. His versatility was remarkable, for he excelled in painting, sculpture, and architecture. The decoration of the Sistine Chapel of the Vatican is his most notable achievement in painting.

Clement VI., Innocent VI., and Urban V. Only French architects worked at it in the service of French Popes, and produced a work of genuinely French genius which has no parallel in the buildings of the fifteenth century.

A MADONNA BY HOLBEIN

Famous throughout most of the countries of Europe for the exquisite finish and beauty of his paintings, Hans Holbein was in great request as a painter of portraits. He was born at Basle in 1498 and died in the year 1554.

Before the beginning of the fourteenth century, art was flourishing in the Netherlands coincidently with the revival of the prosperity of the towns and town industries. The wealth of artistic production even in the first third of the century is proved not only by such scanty relics of that age as are preserved, but more clearly by the circumstance that as early as 1337 the painters and sculptors in Ghent had formed themselves into a guild, the first of the kind. Tournai, Bruges, Louvain soon followed the example set to them. The representatives of other semi-artistic crafts, as goldsmiths and carpet-weavers, joined the association of the painters and sculptors. In the last third of the century the artistic individuality of some masters stood prominently out, and their works showed many personal characteristics which forced their way through the restraints of mediævalism.

TWO FAMOUS STATUES: DAVID AND ST. GEORGE

The first of these beautiful statues is the product of the wonderful genius of Michelangelo, while the other, St. George, is the work of Donatello, the most productive sculptor of the Renaissance. Everything of his, in marble or in bronze, is informed with life, character and movement.

Modern art in the Netherlands really begins with the fifteenth century, and is illuminated by the brilliant names of the brothers Hubert, who died in 1426, and Jan van Eyck, who died in 1440. The invention of oil painting was formerly attributed to them, but incorrectly, as has been proved. But even if they had not only brought oil painting to very great perfection, as they actually did, but had really invented it, this would only constitute their smaller title to fame. Their greater claim rests on the fact that they employed in their art every element of knowledge that was available to them, that their works are modern. An infinitely wider circle of life is reflected in them than in the compositions of their predecessors. The life around the mediæval painter was non-existent to him, or existed in a very limited sense. But the Van Eycks derived from it the most stirring impulses; they looked lovingly at every flower, every piece of household furniture or clothing, every beam of sunlight, and reproduced with their brush all they saw. The landscape for them—and this point differentiates them from earlier artists—is no strange thing, no isolated phenomenon, but something which necessarily belongs to the general combination. The idea of aerial perspective was for the first time grasped by them; and Jan, the younger and more able of the two brothers, knew also how to disclose by his art the inner personality of a man. His portraits testify to this skill in fathoming and reproducing character.

Plastic art attained a high development in the Netherlands even earlier than painting. The masterpiece, the Moses Fountain, which, like the altar-piece at Ghent, far surpassed any previous results, was the work of a Flemish artist, Claus Sluter. It was built, not on the soil of the Netherlands, but in Dijon, where the dukes of Burgundy had their court, about 1399, and still forms one of the chief sights in the town. It stands almost isolated in the vividness of its conception and its impressive individuality, and shows quite clearly how that which is already artistically possible can remain for long years without imitation.

The art of the Netherlands in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is in its inmost nature German, and corresponds to the most advanced intellectual life which the age knows. For this reason hardly any noteworthy influence of the Renaissance on German art-life can be observed before 1500. The first considerable Renaissance building, the "Kiliansturm" at Weinsberg, was begun only in 1513 and completed in 1519. Distinct traces of Italian influence in painting are first to be found in the elder Hans Holbein at Augsburg. They were first noticeable in North Germany shortly before 1550. Upper Germany, like the Netherlands, had created, unaided, an artist of its own in Martin Schongauer, who died in 1491 both painter and engraver and a forerunner of Dürer.

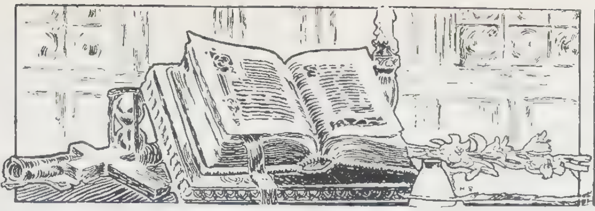
Albert Dürer (1471-1528) is the man in whom, as in a well-defined personality, a great portion of the intellectual culture of the time is reflected. He had been educated to humanism, and was on very intimate terms with Willibald Pirkheimer. He had seen Italy, and received artistic impressions there, which influenced at least one period of his work.

The development in plastic art took a similar direction. Veit Stoss, who died in 1533, tried chiefly to represent his artistic ideal in wood, Adam Krafft, who died in 1507, in stone, and Peter Vischer, who died in 1529, who is sometimes compared with Dürer but perhaps may be described as his counterpart, worked in brass. Vischer's most splendid creation is the monument of St. Sebaldus at Nüremberg, It was completed after thirteen years' work, in which five sons of Vischer shared. The empty tomb of the Emperor Maximilian in the royal church at Innsbruck [see, page 3690], designed after the monarch's own ideas, occupied the foremost German brassfounders. The work was begun in 1509 but not completed until 1583.

Armin Tille

THE ART OF ALBERT DÜRER

Albert Dürer, known as the "Raphael of Germany," was born at Nuremberg in 1471. As an artist he practised engraving both on wood and copper. The great series of woodcuts, illustrating the Apocalypse, printed complete in 1498, was his first large production. "The Four Apostles," in 1526, formed the absolute end of his work.



EUROPE

FOURTH DIVISION

WESTERN EUROPE

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

When our second division of Western European history opens, most of the modern nations have already come into being. The Scandinavian states are one clearly defined group; the Britannic states are another, and are already on their way to unification. Spain is practically, and France actually, a unity. The Austrian House is just completing that congeries of dominions which still forms what we call the Austrian Empire. Germany, however, continues to be a loose confederation, recognising a common sovereign only in the vaguest manner, and Italy continues to be parcelled out into appanages of greater Powers. For nearly two hundred years the ruler of Spain, as well as of Austria, is a Hapsburg; for nearly another hundred he is a Bourbon—of the dynasty of the kings of France. One of the keys to the various complications is to be found in the rivalry of these two great Houses. For half our period, another key is in the rivalry of the two types of religion brought into being by the Reformation; for the second half another is in the rivalry of the colonising nations for commercial and colonial supremacy. Throughout, the political and social fabric is going through a process of reconstruction, intended to replace the disintegrating forces of feudalism, but itself requiring a complete renovation, the way to which is about to be prepared by the cataclysm of the French Revolution. With that epoch our era closes.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PERIOD

By Arthur D. Innes, M.A.

THE REFORMATION AND AFTER

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV.

THE ENDING OF THE OLD ORDER

SPAIN—By Martin Hume, M.A., Dr. Heinrich Schurtz, Dr. Armin Tille, and others

THE BRITISH ISLES—By Martin Hume, M.A., A. D. Innes, M.A., and H. W. C. Davis, M.A.

FRANCE—By Dr. Armin Tille, A. D. Innes, M.A., and other writers

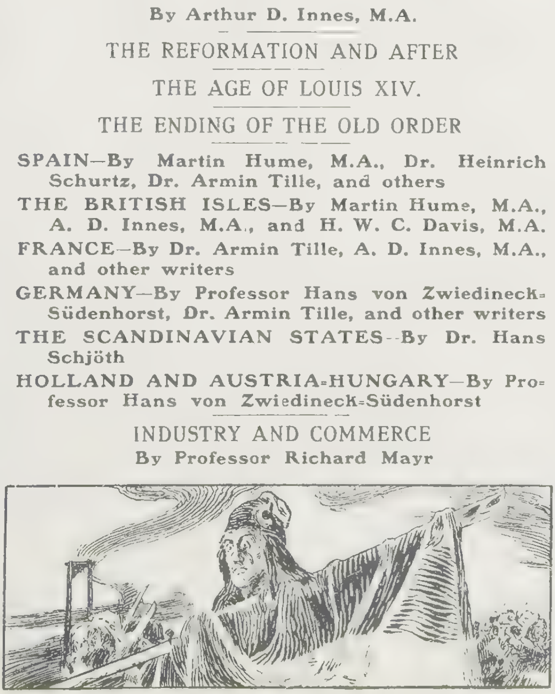
GERMANY—By Professor Hans von Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, Dr. Armin Tille, and other writers

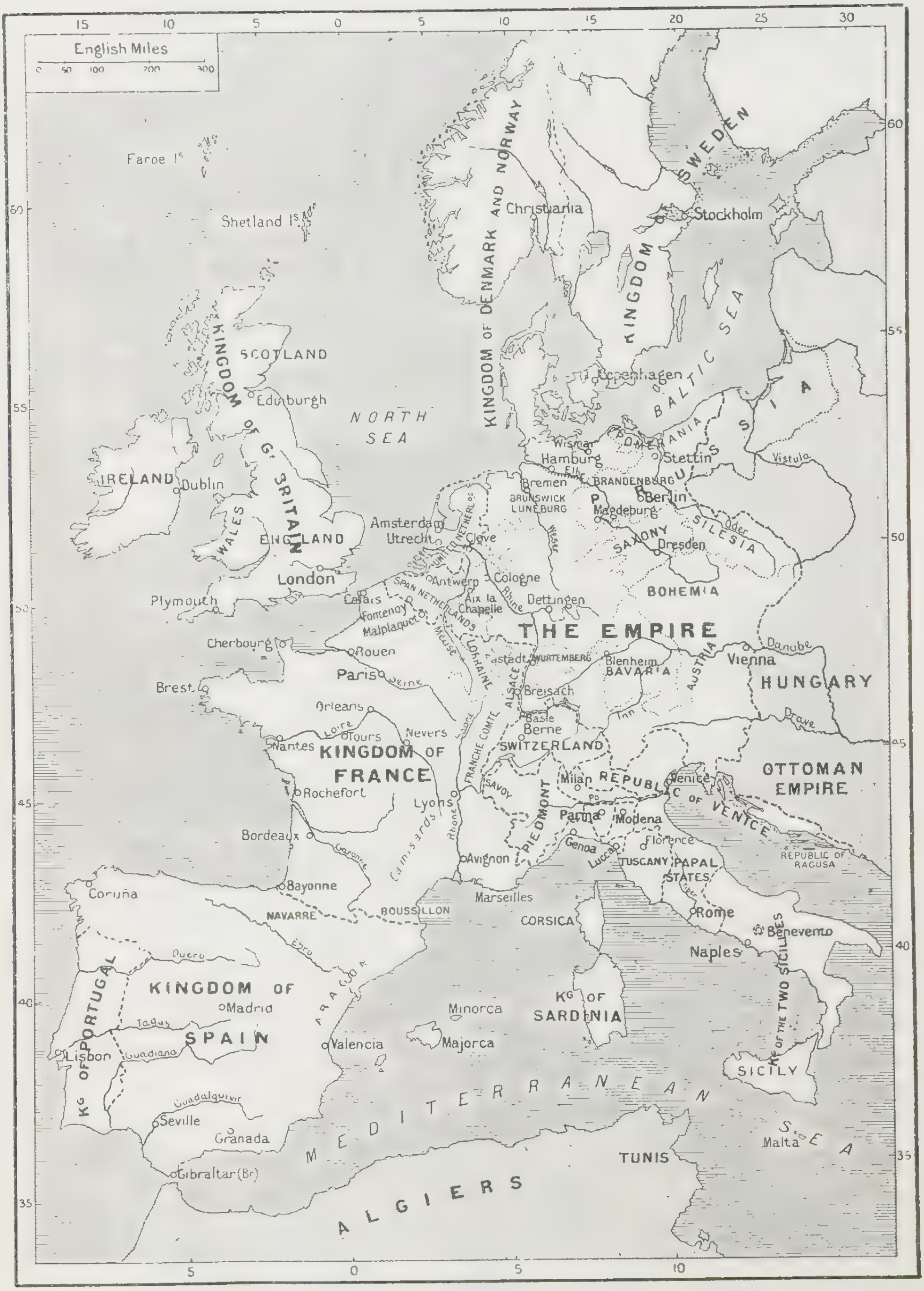
THE SCANDINAVIAN STATES—By Dr. Hans Schjöth

HOLLAND AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY—By Professor Hans von Zwiedineck-Südenhorst

INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

By Professor Richard Mayr





MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE FOURTH DIVISION OF EUROPE

The fourth division of Europe, which treats of the western part of the Continent from the great religious awakening known as the Reformation down to the time of the French Revolution, is illustrated in the above map. A comparison with the map which illustrated the third division of Europe shows the changes that have been at work among the nations. The great empire built up by Charlemagne, which dominated so large a portion of the Continent in the last division, is no longer pre-eminent among the Powers, while the separate kingdoms of England and Scotland have come together in the bonds of union and as one nation are beginning to tread the path of conquest.

WESTERN EUROPE FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PERIOD

By ARTHUR D. INNES, M.A.

THE PASSING OF MEDIÆVALISM AND THE NEW ERA

THE division of history into periods, labelled ancient, mediæval, and modern, is of necessity arbitrary. There was a time, which we commonly call prehistoric, when the European peoples kept no written records of their civilisation. Then some of them, already in many respects highly organised, preserved their records, and ancient European history began. When did it end? We take the line of demarcation at the epoch or moment of time when the old civilised races ceased to dominate the known world, the world which preserved its records, and found themselves dominated in turn by new barbaric races—races, that is, which were on a lower intellectual level and were politically in a less advanced state of organisation; a moment which we identify with the dissolution of the Roman Empire.

Between the Ancient and the Modern

The Passing of Mediævalism

Thenceforth European history is mainly that of the progress of these races from that barbaric condition to the highly elaborate organisation which they have attained at the present day. How, then, in the course of this continuous process—still proceeding—are we to draw a line anywhere saying that on one side of it is transition—mediævalism—on the other modernity? There is reason in the view which takes the close of the eighteenth century as the dividing line, on the double ground that the French Revolution politically rang the knell of absolutist and aristocratic systems of government, and that socially the industrial revolution, which, by the development of machinery, made manufacturing possible on an enormous scale, introduced the most essential characteristics of the modern community. On the other hand, there is reason also in the view which finds the starting point of progress, the emergence from barbarism, in the intellectual and æsthetic revival which began in Italy before the thirteenth century was well ended. There is less reason in the purely picturesque popular distinction which undoubtedly realises the "Middle Ages" as the time when battles were fought by mail-clad knights, and modern times as the period in which gunpowder had made the coat of mail absurd.

Nevertheless, this popular distinction does happen, in point of time, to coincide with a line of demarcation which seems on the whole to have a stronger claim to acceptance on general grounds than either the French Revolution or the beginning of the Renaissance. Between 1440 and 1520 so many events took place—beginning with the invention of the printing-press and ending with the Diet of Worms—any one of which may from certain points of view be claimed as "epoch-making." There are so many fields in which at some moment during those years one era may be said to end and another to begin that collectively they may be regarded as the passing from mediævalism to modernity.

The first of these events is the invention of printing, of which the full effects did not immediately make themselves felt, but which meant that information and knowledge could soon be communicated *urbi et orbi*; no group of persons could

MARTIN LUTHER PREACHING DURING HIS DETENTION IN THE WARTBURG AT EISENACH IN GERMANY

[illegible] Hugo Vogel by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

claim to be the sole guardians of the arcana of accumulated wisdom. The general public slowly acquired the data for inquiry and criticism. The second is the fall of Constantinople. Byzantium had carried on the Græco-Roman tradition. With its fall, the south-east of Europe became, not a link between East and West, and between the old and the new, but definitely Oriental and Mohammedan; neo-oriental, that is, with its past dating from the Hegira. The East had definitely become the aggressor against the West. Third is the discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus and of the Cape route to India by Vasco da Gama, which made the ocean the great highway of the nations, and fleets the instrument of commercial success and the guarantee of expansion beyond the limits of Europe. Fourth is the challenge to the papacy flung down by Martin Luther—epoch-making, not as being the first of such challenges, but as being the first which resulted in a permanent reconstruction of the religious basis of European society, and in extensive political changes attendant thereon.

Four Epoch-making Events

As distinguished from these events, certain tendencies may be remarked as reaching a climax or a decisive stage at this period. In Italy the æsthetic Renaissance reached its culminating point in the fields of painting and sculpture; the intellectual impulse, no longer concentrated in the south, was being communicated to the northern peoples. Politically, the tendency to form large homogeneous states with a strong central government was overcoming the tendency to disintegration inherent in feudalism.

In England, it is true, the principle had triumphed long before—it was only a reaction which was countered by the establishment of the Tudor monarchy. Now, however, France, under Louis XI. and Charles VIII., and Spain, under Ferdinand and Isabella, had been added to the list of clearly defined states, and the new conception expressed in the phrase "the balance of power" assumed a dominant value in international politics. Finally, a place, though not the first place, must be given to the revolution in the art of war effected by gunpowder, which had now, become an assured if not an actually accomplished fact. In England, it may be added, the selected line of demarcation is peculiarly convenient, because it coincides with a landmark in the history of the country—the establishment of a particularly vigorous and notable dynasty. Modern England is introduced under the auspices of the House of Tudor, which supplied us with five monarchs, of whom three at least were of unusual capacity.

Revolution in the Art of War

"Mediæval" history, then, ends, and "modern" history begins—at least, so far as concerns Western Europe—with the opening years of the sixteenth century. And modern history itself finds a point of definite division in the epoch of the French Revolution. The years from the Reformation—Luther's defiance of the papacy—to the French Revolution form a clearly-marked period, in which the consequences of the great events above enumerated develop.

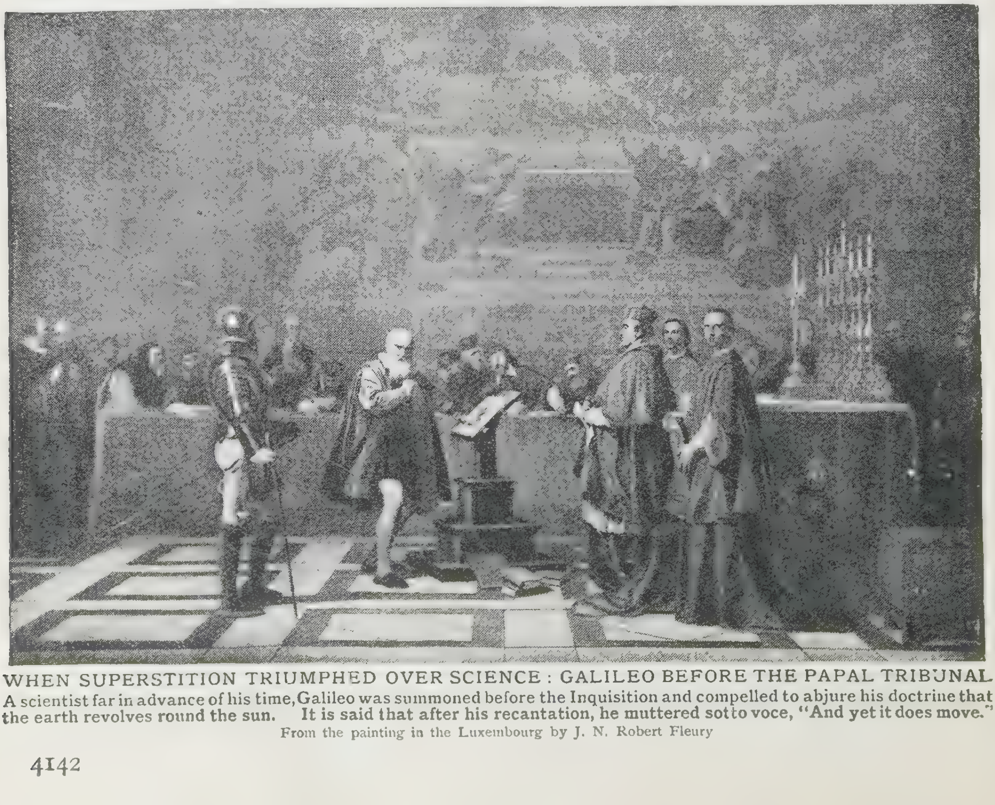
The effects of the increased facilities for communicating knowledge, criticism, and ideas, ramified into every department of human endeavour. After centuries of stagnation, even of retrogression, science—in the sense of knowledge of natural laws—progressed enormously. The 200 years which begin with Copernicus and end with Isaac Newton, whose middle period is associated with the names of Galileo, Kepler, and Francis Bacon, saw physics revolutionised, and astrology displaced by astronomy, and the search for the Philosopher's Stone by a practical chemistry; while the eighteenth century witnessed the invention of machinery, which completely changed the conditions of labour, the first practical application of steam-power, and almost the first investigations of the nature of electricity.

The Rapid March of Science

With the exception of Italian literature, which, like Italian art, had already attained its zenith, all the great literatures of Europe came into being—though the Middle Ages had produced precursors such as Chaucer in England—and achieved a splendour which remained unsurpassed, if not altogether unmatched, even in the period of the French Revolution or in the nineteenth century. The one exception was Germany, where, at the close of the period, Goethe had indeed risen above the horizon; but "Faust" was still unwritten, and Lessing's was almost the only name of consequence in pure literature. The sixteenth century produced the Portuguese Camoens, Ronsard and the Pléiade and Montaigne in France, Cervantes in Spain, Tasso in Italy, and in England the tremendous group of "Elizabethans," whose work extends roughly over the forty years from 1580 to 1620. To the next century belong Calderon in Spain, Milton and Dryden with Bunyan and Defoe in England, and in France the three great dramatists—Corneille, Molière, and Racine—as well as the school of critics, headed by Boileau, who dominated European literature for nearly a hundred years afterwards. Under this last influence intellectuality triumphed over passion, spontaneity was depressed by artificial rules; it is curious to remark that in England the term "artificial" was complimentary. Hence the victorious romantic reaction which followed this period makes the present-day critic inclined to deny that the pre-Revolution poets of the eighteenth century were poets at all. Through most of the eighteenth century classicalism held the field, the drama ceased to be dramatic, satire and epigram flourished, but the lyric was at a discount; it was an age of essayists in prose or verse, though the tender emotions still found occasional expression.

Neither in the field of prose literature nor in that of natural science would these developments have been possible—at least in their fulness—but for the invention of the printing press; the same is true of developments in a third field which has affinities both with science and literature—the field which is vaguely and generally termed "philosophy." The "scholasticism" of the Middle Ages was not, indeed, so utterly sterile as is sometimes represented. In conjunction with the Reformation, which liberated thinkers from the necessity of compelling at least their publicly expressed conclusions to conform with the authorised dogmas of the Church, the printing press helped both to record the data for formulating new ideas and to popularise new conclusions. In the sixteenth century the great theological contest absorbed attention; but the seventeenth produced the great names of Descartes, Spinoza, and Leibnitz; the eighteenth, Berkeley, David Hume, and Kant.

Metaphysics, however, with mental and moral science, exercise a direct influence only on the few; of more practically recognisable effect was the revived study of political theory, which may be said to have started with the publication of Machiavelli's "Prince" shortly after that statesman's death in 1527. That work is a handbook of monarchism divorced from



WHEN SUPERSTITION TRIUMPHED OVER SCIENCE: GALILEO BEFORE THE PAPAL TRIBUNAL

A scientist far in advance of his time, Galileo was summoned before the Inquisition and compelled to abjure his doctrine that the earth revolves round the sun. It is said that after his recantation, he muttered sotto voce, "And yet it does move."

From the painting in the Luxembourg by J. N. Robert Fleury

THE FIVE GREATEST SCIENTISTS OF TWO CENTURIES

ethics; but it is an analysis of method rather than an examination of principles. The truth that the establishment of a strong central government was a manifest political necessity for every state which wished to hold its own accounts for the fact that the theorists from Machiavelli through Jean Bodin to Hobbes were always advocates of monarchism, though Hooper, in his "Ecclesiastical Polity," implies something like the ultimate sovereignty of the people. The philosophical thesis, however, was assuming by the middle of the seventeenth century the character of a political propaganda; constitutionalists, as well as absolutists, were in search of a theoretic warrant for their practical demands. The embodiment of the principles of the "glorious revolution" of 1688 in the constitutional gospel of John Locke, in spite of prolixity and of a certain haziness, not only satisfied the Whig demands, but influenced thinkers abroad. Montesquieu, analysing the functions of the state on the basis of what may be called comparative history and comparative law, pointed to British constitutionalism as the highest actual achievement in the art of government; the Encyclopædists undermined the logical defences of the "Ancien Régime"; Rousseau's "Contrat Social" captured the popular imagination, and became a mighty agent in producing the revolution itself. In practical manner the pen was revealed as no less mighty than the sword.

The fall of Constantinople was an event exceedingly striking to the imagination, but one of which the effect on the western world may be exaggerated. The spirit which had flung the chivalry of the West against the East, the spirit of the Crusades, had all but spent itself 200 years before. The Austrian Hapsburgs, essentially a western power, were to find their western policy for two and a half centuries continually hampered by the pressure of the Ottomans on the east. When the Ottoman power began to decline, the other western states began also to interest themselves in an Eastern question, which did not, however, become acute, as far as they were concerned, till the nineteenth century. On the other hand, during the period of Turkish aggression they did not greatly embroil themselves in the struggle which the barrier states were obliged to maintain.

Byzantium itself had long ceased to exercise any fascination or any marked influence over the Teutonic or Latin peoples; and the substitution of an aggressive Mohammedan power for a decaying Christian power in the Balkan peninsula was to all, except the barrier states, a matter of importance potential rather than actual. Moreover, the associated commercial problems, which otherwise might have forced themselves upon the West, were largely modified by the development of the Altantic as a commercial highway. Again, it is probable that too much has often been made of the effect of the fall of Constantinople on the intellectual movement of the West. The dispersion of Greek scholarship and Greek manuscripts which ensued did, no doubt, give an additional impulse to the study of the Greek tongue and the Greek authors of antiquity. But the classical revival had already begun in Italy; the demand for scholars and manuscripts had already been created, and the supply would have followed, though more gradually, even if the Turk had been driven over the Bosphorus.

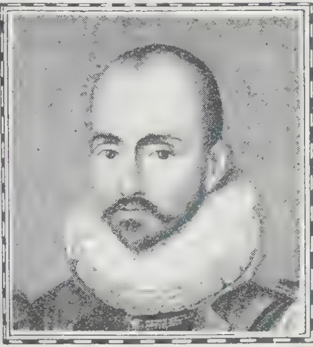
Of our third great event, or pair of events, however, it would be difficult to over-estimate the significance and the

THE POET TASSO RECITING HIS MASTERPIECES AT THE COURT OF FERRARA

From the painting by Eduard Ender

COMMANDING FIGURES IN LITERATURE BEFORE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

DE CAMOENS, 1524-80



MONTAIGNE, 1533-92

TASSO, 1544-95

CERVANTES, 1547-1616

CORNEILLE, 1606-84

MOLIERE, 1622-73

RACINE, 1639-99

importance of their development. In ancient times Greeks and Romans had indeed colonised Western Asia and the Mediterranean coast of North Africa. But the eastward movement had soon found its limit, had ceased, and had been revived only in very inefficient form by the Crusades, to perish again, submerged by the Turkish wave. It seemed that the peoples of Western Europe would be confined within the geographical limits of the continent. Now, however, the pathless ocean was converted into a highway to new regions, offering space to expand in, which might be called boundless, and infinite opportunities of commercial exploitation.

At first, indeed, the gold and silver of the West and the spices of the East seemed to be the chief prizes, and the monopoly thereof seemed to have fallen respectively to the Spaniards and the Portuguese. But then the monopoly was challenged by the two states which developed a maritime power greater than that of the monopolists; Dutch and English displaced the Portuguese in Indian waters, and the English found in North America a possession which they turned to better account than did the Spaniards theirs in the Southern continent. Then the French entered upon a rivalry with the English in India and in North America. The issue between the rival colonists in the West and the rival traders in the East involved them, and with them the parent states, in contests which meant in both regions the effacement of the one and the establishment of the other as monopolist. In both regions the British triumph was complete, owing primarily to the fact that the British concentrated their efforts on establishing naval supremacy, thus maintaining their own communications and cutting off those of their rivals; whereas the

French, not realising this essential condition of a successful contest, allowed their energies to be simultaneously distracted by wars on the European continent. The victory of the British race took a new development when the race itself bifurcated into two nations as the result of a quarrel between the American colonists and the mother country; but that development was only in its initial stage at the close of our period.

The fourth crucial event was Luther's challenge to the pretensions of the papacy. Those pretensions were both political and dogmatic. Politically they had attained their effective maximum in the thirteenth century, and had been weakened but not destroyed by the Babylonish captivity of Avignon and the Great Schism. Dogmatically they had been assailed by Wycliffites and Hussites, but the assault had apparently been repulsed. Now, however, the renewed attack by Luther developed into the revolt against Rome, both political and dogmatic, of approximately the northern half of Western Christendom. In the southern states, Rome retained dogmatic domination by accepting the political alliance, in place of the subjection, of the secular Governments.

Dogmatically, Protestantism rests on the individual's duty to obey his own conscience, and his right to follow his own reason, even when counter to the dictates of authority. The Protestants claimed the right and asserted the duty for themselves, but were not for a long time generally disposed to recognise either the duty or the right in the case of persons whose conscience and reason led to conclusions differing from their own. In other words, Protestantism did not realise that toleration was its logical corollary. It divided into camps, Lutheran, Calvinistic, or Anglican, which were too antagonistic among themselves for the nations which adopted them to oppose a combined front to the attack of the papal powers—a disunion which more than once brought the whole cause of Protestantism into serious jeopardy.

In many countries, religious profession became so intimately connected with dynastic partisanship that "heresy," or "papistry" as the case might be, became treason in the eyes of rulers; and in England and Scotland a similar relation arose between Prelatists, or Episcopalians, on the one hand, and Puritans, or Covenanters, on the other, until mutual toleration was reluctantly accepted by both as the only security against the restoration of papistry. This point was reached at the moment when the religious question was ceasing to be a leading factor in international politics, and Catholic and Protestant Powers were uniting to resist the aggression of France. The storm of theological antagonisms was becoming exhausted among the educated classes, to be

THE LAST HOURS OF THE AUTHOR OF "DON QUIXOTE"

From the painting by E. Oliva

Machiavelli, 1469-1527 Descartes, 1596-1650 Spinoza, 1632-77 Locke, 1632-1704
Leibnitz, 1646-1716 Berkeley, 1685-1753 Hume, 1711-76 Kant, 1724-1804

FAMOUS PHILOSOPHERS FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION

replaced by a respectable indifferentism, an apathy which extended into the moral and political spheres. Hence, the wars of the eighteenth century were not religious but ostensibly dynastic in origin, though in the middle of the century the fundamental national antagonisms must be recognised as, in the main colonial.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, religious convictions had been marked by intensity, even when moral standards were low and distorted. In the eighteenth, if moral standards were a shade more refined, religious convictions had given place to a tolerant scepticism which professed Deism and called it Christianity. Nevertheless, the instinctive demand for religious emotion found notable expression in England in the movement which bears the name of the Wesleys, which was but one form of the revolt of idealism against the self-satisfied materialism which threatened to devitalise Europe.

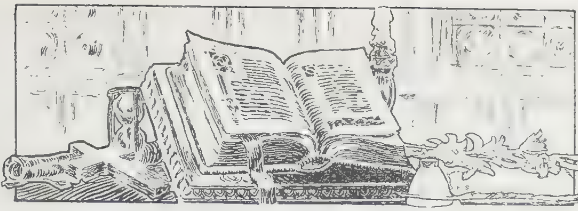
In the sixteenth century, the Western world was stirred, as it were, by a fresh access of youth, a spontaneous vitality, a superabundant energy. It was an age of heroic adventure, of young enthusiasms, of dramatic incident—tragic and otherwise—of supremely picturesque personalities; the age which is summed up in Shakespeare. This flow of youth does not pervade the century which follows—an age in which the enthusiasms are sterner, the great personalities more grim. Its striking and characteristic figures are not Luther or Loyola, Henry, Elizabeth, Drake or Marlowe; but Gustavus, Wallenstein, Cromwell, Richelieu, Milton; finally Louis XIV. and Dutch William. But when we pass on to the eighteenth the youthfulness, the "heroicalness," have vanished; barbaric energy and Puritan grimness give way to a pervading artificiality, polished scepticism, commercial materialism; there are very few figures that can be called noble. Among its most prominent figures, save perhaps Chatham and Washington, Frederic stands among the men who may fairly be called great; Walpole is more characteristic. The first century gave us spring; the second, summer and autumn; the third, winter. But another spring was to come, though with more in it of March than of May.

VANDALS OF THE REFORMATION: THE SACKING OF A MONASTERY

A consequence of the Reformation movement was the suppression of monasteries which had lost, in many cases, their original purpose, and in connection with which many abuses had sprung up. In Scotland particularly, the indignation of the populace with the Roman Catholic Church found expression in attacks upon those places of retreat. When John Knox preached in St. Andrews public feeling ran high; the churches were stripped of their popish ornaments, and the monasteries were pulled down. In other places also, where the reformed worship was set up, the unrestrained zeal of the people dealt roughly with the beautiful old buildings, and scenes such as that represented in the above picture were not at all uncommon.

From the painting by G. Gaupp, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

WESTERN EUROPE
FROM THE
REFORMATION
TO THE
REVOLUTION



GENERAL SURVEY
OF THE PERIOD II
BY
A. D. INNES

THE REFORMATION AND THE WARS OF RELIGION

In giving our preliminary sketch of the period it is convenient to take familiar points in English history as our landmarks, not because of their intrinsic importance, but because they are handy guides. The first decade, however, of the reign of Henry VIII. provides a starting-point which is of more than insular utility. In 1509 Henry VIII. became King of England. In 1513 Flodden checked the development of Scotland. In 1515 Francis I. ascended the French throne. In 1516 the young Hapsburg Charles became King of Spain on the death of his grandfather, Ferdinand of Aragon. In 1519 the Emperor Maximilian died, and his death was followed by the election of the King of Spain—who was grandson of Maximilian as well as of Ferdinand—to the imperial throne as Charles V. In 1517 Martin Luther had thrown down the gauntlet to Rome by challenging the sale of indulgences. Thus, at the close of this decade, 1509–1519, the three kings and the religious reformer, whose personalities were to dominate Europe for thirty years—Luther died in 1546, Francis and Henry in 1547, though Charles survived them—had all taken their places on the stage. Among them those four during those thirty years laid down the lines of the national divisions of Europe, saw the Europeans masters of South America and on the Indian seas, and marked out the course which was to be taken by the religious Reformation.

Four Great Protagonists of the Era

All four were still living when Ignatius Loyola, on the Roman, and John Calvin on the Protestant, side established the specific types of the Jesuit and the Puritan.

Another decade of English history, the decade of the Great Rebellion—or perhaps we should say the two decades of the Rebellion and the Commonwealth—marks a division of our whole period into two. The Peace of Westphalia and the execution of Charles I. were all but contemporaneous, falling precisely midway between the accession of Henry VIII. and the summoning of the States-General. From one point of view, we may regard the first period as that of the ascendancy and decline of the Hapsburgs, and the second as that of the ascendancy and decline of the Bourbons. From another point of view, the first is the period when religious antagonisms are dominant, while in the second those are over-ridden by the claims of rival commercial interests issuing in a great struggle for colonial dominion.

The Struggle for Colonial Dominion

From a third point of view, the first period witnesses the passing of feudalism into absolutism, and the second the decay of the bases on which absolutism was established. In our own island, politically far in advance of other states, the first period saw both the development and the fall of absolutism, while the second established constitutionalism. Thus the chronological division provides a natural partition for our survey. At the opening, then, we find Spain, the Burgundian heritage including the Low Countries, the Central European heritage of the Austrian house, and the Imperial dignity, all under one sceptre, though the Austrian dominions were very soon transferred to the emperor's brother, Ferdinand.

The Theory of a Balance of Power

The theory of a balance of power among European states would have been stifled at birth but for the fact that the emperor's realms were a heterogeneous assortment of unsympathetic nationalities, very inconveniently situated for united action, whereas the realm of the other great Continental power, France, was homogeneous and compact. The rivalry of the two princes, Charles and Francis, and their counter claims to sundry Burgundian and Italian territories, were the fundamental facts in the international situation. England, standing outside, her policy guided—at least in the judgment of the world—

by the minister Cardinal Wolsey, sought to hold the balance between the two, to preserve the general peace, and to reap the advantages of her position as arbiter. Failing to keep the peace, she threw her weight—though by no means vigorously—into the scale on the emperor's side; and only after the overthrow of Francis at Pavia in 1525 was an attempt made to restore the balance by a return to the French alliance. But by this time, the new act was making itself actively felt. Martin Luther had challenged the papal pretensions in 1517 at Wittenberg. In 1520 he metaphorically burned his boats when he literally burned the papal Bull which condemned him as a heretic. By challenging the pecuniary and political as well as the theological claims of the papacy, he secured the support of a number of secular princes, while the religious enthusiasm of the masses over half of Germany was aroused by his bold declaration against any authority which pretended to override the Scriptures. "Here stand I. God help me. I cannot do otherwise."

Luther's Challenge to the Papacy

The fire was fairly kindled. Politically speaking, German unity had become impossible until the sword which Luther had brought instead of peace should be sheathed. The princes, who supported Luther, demanded religious freedom on the general principle later formulated in the phrase *cujus regio ejus religio*—"for each ruler's realm, the ruler's religion." The Lutherans united at Speier in the protest against imperial restrictions which gave to their movement, and ultimately to the whole anti-papal Reformation, the name of Protestantism.

The new teaching progressed in spite of the serious set-back which it received from the social propaganda of some of its votaries—emphatically condemned by Luther himself—which brought about the horrors of the great German peasant revolt of 1525. The league of Protestant princes became a permanent menace to an imperial authority which definitely ranged itself on the side of the old teaching and was at the same time endeavouring to tighten its control in secular affairs.

League of Protestant Princes

Under such conditions an effective Anglo-French alliance would have presented a very grave danger to the Hapsburg monarchy; but the King of England elected to follow a course of his own in which he could be actively associated with neither of the two rivals. While priding himself on his orthodoxy, Henry found conscientious reasons for disclaiming obedience to an ecclesiastical authority which could not be persuaded to declare his marriage with Catharine of Aragon void. Conscience also compelled him to suppress the monastic establishments in England and to appropriate their endowments.

At the same time the monarch, who had been honoured with the title of "Defender of the Faith" by Leo X., was not *persona grata* with the Lutherans; and the total outcome was that from the hour when Henry began to seek for the so-called divorce from his wife, England ceased materially to influence the policy of either Charles or Francis, while her king was making himself supreme over the State, and the State supreme over the Church. Theological changes, however logically they might follow as corollaries to the revised relations between Church and State, were reserved for the next reign.

In Germany contests between Protestantism and Imperial Catholicism continued to alternate with periods of doubtful compromises and suspicious truces. The apparent triumph of the orthodox emperor over the Lutheran League of Schmalcald in 1547 was followed by a complete reversal of the position, accomplished in 1552 by Maurice of Saxony; and before the death of Charles a modus vivendi was established between the two parties which remained effective for more than half a century. But the attempt to centralise power in the hands of the emperor had failed, and the intimate connection of the empire with Spain was terminated. A Hapsburg was King of Spain, retaining the Netherlands, and another wore the imperial crown; but the Hapsburg dominion was permanently divided.

Germany's Religious Warfares

While Charles still ruled, Montezuma and Atahualpa had met the fate with which Macaulay's schoolboy was so familiar; Cortez and Pizarro had conquered Mexico and Peru; the Spaniards were established on the Spanish Main, and the Plate fleets were beginning to pour their cargoes into the Spanish treasury. Also John Calvin had founded his theocratic system at Geneva on a rigid predestinarian basis; the Order of Jesuits had been recognised at Rome, and was

THE HUGUENOT LOVERS

This famous painting illustrates the anxiety of a Huguenot maiden for her lover's safety. On the eve of the massacre of St. Bartholomew the intimation was secretly conveyed to the Roman Catholics that they were to wear a badge on their arms to distinguish them from the Protestants, against whom the attack was to be made. Hearing in some way of the impending massacre, the young woman has tied the badge about her lover's arm and is entreating him to wear it, but he is gently seeking to remove the symbol of the craven.

From the painting by Sir J. E. Millais, in the Tate Gallery developing the powers generated by the union of a consummate education with unqualified obedience; and the Council of Trent, in which the adherents of the papacy alone found recognition, was preparing the conclusive dogmatic definitions which were permanently to distinguish Roman Catholics from all others, and to lead to the popular appropriation of the name of Catholic to the Romanists—an abuse of terminology which is excusable only because the opposition of the terms Protestant and Catholic is, on the whole, less misleading than any practicable alternative which has been suggested.

Philip the Champion of the Papacy

In Germany there was a religious truce. In England the explosive Protestantism of Edward VI.'s reign was followed by the still more acute reaction of Mary Tudor's government; and that again by the comprehensive but still limited Anglican settlement of Elizabeth. In France, the orthodoxy of the court was qualified by the Huguenot leanings of powerful families. It remained for Philip of Spain to adopt the rôle of champion of the papacy and hammer of the heretics. Between 1556 and 1560, Spain, France, England, and the Empire, each came under a new ruler, who in the case of the first three guided its destinies for thirty years or more.

In France the sons of Catharine de Medici were kings, but it was she who controlled them. To retain her own ascendancy she played off the Guises against the Huguenots and the Huguenots against the Guises. Even the terrible St. Bartholomew massacres of 1572, which she planned probably in a moment of jealous panic, failed to suppress the party of the victims, who won the day for their indubitably legitimate candidate, Henry of Navarre, in the struggle for the succession which followed the death of Henry III., and of Catharine herself in 1589, but only when Henry paid the Catholics their price, holding that a crown was worth a Mass.

Why Queen Elizabeth was Protestant

In England, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, born out of wedlock in the eyes of every believer in the papal authority, was wholly dependent on the loyalty of her Protestant subjects, whose hopes were no less bound up in her, since, even if her legitimacy were admitted, the legitimate heir presumptive was the Catholic Queen of Scots, who was half a Guise. Elizabeth's domestic administration was consequently emphatically Protestant; the more so when a singularly injudicious papal Bull in 1570 formally invited English Catholics to profess loyalty but to compass treason. Nevertheless, it was her business to avoid challenging the direct onslaught of the papal champion until the outcome of a struggle could be anticipated with confidence.

Hence for nearly thirty years she played persistently a double game, wounding Spain whenever the chance appeared of doing so unofficially, or dangling before France the prospect of a matrimonial alliance, but refusing to commit herself to open support either of the Huguenots in France or of the Protestant Netherlanders in their struggle to free themselves from the Spanish yoke. But sooner or later the battle with Spain was inevitable, apart from the religious question.

The Great Sailors of the Seas

For the spirit of adventure had taken hold of the seafaring population of England. The Italian Cabots—John and Sebastian—had made their voyages to North America in command of English ships, Willoughby and Chancellor had "discovered" Muscovy when in search of a "North-east passage," old William Hawkins had made the Guinea voyage and visited the Brazils before Elizabeth was on the throne; and many captains were soon emulating their exploits, most notable among them being John Hawkins, who kidnapped negroes or bought captives from the native chiefs on the Guinea coast, finding a profitable market for the same among the Spaniards in America. But Spain was by no means disposed to let foreigners work their way into sharing her American monopoly, and strict trade regulations were laid down.

These regulations the English seamen ignored—partly as being in contravention of treaty rights, partly as having no better warrant than the old Bull of Pope Alexander VI., who had made a present to Portuguese and Spaniards of the New World, which was not his to give. In plain terms, international law was far too vague, and its sanctions far too insubstantial, to control the proceedings of mariners and adventurers on the other side of the ocean. If the Spaniards had a right to the monopoly, the English were no better than pirates; if they had not, the

English were within their rights; and the debate could be decided only by the effective, if illogical, method of fighting it out. Therefore, while Elizabeth and Philip were theoretically at peace, their subjects on the high seas and on the Spanish Main were practically at open war.

The whole situation favoured Elizabeth's policy of deferring the collision as long as possible. A large proportion of her subjects, and one at least of her ablest ministers, Francis Walsingham, were eager to join issue with Spain long before the queen or her most trusted counsellor, William Cecil, best known as Lord Burleigh, were willing, partly because they were zealous for England to stand out openly as the champion of Protestantism, partly because the mariners were confident of the outcome of a naval struggle.

The Shadow of a War with Spain

But Protestantism appealed to Elizabeth merely as a political necessity in her own realms; she cared nothing about maintaining it abroad except as a check upon the capacities of Catholic governments for aggression. She would have preferred friendly relations with Spain on terms of mutual accommodation, wishing to keep that power as a balance to France. The ruin of either France or Spain would, in her view, have rendered the other too powerful. So long as Philip found enough to occupy him in the Low Countries, the prospect of an Anglo-French alliance was a useful diplomatic card in reserve, but a dangerous one to play. In like manner, so long as Mary Stuart lived, it was doubtful whether Philip could reap much advantage from Elizabeth's fall, since Mary's accession might bring about an Anglo-French alliance. But when the marriage of Elizabeth to a French prince had finally become impossible, and the tragedy of Fotheringay had been completed, Elizabeth knew that the fateful grapple with Spain could no longer be averted.

Spain herself was a colossus far less powerful in fact than in appearance. Philip's father had been a Burgundian rather than a German or a Spaniard; Philip himself was a Spaniard without qualification. Lord of Spain, and of the wealth of the Spanish "Indies," he was lord also of the Low Countries; but the efficient maintenance of communications between Spain and the Low Countries demanded control of the sea. To all appearance, Spain was incomparably the greatest sea-power, but when she was challenged by England, the appearance proved to be fallacious, though this did not occur till Philip's reign was far advanced. Yet, even before that time, it was no easy matter to maintain a large force in the Netherlands; so long as this was necessary, Spain was grievously hampered in other fields of activity, and practically it was necessary almost from Philip's accession.

Prince of Orange Heads a Revolt

The Spanish king was determined to exercise despotic authority and to crush heresy throughout his dominions. The Netherlands, where the nobles and the cities possessed traditional liberties, had no mind to submit to the despotism of an absentee exercised through alien agents and supported by foreign troops.

Moreover, the northern provinces which had adopted Calvinistic doctrines were prepared to do battle for their religion at all costs. The organisation of a constitutional opposition to an alien administration and to religious persecution was met by the arrest of two of the leaders, Egmont and Horn, under the government of Alva, whom Philip had sent to replace his own more diplomatic sister, Margaret of Parma. The arrest was answered by a revolt, headed by William Prince of Orange and his brother, Lewis of Nassau. Egmont and Horn were executed, and the revolt was mercilessly crushed under the iron heel of Alva. There followed a tyranny brutal both in its intentional cruelty and its unintentional financial stupidity.

Drake's Spanish Treasure

In 1572 the revolt was renewed, and was obstinately maintained, sometimes by the whole of the Netherlands, sometimes by the northern Protestant provinces alone, with assistance more or less surreptitious but tolerably constant from England, and less consistently from France, which of old had claimed suzerainty over Flanders and Brabant. While the struggle was going on, the audacity of the English seamen reached its climax in Drake's voyage of circumnavigation and his return to England in the "Pelican" or "Golden Hind" with Spanish treasure aboard worth considerably over a million. Incidentally, however, Spain at the same time acquired additional power by the annexation of Portugal on the demise of her king, Henry, on the plea that Philip was the legitimate heir through his mother. For more than half a century Portugal remained an appanage of the Spanish Crown; till the house of Braganza succeeded in giving effect to its own claims, of which the legal superiority was indubitable.

The assassination of William "the Silent" in 1584 failed to break down the stubborn resistance of the Protestant Netherlands to Spain. Anglo-Spanish antagonisms became so acute that Elizabeth was unable longer to resist the popular demand for an open support of the Hollanders. England and Spain being openly at war, a live Mary Stuart was no longer a workable political asset. The Queen of Scots was beheaded; Philip resolved to crush Elizabeth and claim the English crown in virtue of his descent from John of Gaunt, and thus simplify the difficult process of crushing the Netherlands. The Armada sailed. In its progress up channel the superiority of the English fleet was definitely manifested; the Armada itself was finally broken up in the decisive engagement off Gravelines, and its destruction was completed by winds and waves in the course of its flight round Scotland.

The Queen of Scots Beheaded

The naval war continued for another decade, but the naval supremacy of Spain had vanished for ever. Philip defiantly fitted out one fleet after another, but all met with disaster; and, reduced though his resources were, he threw himself into a French war instead of strengthening Parma in the Netherlands. When Parma died there was little doubt that the Hollanders would secure their independence, which they did practically some ten years and formally some fifty years afterwards.

In France the war of the succession was terminated by the establishment of the Bourbon dynasty in the person of the quondam Huguenot Henry IV., and toleration was secured by the Edict of Nantes, in 1598. In the same year Philip died, to be followed to the grave five years later by his great English antagonist. The succession of the Scots king, James VI., as James I. of England, united England and Scotland under one crown, though the two countries retained separate legislatures and administrations. For nearly half a century to come, the intervention of England in European politics was spasmodic and ineffective, almost disregarded by foreign powers, and of importance chiefly as producing, both directly and indirectly collisions between the crown and parliament. In Germany the recognition of the principle that each ruler should decide the religion of his own state had brought peace; the German Hapsburgs, unlike the Spanish branch, remained Catholic, but maintained the attitude of compromise.

Union of England and Scotland

On the other hand, the Protestant states became divided into Lutheran and Calvinist, the two camps being in hot opposition to each other. But the time arrived when the heir to the Hapsburg succession and to the empire was recognised in the Archduke Ferdinand, who was a bigoted Catholic. The ruling emperor, Matthias, was king of Protestant Bohemia, where the crown was elective. The Bohemian diet was surprised into nominating Ferdinand as successor to Matthias, but an attempt was made to upset the election, reject Ferdinand, and substitute Frederic, the Calvinist Elector Palatine; and thus, in 1618, the Thirty Years' War began.

In effect, the war was one for the recovery of Catholic ascendancy in Germany. The European championship of the Catholic cause had been taken over from the Spanish by the German Hapsburg. On one side was ranged the German League of Catholic princes, of whom the moving spirit was Maximilian of Bavaria, supported by Spain from the Spanish Netherlands and North Italy. On the other side were the German Calvinists, from whom the Lutherans of Saxony and Brandenburg stood aloof. Victory at first lay with the Catholics; by 1623 it looked as if German Protestantism would be crushed, and the allied Hapsburgs would be able completely to dominate Europe.

Beginning of the Thirty Years' War

The possibility of such a prospect in 1610 had caused Henry IV. of France to prepare an anti-Hapsburg combination just before he fell under the dagger of an assassin. Now Richelieu had acquired a preponderant influence in France. For him, the enemy was not Protestantism, but the Hapsburgs, though within France the Huguenots were in some degree repressed. Richelieu now intervened, striking at the Hapsburgs in Italy. Although a Huguenot revolt in France compelled him to withdraw again, he had given a lead to the Protestant powers; Denmark and Hungary were drawn into the German struggle on the Protestant side.

At this stage—in 1626—Wallenstein appears, to restore the now threatened Imperial fortunes, but with a modified policy. He is the champion primarily of Imperialism, with the aim of making the emperor master of the empire; playing, *mutatis mutandis*, a rôle analogous to that of Strafford in England or of Richelieu in France. But if the Catholic princes of the empire were willing to be led by their nominal suzerain to the overthrow of Protestantism, they were by no means willing to be ruled autocratically by an emperor whose power rested on an army controlled by a Bohemian upstart. At the moment of Wallenstein's success Ferdinand found himself compelled to choose between him and the league. He chose the league. But again Richelieu had become active, at least diplomatically; and the effect of his diplomacy was to bring the Swedish king, Gustavus Adolphus, into the field. The victorious advance of the "Lion of the North" forced Ferdinand to recall Wallenstein to the leadership of his armies. When the two great commanders were pitted against each other, Gustavus lost his life in the hour of victory at Lützen in 1632. Wallenstein, now incomparably the mightiest figure on the stage, meant to follow out his own policy, in which religious compromise was now a leading feature, while his own aggrandisement was not less prominent in it than his imperialism. But Wallenstein's schemes were ended by the hands of assassins in 1634. In effect, the war now assumed the somewhat unexpected character of a struggle for French supremacy on the Rhine, and for Swedish supremacy on the Baltic. We need not follow its course here. Ferdinand died in 1637, and Richelieu in 1642; but France maintained the same policy under Mazarin, and her armies acquired an unprecedented ascendancy under the leadership of Condé and Turenne.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY: THE BRITISH EMBASSY AT PARIS DURING THE MASSACRE

From the painting by P. H. Calderon, R.A.

The war was finally brought to an end by the treaties known jointly as the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. It left Sweden secure in the supremacy of the Baltic, and France in possession of most of the Western Rhine provinces. Switzerland and Holland were formally declared independent of the empire and of Spain respectively. As between Spain and France the contest was not terminated till ten years later. In Germany the prolonged devastation of a war, particularly hideous in the brutality by which it was distinguished, left the land seriously impoverished and gravely depopulated. The Protestantism of North Germany had survived the attack, and the wars of religion were ended. But the Catholics had foiled the attempt to establish imperial supremacy at the price of their failure to establish Catholic domination. The Hapsburg was *primus inter pares*, but nothing more. The congeries of German states was as far as ever from combining into a single German nation.

Germany Depopulated by War

In all these events, England had played practically no part. From 1618 to 1628, the administration of James I. and Charles I. was practically in the hands of the incompetent favourite Buckingham, whose policy was guided exclusively by personal piques and ambitions. Everything he did was equally reckless in conception and disastrous in execution. Expeditions to help the Elector Palatine, to strike at Spain, or to help the Huguenots at Rochelle, were all fiascoes of the worst kind; but English intervention was ended altogether when the duke was stabbed by an aggrieved and crazy fanatic.

Under the Tudors, the crown had obtained complete control of administration, with the general aquiescence of Parliament; while its policy was popular, it had been allowed to wrest the law to its own purposes. The Stuarts endeavoured to exercise in addition an effective control of taxation, and to override the law in carrying out a policy which was thoroughly unpopular, with the natural result that Parliament challenged the crown's administrative prerogatives. The outcome was a civil war which made the victorious army of the Parliament master of the situation. Parliament had played Frankenstein. The army would trust neither the king nor the Parliament; it beheaded the one, ejected the other, and established a Cæsar in the person of Oliver Cromwell. The military protectorate was an abnormal expedient for dealing with abnormal conditions; utterly opposed to all English tradition; triumphant, but intolerable. It was doomed to pass away with its mighty creator. Absolutism was to make one more brief effort. But it was, in fact, a lost cause; the ascendancy of Parliament was won. But while the Commonwealth lasted, Europe awoke to the fact that even Van Tromp and De Ruyter were no more than a match for Robert Blake, and that Cromwell's Ironsides under Turenne, as under Cromwell himself, were more than a match for the best soldiery in Europe.

Civil War in England

Absolutism was rejected by England. During the first half of the seventeenth century it was most decisively established in France. Henry IV. built up a popular despotism, but it was Richelieu who did for France what Strafford tried to do for England and Wallenstein for the empire. In England and France, however, absolutism had different foes. In England it was the traditional rights of gentry and burghers that were at stake; in France it was the claims of a feudal noblesse. In France, absolutism was the condition of a strong central government; in England it was to be proved that the ascendancy of Parliament did not weaken the central authority. Richelieu's task was not completed; in the wars of the Fronde, with which his successor Mazarin had to cope, the aristocracy had to be brought to submission, and the Paris *parlement*—not, like the English parliament, a representative assembly, but a body of lawyers—made an unsuccessful bid for constitutional powers. But the policy of the cardinals prevailed, and when Mazarin died, young Louis XIV. was already the most absolute monarch in Europe.

Cromwell and the Defence of Protestants

Cromwell, in 1656, had accepted the French proposals for alliance against Spain in the hope of promoting a Protestant League for the defence of all Protestants. If he had foreseen that, when he was dead, England would lose sight of his purpose in the alliance with France and that France would be able to use the fruits of that alliance and the defeat of Spain for her own ends, we may presume that his policy would have been different; it is hardly safe to condemn the designs of a statesman because his successors were incapable of giving them effect. The establishment of a pensionary of King Louis on the throne of England did not fall within the scope of the Protector's calculations.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PERIOD III
BY
A. D. INNES

ASCENDANCY AND DECLINE OF THE BOURBONS

THE age of Louis XIV., which forms the first subsection of our next period, coincides with a marked period of our own history. The personal rule of Louis began immediately before the restoration of Charles II.; it ended immediately after the accession of the Elector of Hanover. The "glorious Revolution" divides it into two almost exactly equal halves, during the first of which, consciously or unconsciously, the English Government habitually played into the hands of the Grand Monarque, whereas during the second William III. and Marlborough were the protagonists in the resistance to his aggression. Charles II. and James II. were the French king's first enemies; both—the one secretly and the other openly—were adherents of Catholicism, and aggressive Catholicism, though with an element of antagonism to the papacy, was a part of Louis' programme, and the Stuarts were quite willing to purchase freedom from parliamentary control at the price of subservience to France. In England, people and parliament were in ignorance of these fundamental facts; the French alliance and wars with the Dutch were both features of the Commonwealth policy, which in foreign affairs was generally popular. Consequently, people and parliament acquiesced in an apparent continuity which was an actual reversal.

The War of the Spanish Succession

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes revealed the designs of the French king; the English Revolution necessitated the association of English and Dutch, while the exiled king relied on French protection and support. England, it is true, was not enthusiastic in support of William III.'s wars against Louis, but apathy was converted into fury when Louis recognised the son of James II. as king of England, and the country flung itself into the war of the Spanish succession with ardour, though its direct interest in the actual issue was small. The fruits of victory which fell to Great Britain at the end seemed inadequate; but she had suffered infinitely less than any of the other belligerents, and ever since La Hogue, in 1692, her naval preeminence had been becoming more and more decisively established. Incidentally, also, the threat of complete separation from Scotland in the middle of a great war had forced England to assent instead to an all but complete union. The two countries ceased to be internationally distinct, and were merged in Great Britain—a fact of vital importance in the next stage of international rivalries.

Merging of England and Scotland

Although Catholic aggression, or suppression of Protestantism, was part of the plans of Louis, this was not distinctively the case during the first half of his reign; nor was there even in the latter period any pretence that Louis was at the head of the Catholic states of Europe. On the contrary, the papacy was in direct opposition. The primary objects which the French king had in view were the magnification of the monarchy in France, and the magnification of France in Europe. For the second purpose, the great end to be attained was the annexation to France of roughly the whole of the old heritage of Burgundy, of which a great part was still attached to Spain. He had this end in view when he married the eldest Spanish princess, whose half-brother shortly afterwards succeeded to the Spanish throne, while her younger half-sister was married to the Emperor Leopold, the head of the German Hapsburgs.

A Great Triple Alliance

The accession of Charles II. in Spain permitted Louis to claim the Burgundian provinces for his wife, on the basis of a law which gave the female children of a first marriage priority over even the male children of a second marriage. These claims Louis in part made good by the campaigns of 1667–8. He could afford to pay little regard to the formation of the triple alliance of England, Holland, and Sweden, which was the outcome of the alarm caused by his aggression, since he knew that the King of England was clever

THE PERSECUTION OF THE PROTESTANTS OF FRANCE

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes was accompanied and followed by the cruellest religious persecution Europe has witnessed in modern times. These drawings of the French artist Beyer show to what extremes of violence the Protestants of France were subjected. Young Huguenot women were seized and taken to the Catholic convents, where they were stripped and flogged before unpitied witnesses in order to make them recant their faith

Groups of soldiers were detailed to occupy the houses of the Protestants by force, and were there allowed to conduct themselves as they pleased, provided they made the life of the occupants unbearable. There was no indignity and ill-usage, short of actual murder, at which they stopped, and a favourite amusement was to bind the master of the house to a chair, which was tilted with its occupant, over a blazing fire, the priest standing by urging him to recant, while his Protestant Bible was thrown into the flames on which he himself was being tortured.

AND THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES

The homes of the Protestants were indeed turned into fields of battle between the brutal soldiers and the helpless inmates. One of the most ingenious systems of torture invented during the "Dragonnades" was to wear out the resistance of their victims by the soldiers taking turns at the beating of drums in the bedrooms, where a Protestant mother might be nursing her child, and so, by their noise, to prevent her for nights on end from falling asleep.

In the above picture we have a scene which recalls, in almost every detail, the Covenanting days in Scotland. The Protestant pastors in France were threatened with being sent to the galleys if they conducted religious services, and meetings could only be held in the lonely places of the mountains or in the depths of the forests. When such meetings were surprised by the soldiers mercy was seldom shown to the persecuted Protestants, and the order to fire came swift to the tongue of the commander. Such an incident is depicted in the above picture.

enough to circumvent his Ministers for a substantial consideration, and that Sweden also might be diplomatically detached. Holland itself was the next object of his aggression, with the additional motive that the Dutch Republic stood in the way of the development of his plans for suppressing the Huguenot religion in France.

The House of Orange Restored

The attack was opened in association with England, during a convenient prorogation of Parliament, in 1672. Holland, however, resisted with her traditional resolution. The fall of the Republican Government and the restoration of the House of Orange in the person of young William III. to the office of Stadtholder provided a leader of unsurpassed tenacity and shrewdness, and completely changed the relations of Holland and England, William being the nephew of Charles.

England withdrew, and at the same time the powers took alarm, Catholic as well as Protestant. Louis found himself facing the prospect of a European combination. Turenne conducted a series of campaigns of extraordinary brilliancy, but his career was ended in 1675 by a stray bullet. Next year the extraordinary development of the French navy by Colbert was demonstrated. Conscious of the strain on his resources, however, Louis was ready for a peace on favourable terms, which were obtained at the Treaty of Nimeguen in 1678.

Revolution in England

But Nimeguen did not satisfy Louis. The audacity with which he proceeded to interpret treaties in his own favour could hardly be tolerated by the Hapsburgs, German or Spanish, and the diplomacy which had held Protestant states neutral in the late wars was nullified in 1685 by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which also drove a large part of the best of the French industrial population into exile in England, Holland, and Germany. The Pope himself condemned the Revocation, and Louis was consciously and confidently preparing a single-handed attack on the European combination which was on the verge of completion, when the revolution in England decisively united the naval powers. For this Louis had himself to blame, since he made his first move by invading the Palatinate, thereby leaving the ruler of Holland free to go to assist in the expulsion of King James from England. By the time that Louis was in a position to turn upon Holland, the English crown was firmly set on the head of the Dutch Stadtholder, and the great navy which had inflicted a disastrous defeat on the English fleet off Beachy Head was shattered at the battle of La Hogue in 1692. The allies, however, were sufficiently diverse in their aims to enable Louis, after holding his own but no more, to negotiate terms with them separately, which were embodied in the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697.

The Brilliant Strategy of Marlborough

Louis was still further from having achieved his ends than he had been after Nimeguen. But fresh opportunities were presented by the now acute question of the Spanish succession. The Spanish king was dying without issue: the children of his two sisters were also the children of Louis and of the Emperor Leopold respectively. The acquisition of the whole Spanish dominion by either power was manifestly destructive of the balance, while there had been formal renunciations on the part of both the princesses. A partition was the obvious course. An agreement between the interested parties had bestowed the main inheritance on a grandson of the emperor, the electoral Prince of Bavaria, who was outside the Austrian succession itself; but in 1699 the prince died. King Charles of Spain followed suit, after naming Philip, a grandson of Louis, as his heir, though the powers had agreed upon a fresh partition. Louis repudiated the partition and accepted the will; Austria prepared to assert her own claims; the action of Holland would be largely dependent on England, and the action of England was decided by Louis' recognition of James Edward Stuart as king of England, at the deathbed of James II. Once more, Europe was in alliance to check the aggrandisement of Louis. The death of William III. placed Marlborough at the head of the combined English and Dutch forces.

Louis sought to bring the allies to their knees by striking straight at Vienna; but the attempt was completely wrecked by Marlborough's brilliant strategy, which united his own forces with those of Prince Eugene and shattered the French and the Bavarians, whose prince had joined Louis, at Blenheim. Year by year, in a series of skilful campaigns, the French king's conquests in the Spanish Netherlands were wrested from him; but a turn in domestic politics placed the Tory peace party in power in England.

THE GREAT ENGLISH VICTORY OVER THE FRENCH AT THE BATTLE OF LA HOGUE

It was the desire of Louis XIV. of France to see James II. seated once more on the throne of England. In order to bring this about, the French fleet, at that time more powerful in comparison with the British than ever before or since, challenged the combined English and Dutch Navies. The result was that on May 19th, 1692, the French admiral was completely defeated. At La Hogue, three days later, the largest of the French warships were destroyed, and thus the English victory was completed amid national rejoicing.

From the painting by Benjamin West

Twice in the course of the war Louis had been ready to make peace on terms which would have fully satisfied even William of Orange, had he been alive. But those terms had been rejected, and now the practical defection of England secured him very much more favourable conditions, under the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. The Spanish Netherlands were transferred to Austria, but a Bourbon sat on the Spanish as well as on the French throne, and Italy was roughly divided between Hapsburgs and Bourbons. To Britain the most material gain was that Louis was unable to intervene on behalf of the Stuarts when Queen Anne died, and a coup d'état secured the Hanoverian succession.

France after the Wars

In spite of the disasters of the War of the Spanish succession, Louis left France with her borders greatly extended, her frontier strengthened, and dynastically in close association with Spain, which was now definitely severed from the Hapsburg connection. Moreover, the power of the crown was practically unchecked. On the other hand, the tremendous series of wars had exhausted the resources of France, and her industrial population had been depleted by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The bourgeoisie was excluded from all share in the government; the peasantry, crushed by taxation, were at the mercy of the lords of the soil, and the lords of the soil themselves were undergoing a process of rapid degeneration, which was hastened under the regency which followed the death of the old king, whose heir was a sickly child.

The possibility that the King of Spain might after all claim the succession to the French throne, which he had renounced, threw the French government into temporary alliance with the British government for the maintenance in both countries of the succession as laid down in the Treaty of Utrecht. For a time the disturbing factor in Europe was to be found in the jealousies of Austria and Spain under her new dynasty, and in the ambitions of the Spanish queen-consort, the Italian Elizabeth Farnese, for the advancement of her own children, whose succession to the Spanish throne was blocked by the offspring of Philip's first wife. The prospect of a disputed French succession waned with the marriage of young Louis XV., and thus cleared the way for a "family compact" between the Bourbon dynasties for the aggrandisement of the Bourbons and the humiliation of the Hapsburgs and of Great Britain.

The Disturbing Factor in European Politics

The compact, which was a secret one, made in 1733, did not precipitate war; for the French Minister, Fleury, was quite aware that much recuperation was necessary for France before she could plunge into a great war with Spain for her ally. The English Minister, Walpole, was equally anxious to avoid the arbitrament of arms, though he had information of the hostile designs. Both sides meant to achieve their respective ends by diplomatic methods. But the control was taken out of the hands of Fleury and Walpole by events which proved too strong for them. Commercial friction in the Spanish-American seas was exasperating popular feeling in both Spain and England, while the approach of a question of succession was exposing Austria to attack at the hands of any power which saw a prospect of profiting by her dismemberment. Charles VI., emperor and head of the Hapsburgs, ruled over a group of states which did not recognise a single common law of succession; in some cases the title of his daughter Maria Theresa was good, in others it was at best doubtful. Charles obtained from most of the powers a guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, or decree declaring Maria Theresa heir to the whole; but such promises usually provide loopholes of escape which a diplomatic conscience finds quite large enough.

War Between Spain and Britain

Thus, in 1739, Walpole's hand was forced by a nation infuriated by tales of the high-handed doings of the Spaniards, and war was declared between Spain and Great Britain. Immediately afterwards Charles VI. died; the Bavarian Elector put forward claims against Maria Theresa; Frederic of Prussia started a general conflagration by occupying Silesia with an army. Every power found itself with something at stake, or hoped to snatch something out of the turmoil, and all Western Europe was very soon involved in the War of the Austrian Succession.

The factor on which the world had not reckoned was Prussia. In the past, the Elector of Brandenburg had stood on a par with other princes of the empire. In the Thirty Years War, Brandenburg had done its best to remain neutral, and had

A CONCERT AT THE COURT OF FREDERIC THE GREAT

From the painting by A. von Menzel, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

never assumed anything approaching a leading position. In the second half of the century, however, the "Great Elector"—an astute politician and skilful soldier—had played his part with a consistent determination to strengthen the Electorate, making and breaking alliances, fighting or refusing to fight, with most advantageous results to himself and little regard for moral considerations. His successor did little beyond achieving the status of King of Prussia; but Frederic William, who followed him, devoted himself to the organisation of his state and its army in a fashion which excited some derision; which derision his son, Frederic II., the Great, promptly showed on his accession in 1740 to have been very much misplaced.

Prussia as a First-Class Power

The War of the Austrian Succession, which ended with the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, established the position of Prussia as a first-class power, while it confirmed the descent of Spain into the second class. Holland and Sweden had almost ceased to count. It left Maria Theresa in undisputed possession of her Hapsburg heritage except for the cession of Silesia to Frederic. It also left her husband, Francis of Lorraine, emperor; in effect the Hapsburgs were, relatively to the Bourbons, stronger at the end than at the beginning. Great Britain had lost nothing and gained nothing, except, incidentally, freedom from the alarm of Jacobitism, which had been finally broken on the fields of Culloden. But the rise of Prussia had decisively changed the whole favourite diplomatic problem of the balance of power; an Austrian domination of Central Europe was less to be feared than the activities of the Prussian king, who had moreover succeeded in making himself personally obnoxious to Maria Theresa, to the Russian Tsarina, and to the French king's mistress, Mme. de Pompadour. In the next European war, the rivalry of Bourbons and Hapsburgs, which had been an unfailing factor in every combination for a century and a half, disappeared altogether. Before the Seven Years War broke out, in 1756, the one definite certainty was that France and Great Britain would fight, and that Austria and Prussia would fight. How the antagonists would pair off was uncertain till the last moment. That war in fact resolved itself into a desperate struggle for life on the part of Prussia against a circle of foes, and a struggle for trans-oceanic empire between France and Great Britain. It was almost an accident that Great Britain and Prussia were ranged on the same side. Some British and Hanoverian troops and large British subsidies enabled Frederic to hold his own in a contest numerically most unequal on land, and left Great Britain free to devote the whole of her real energies to the naval and colonial struggle, in which she was completely triumphant. France, wholly misapprehending the conditions, wasted blood and treasure on the Rhine and the Weser, while her fleet was wiped off the seas and her effective foothold in America and India was finally cut away.

Prussia's Circle of Foes

For a century and a half England had been developing colonies along the seaboard of North America from Florida to Acadia. For a somewhat shorter period France had been developing colonies on the north and on the south of the British. British expansion would necessarily work westwards; French expansion would necessarily work south from Canada and north from Louisiana, blocking British expansion altogether. No compromise was possible. The future manifestly lay with the power whose maritime supremacy should enable her best to maintain communications with her colonies. Similarly for a century and a half an English company had been developing trade with India, and for half the time a French company had been doing likewise. In India, as in America, a stage had been reached in which the virtual elimination of either English or French had become inevitable.

The Future with the Greatest Naval Power

In 1744 Dupleix had begun the attempt to eliminate the British. Checked by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the contest had taken a new character, the rival companies taking the field as supporters of rival native dynasties, while in America the rival colonists were in collision. In India, as in America, naval supremacy was the condition of success. The insular position of England had necessitated the continuous development of her fleets; the continental position of France had absorbed her mainly in the development of armies. Colbert alone of French statesmen had turned his eyes to the ocean rather than to the Rhine. Hence when the struggle came it was France that was eliminated. In India the British were left without European rivals to complicate their relations with native powers; in North America they held the field, though the outcome of the victory was to be a cleavage of the race.

Britain's Difficulties in America

The security of Prussia and the expansion of Britain were established by the Treaties of Paris and Hubertsburg in 1763. Spain had gained nothing by a belated intervention when the war was drawing to a close. After the peace, the German sovereigns were engaged mainly on the organisation of their own states; their foreign policy was concerned with the East rather than the West, with Russia, Poland and Turkey, rather than with France and Great Britain. The western powers looked on at the partition of Poland between Austria, Prussia, and Russia in 1772. Great Britain embroiled herself in a dispute with her American colonies, upon whom she made demands, which were in themselves justifiable both technically and morally, in a manner which was peculiarly irritating and which set at nought more than one of the fundamental doctrines on which the constitution rested.

The result was first acute friction, then unsuccessful attempts at coercion, then point-blank defiance and open hostilities. The colonies which had hitherto studiously professed loyalty soon changed their attitude and fought avowedly for complete independence. France found the opportunity of revenge for which she had been waiting fifteen years. She had awakened to the fact that the disasters of the Seven Years War were due to the maritime superiority of the British; she had been resolutely reconstructing her navy, and her intervention on behalf of the colonies showed that Great Britain was no longer the irresistible mistress of the seas.

But although the old family compact reappeared, and Spain joined in, and the French fleets secured the American victory, the effect was to concentrate British energies on the renewed struggle with the Bourbons; the tottering naval supremacy of the islanders asserted itself once more. The Peace of Versailles, which closed the war in 1783, left Britain shorn of half her empire, but it had passed not to the Bourbons but to an independent nation of British race, and Britain was still the Queen of the Seas. Meanwhile the territorial dominion which Clive had won in Bengal while the Seven Years War was raging, was confirmed by the able administration of Warren Hastings.

Emergence of the French Republic

Great Britain had become definitely one of the powers in India, and it was soon to become evident that she must either cease to be so altogether or compel her position to be recognised as paramount. But in France the cataclysm was approaching. The system of government was rotten. To the world France displayed a brilliant and extravagant court and a noblesse incomparably the most polished in the world. Below there was a populace savage with oppression, gaunt with starvation. The stage had been passed when the situation might have been saved by level-headed moderation and relief of the ghastly burden of taxation. The floodgates were opened; the deluge swept over France, whirling down the crown and the noblesse, and the Republic emerged.

ARTHUR D. INNES

AMERICA'S PROTEST AGAINST BRITAIN'S TAX: THROWING TEA INTO BOSTON HARBOUR, 1774

FOUNDING of ENGLAND'S COLONIAL EMPIRE

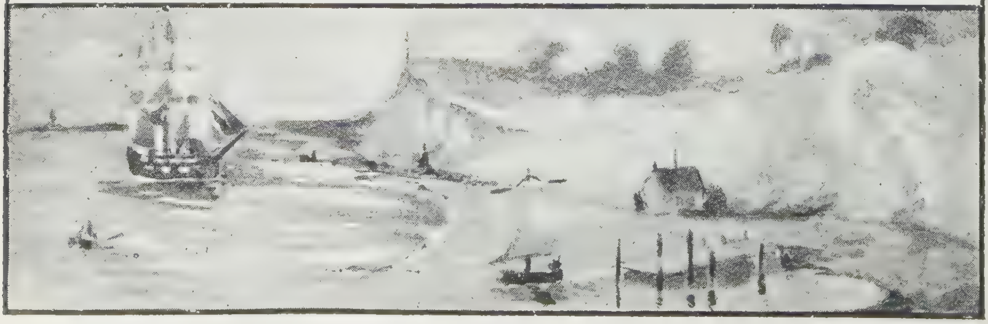
THE first step towards the expansion of England overseas originated from a desire to share in the rich trade of the East. For centuries the Genoese, and later the Venetians, had jealously guarded the Levant trade by which the gems and spices and rich stuffs of Persia and India reached Europe. Across the gate of Asia stood the Moslem, and at the age when the western world was growing rich and refined it had to pay two sets of greedy middlemen heavy toll upon all its luxuries.

It was fitting that the first attempt to break the Mediterranean monopoly should come from an Atlantic people, because it heralded the permanent shifting of the centre of empire and commerce from the inland sea, that had been its seat for thousands of years, to the Atlantic and the northern channels. Vessels depending mainly upon oar propulsion had sufficed for the Mediterranean. The Portuguese Prince Henry, early in the fifteenth century, saw the need of another type of craft if the Atlantic peoples were to have their share of the world's wealth. For many years all the skill of Europe was at his command, and the invention of the caravel, a sailing boat of long sea duration and good carrying capacity, made the dream of far ocean travel realisable.

Thenceforward for forty years barely a year passed that did not carry the Portuguese further and further down the African coast, groping their way to India, until Vasco da Gama triumphed in 1498, and the traffic of the East gradually changed its centre of gravity from the Levant to Lisbon. Another dreamer, still greater than Prince Henry, groped for Asia by sailing west, and accidentally endowed Spain with her great colonial empire in South America.

The English West Countrymen, accustomed to rude seas, had themselves evolved a staunch ocean-going boat, and bettered it from the Portuguese lessons; and so, in 1497, the Cabots sailed from Bristol to give England a share, as they hoped, of the wealth of Asia by the western route. Nothing much came of it, but Henry VIII., having shaken off the yoke of Rome, was as earnest as the Portuguese prince had been in improving the type of sea-going boats. Under his care, the English ships assumed a form whose stability, capacity, speed and handiness enabled the sea dogs of Devon to laugh to scorn all the mariners that sailed the seas, and, when the time came, to establish under Elizabeth their supremacy upon the main, which was the first necessity for colonial expansion.

The new sense of national potency fostered by Elizabeth rebelled gainst the claims of Spain to monopolise American trade. Englishmen were burning with a new patriotism; new wants were growing up in all classes, and money was needful to an extent that it had never been before, while the abandonment of the fasts of the Romish Church had thrown many bold fishermen out of employment. So, with their lives in their hands, and knowing the risk they ran, Hawkins first in 1562, and afterwards Drake and a host of others, began trading in America, and ended by sack, pillage, and piracy, which nearly harried Spanish shipping off the seas. In



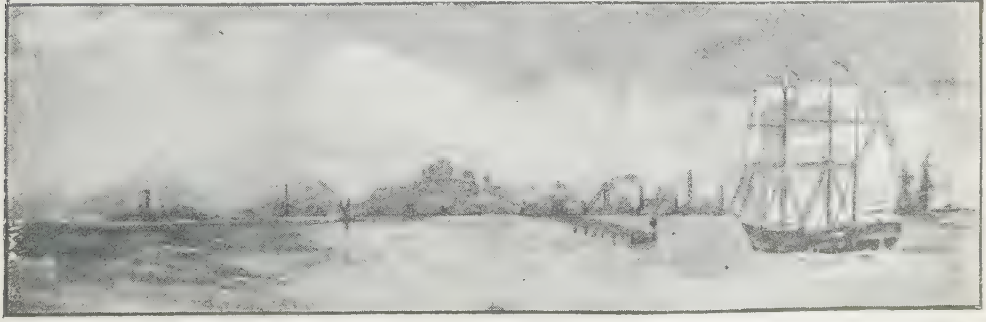
the process the English sailors gained the knowledge that no other craft afloat could cope with theirs, and that from Spaniards they had nought to fear.

Drake's pretence of colonisation was of the slightest; but there were other merchant seamen in England who yearned for legitimate trade, and the aim of these men was still to reach the golden East by sailing north-west. The quest for gold had to be held out as a bait to the adventurers, but when Humphrey Gilbert, always with the north-west passage in view, in 1574 petitioned for a charter from Elizabeth to discover new lands it was avowedly for the purpose of founding a half-way colony on "sundry rich and unknown lands fatally, and it seemeth by God's providence, reserved for England." In 1578 the charter was granted, and when, in 1583, the expedition sailed, it was with an elaborate plan of government, devised to establish on the American coast another England, where Catholics and Protestants might dwell together in amity.

Upon Newfoundland the colony was proclaimed, but all went awry. The climate was bad, the men lost heart, and gallant Gilbert was drowned in his tiny ten-ton boat. His dream of finding the north-west passage to Asia was taken up by his brother Adrian, by Frobisher, by Hudson, and a host of others; but to Raleigh must be given the glory of having conceived a colonial Britain, to be founded in America, apart from any dreams of tapping the trade of the East by way of the western continent.

In 1584, Raleigh obtained his charter to "discover and enjoy for ever barbarous lands to be held by homage from the sovereign of England, the inhabitants to be ruled by English law and to enjoy the privileges of free Englishmen." The new colony was intended, we are told, not only to extend and enrich English commerce, but to "find employment for those needy people who trouble the Commonwealth at home." It was to be an agricultural colony, and on the island of Wokoken, in June, 1585, the English possession of Virginia was formally established. Failure again attended the experiment. Again and again Raleigh tried to establish his colony of Virginia, while occupied with his dream of finding and making English the land of El Dorado on the Orinoco.

Sometimes success seemed to promise in Virginia, but disaster came at last: the settlers, 89 men and 17 women, who were left by Governor White on the colony in 1587, were all lost, and the colony apparently died. "I shall yet live to see it an English nation," prophesied Raleigh, when his own star was on the wane. And he was right, though he was ruined and in prison when Elizabeth's unworthy successor gave, in 1606, a new charter to others for the Virginia colony. On the James River the new settlement arose; the colonists were mostly idlers and wastrels, and disaster again seemed imminent when Captain John Smith emerged, and with an iron hand made men work, while his stout heart inspired them with cheer and hope. From that day there was no turning back. The vast continent became English in tongue and tradition, and the colonial empire of Britain was established.



THE REFORMER MARTIN LUTHER BEFORE THE EPOCH-MAKING DIET OF WORMS IN THE YEAR 1521

THE REFORMATION & AFTER

THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE EMPIRE AND EUROPE

AND THE HOUR OF THE REFORMATION

HOWEVER cheerless was the form of the political and national life of western continental Europe in the fifteenth century, however miserable the condition of the people, and however hopeless the future seemed, still it is incontestable that during that century a number of phenomena can be traced which we may regard as the first steps toward what we call modern progress. The progress of that century of growth cannot be comprehended as a unity; it is twofold, and shows often by the side of the old rural conditions, which were not only non-progressive but became daily more and more intolerable, an active civic life which strives to meet in every respect the demands of the age.

The picture of a West German town between 1400 and 1500—apart from the maritime districts on the Baltic—embodies all the achievements of progress at that time, although from a modern standpoint much seems wanting. We have seen the political importance, since the fourteenth century, of the towns with a few thousand inhabitants. But inside the city walls, and in their immediate vicinity, the buildings and other constructions exhibited, as it were, the reflected image of the external power—that firm foundation for a political existence, a vigorous community with rich sources of wealth. The streets, it is true, were mostly narrow and irregularly built, the houses chiefly of wood, while almost every burgher kept his cattle in the house, and the herd of swine which was driven every morning by the town herdsmen to the pasture-ground formed an inevitable part of city life. In Frankfort-on-Main it was unlawful after 1481 to keep swine in the Altstadt, but in the Neustadt and in Sachsenhausen this custom remained as a matter of course. It was only in 1654, after a corresponding attempt in 1556 had failed, that the swine-pens in the inner town were pulled down at Leipzig. The rich burghers, who occasionally took part in the great trading companies, were conspicuously wealthy landowners, and had their extensive courtyards with large barns inside the town walls. The most opulent of them owned those splendid patrician houses which we admire even to-day.

Germany in the Fifteenth Century

The Homes of the Rich Germans

But even in the older towns most houses of the fifteenth century have disappeared; only here and there a building with open timber-work and overhanging storeys, as in Bacharach or Miltenburg, reminds us of the style of architecture then customary in the houses of burghers. The great bulk of the inferior population, who lived on mendicancy or got a livelihood by the exercise of the inferior industries, usually inhabited squalid hovels in the Neustadt; the town wall was often the only support for these wretched buildings. The internal fittings of the houses, even among the wealthy population, were very defective according to modern ideas; especially since Gothic was as little suitable for the petty details of objects of luxury, as it was splendidly adapted for the building of churches and town halls. It was the influence of the Renaissance which added so much to the comfort of the house. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw the building of those Gothic town churches and town halls which have often served their original purposes even to the present day. The power and prosperity of the towns find their best expression in them and in the fortifications with their strong towers and gateways. Every picture of a town of the sixteenth or later century, which illustrates the conclusion of the outward development, shows conspicuously these erections for the protection and honour of the town. The town did many things which in our time are done by the state. Social problems were taken up by town administration or the corresponding municipal organisation. The regulation of trade was the concern of the guilds in agreement with the council, the care of the poor belonged to the Church, while the council looked after the protection of the town walls and the regular system of fire brigades; but that department was organised according to guilds and trades.

Germany's Social System

The council, mindful of its social duties, superintended the filling of the municipal granaries, in order to have supplies to draw upon in years of scarcity. Such storehouses were erected in almost every town during the fifteenth century. On the other side, there were tariffs for the sale of all wares, high enough to enable every artisan to make a good livelihood, and to give the purchaser a guarantee for the quality of the wares. Natural competition was diligently discouraged since, except at market times, goods from foreign spheres could be imported and sold only under onerous conditions.

The town was also the greatest capitalist; as a seller of annuities on lives and inheritances it was a banker, and enjoyed unlimited credit. Thus, it obtained in return means for the construction of fortifications or for the acquisition of sovereign rights from the hand of an impecunious prince. Since the municipal offices were mostly honorary, the government cost little; for this reason, too, the direct taxes were very moderate, since the taxes on commodities were profitable, especially the excise, which the princes allowed the town councillors to levy, first for a limited period and then permanently.

A Period of Moderate Taxation

Except a low hearth tax, which was payable by every householder, the proper subject of taxation was thought to be the excess which the individual had beyond what was required for a decent livelihood. Therefore, it was only about 1500 that an income tax was decided upon; while always up to that time, and often later, a property tax to suit different cases was usual.

The development of the towns followed these paths even in the first half of the sixteenth century. But soon after 1550 the previously flourishing towns felt the consequences of the great economic revolution which the discovery of the sea route to India caused. After the towns by their attitude in the Schmalcaldic war had incurred the disfavour of the emperor as well as of the princes, their political importance was ended. Both facts worked together and produced first a cessation and then a clear retrogression in the power of the towns. It was finally an event of no importance when in the Peace of Westphalia all the imperial towns were given the full rights of imperial states, a privilege which had not been disputed since 1489. The German princes, at the end of the Middle Ages, were the embodiment of the second economically and socially effective power; it was the person of the prince, with his court ceremony, his courtiers, and princely servants, who was the supporter of this power, and not the territory.

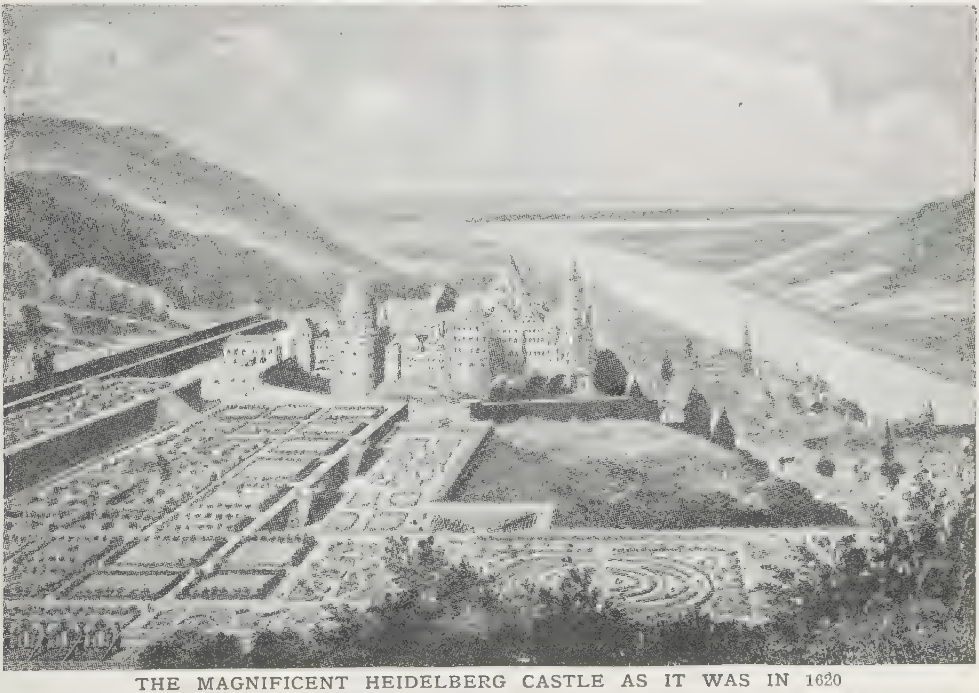
Political Influence of the Princes

His relations to the district were based entirely on private rights; any co-operation of the states, who were in no way representatives of the country, but merely protectors of their own interests, was only reluctantly granted, and, as soon as conditions allowed, was restricted and in many cases finally put aside. Politically, the princes gained in influence the more the towns sank into the background; economically, they strengthened themselves by the conquest of towns here and there and by the greater use made of those towns already subject to them.

The secularisation of Church property, as a consequence of the Reformation in Central and Eastern Germany, considerably increased the extent of the property held by the territorial lords. In this connection indistinct conceptions of the property of the state and the possessions of the prince made a separation of the two impossible. Not before the second half of the sixteenth century did the constitutional idea of the relations between the prince on the one side, and the territory and the subjects on the other, gain any ground. The last stage in the development was thus reached, so that the German monarchy became constitutionally obsolete; and in the Peace of Westphalia it was possible to proclaim the sovereignty of the princes, although " without prejudice to the empire."

Even in the age of the Reformation the princes constituted no separate power. In place of the old rivalry between princes and towns there came the new opposition between Catholic and Protestant princes—the opposition from which political questions were now treated, and which, in certain cases, drove individual princes into alliances with foreign powers of the same creed. The power of the princes grew in spite of all confusion and distress; they became conscious of their duties, and in happier times after the great war lived for the people, so as to raise their economic position. It is through them that the modern state has become what it is. All that the individual princes did in the cause of progress, although primarily for their own private ends, has been fruitful for the whole nation. The universities were primarily private institutions established by them for the extension of scientific activity. The faculty of jurisprudence served them for the training of their officials, and only gradually was formed the modern provincial university in which merely the highest honorary post under various titles is reserved for the ruling prince.

The numerous castles, dating from the Middle Ages, which at the present day as state property afford quarters for judicial and administrative authorities were founded or acquired by princes, and many gems of secular architecture are due to them. The most magnificent pile among the castles of the Renaissance was that of Heidelberg before its destruction. But the palace of the Elector Maximilian at Munich, with its Italian style, and the castle of the Dukes of Würtemberg at Stuttgart vie in artistic beauty with the gigantic building on the Neckar. Such structures imply an advance in technique and an increasing number of able master workmen, as well as the accumulation of large capital in the hands of the reigning prince. It gradually became possible for



THE MAGNIFICENT HEIDELBERG CASTLE AS IT WAS IN 1620

Among the numerous castles of the Renaissance that of Heidelberg was the most magnificent, occupying a commanding position above the town of that name. Although it was afterwards destroyed by fire, much of its grandeur still remains.

the princes to live permanently in one place, to create for themselves a royal residence, and, as the next step, to adorn this place artistically. But even this preliminary condition required considerable wealth and a strict organisation, which had to furnish the means for keeping up a court, and for the first time was able to supply the residence with all that was required. Money becomes, for the first time in the development of Germany, the all-important power in the towns during the fifteenth century, and in the hands of the princes during the sixteenth.

Money's Place in National Development

Capital produces economic independence, and under the influence of its power the social life is freed from the narrow fetters of tradition. The consciousness of economic freedom is the necessary postulate for every deeper intellectual movement, but in the beginning it leads to the greatest conceivable recklessness, which would seem little fitted to spiritualise existence. And yet that consciousness of outward freedom which is stamped on it is the first step towards the individualism which characterises the age of the Reformation. It helps to prepare the soil for the reception of the peculiarly individualist teaching of the Renaissance.

It is no accident that Luther's teaching found its most intelligent hearers among the burghers of the towns and the princes in their own persons together with their court, while the peasant, without any knowledge of what economic freedom might be, misunderstood the monk and formed for himself a picture of liberty which closely resembled lawlessness. Even before the Renaissance was felt on German soil, the awakening naturalism, which represents the artistic individualism, had shown itself in Flanders, where the towns earliest attained an economic prosperity, first in the plastic arts, and then in painting. After the third decade of the fifteenth century splendid easel pictures were produced by the painters Hubert and Jan van Eyck. In scientific thought scholasticism still served as the only means of mastering knowledge. The Renaissance indeed increased the materials for knowledge, and gave science itself an independent existence in Germany by the side of art. But in the realm of thought scholasticism asserted itself until far into the seventeenth century, when it was replaced, somewhat belated, by the empirico-scientific method of judging the outer world by a mode of thought which corresponded to the artistic naturalism and was as unsatisfactory as the system which it so proudly displaced.

Effect of the Renaissance in Germany

In Germany was discovered that art which more than any other provides the means for communicating to every member of a nation a certain measure of intellectual culture—the art of printing. This art first rendered possible the distribution of literary productions in a hitherto inconceivable abundance and variety, as well as the development of a comprehensive system of instruction. Its home was on the Rhine, the German high road of civilisation, where the Main divides the district of the Upper Rhine from the lands of the Middle Rhine, at Mainz. For although Gutenberg, driven from his home, made his first successful attempts between 1440 and 1450 at Strasburg, yet the first employers of the great invention, Fust and Schöffer, were settled at Mainz. The preliminary stage to printing was the graphic process of multiplying copies of woodcuts and engravings, which, although long known, had been employed on a large scale only since the beginning of the fifteenth century; the first dated woodcut is from the year 1423.

Discovery of the Art of Printing

Gutenberg's important discovery consisted in the movability of the letters, which could be used in any combination. But wood, which, on the analogy of the woodcut, was at first used for the types, did not meet the requirements of printing any more than soft lead. Gutenberg, therefore, having returned to his native town, associated himself with Johann Fust, whose partner, Peter Schöffer, discovered a metallic mixture which wore well as material for types. This Fust, often confounded in story with Dr. Faust, the professor of the black arts, was for more than 300 years considered to be the original inventor of printing, until gradually the name of Gutenberg has regained its honourable place.

The new art was used for the first time to influence the masses in the dispute for the bishopric of Mainz between Diether of Isenburg and Adolphus of Nassau. Innumerable fly-sheets served the same purpose before and during the Reformation on all more important issues. The first printed book, a complete Latin Bible, appeared about 1455. The shape of the letters directly depended on the types used at that time in neatly written copies of books. The old prints, called "incunabula," show almost throughout red ornamentations by the side of the black letters. The initials are usually most artistically designed and not infrequently adorned with pictorial representations like the old manuscripts. The two alphabets, the Latin and the German, or black-letter, have been developed side by side out of those letters by continual change of shape.

The new industry had been at first carried on secretly, but after the capture of Mainz by Adolphus of Nassau in 1462 the workshop was broken up, and the workmen were dispersed over the world and their art disseminated. As early as 1472 the rector of the Paris University, William Fichet, praised in eloquent words the discoverer of printing as the promoter of knowledge, and the Humanist, Conrad Celtes, placed this invention above all the achievements of the ancients. It spread with inconceivable rapidity over every country, a proof that the discovery supplied an urgently felt want. It is hardly to be assumed that we possess information as to the establishment of printing-presses everywhere. It is certain that the art was introduced into the Italian convent of Subiaco in 1464, into Rome in 1467, into Venice and Milan in 1469. Paris followed in 1470, Louvain, Utrecht, and Lyon in 1473, and in 1474, Basle, which afterwards took a prominent position as a home of printing; Valencia, Barcelona, and London in 1474, Stockholm in 1483, and Moscow not before 1563. In Italy Andrea de' Bussi did good service before 1475 in advancing the art; he introduced the prints of the Germans Pannartz and Schweinheim, while he composed letters of dedication to the Pope. But it was the Germans who, almost everywhere, appeared as the first printers. Johann von Speier was the first printer in Venice, where soon a fifth of all the printing-presses were to be found. It was quite natural that in Italy, a country so enriched by capital, printing should be eagerly taken up, and there, indeed, no time was lost in printing the classics, while in Germany the national literature had the preference at first.

GUTENBERG, THE INVENTOR OF PRINTING

To Johannes Gutenberg, born at Mainz about 1400, belongs the honour of inventing the art of printing, and thus becoming one of the great benefactors of the human race.

The new products, the "books," which were bound and made ready for use in the printing-press itself, were issued and dispersed by a multitude of travelling booksellers, or "colporteurs," through every land. Such a "colporteur" is proved to have visited remote Hermannstadt in Transylvania as early as 1506. All printed matter was as free as the air; there was no idea of the rights of intellectual ownership. A book that held out any promise of profitable returns was reprinted by every printer who chose. Many a publisher and author who had devoted the labour of years to a work was thus defrauded of their property, until, at the opening of the sixteenth century, it became more usual for emperors and princes to bestow privileges in books.

A slight improvement was thus introduced, in so far as unauthorised reprints of such privileged books were not permitted to be sold at the most important book-marts, especially at Frankfort, and afterwards at Leipzig. But for a long time after, and, in fact, until late in the nineteenth century, publishers and authors have had to complain bitterly of literary piracy. Luther was, in fact, benefited by this copying, for his writings were thus frequently reprinted and circulated in countless volumes, though often in very defective editions.

But what suited the age of Luther scarcely suited the age of Goethe. Incidentally, however important the technical invention was for the multifold reproduction of writing by printing, we must not ignore the fact that the rapid spread and growth of the industry became possible only through the accumulation of capital in the towns. With the art of printing the fundamental economico-technical idea of a wholesale manufacture, for which considerable capital is essential, was for the first time revealed to the world. It was the working capital that first rendered possible printing, which is in its nature no handicraft, but a business.

Elements in German Progress

The same progress is noticeable during the fifteenth century in quite a different field of human activity—namely, in the conduct of war. The influence of capital is felt here also, through the more general employment of firearms. It is hard to say how far this is the cause of the introduction of paid armies, and how far social causes, such as the existence to hand of an urban and rural proletariat and the decreasing effectiveness of the nobility, led to this result. But the new arm, at any rate, favoured the progress. It is certainly the most striking phenomenon in the revolution of the military profession.

There is no talk of an "invention" of gunpowder as of printing. In 1324 the town of Metz employed cannons, and the English used them in the battle of Crecy, in 1346. But the Arabs of Spain had known them still earlier. Berthold Schwarz, who studied alchemy in the fourteenth century, and is expressly designated as the inventor of powder by Sebastian Frank, the historian and cosmographer of the sixteenth century, may perhaps have newly discovered its manufacture or have perfected it; we have no details on the subject. The new arm has no importance in the warfare of the fourteenth century. Not until the second half of the fifteenth century, especially under Maximilian, who interested himself much in artillery, can firearms be said to have been introduced into the army, while their use for sporting and target shooting was not general until much later, clearly on account of the great cost for individuals.

Maximilian's Failure as a General

Maximilian was, on the whole, unfortunate as a general, but his ill success was due more to his wavering policy and his unstable nature than to mistakes in strategy. Indeed, he distinctly improved the art of war, chiefly by organising the artillery in connection with the older arms of the service. After the army of knights had fallen at Sempach before the spears of the peasants, and the social foundations of the feudal army disappeared more and more with the impoverishment of the nobles, some compensation had to be obtained, and this consisted in an infantry serving for pay. The cavalry still carried great weight, but the lighter armour introduced by Maximilian enabled them to take part in fighting on foot without sacrificing their greater mobility. All fighting men under Maximilian served for pay, which amounted to ten florins monthly for the cavalrymen and four for the foot-soldier, out of which he had to feed himself. The king's aim was directed towards the formation of a German infantry, while the Swiss were already organised in a similar fashion. The contrast to the latter was to be expressed in the name.

The work of military organisation was in its main features completed even before 1490, when we hear of the name and tactics of the Landsknechte. They were distinguished by their uniform armament. The shield was given up, and every man carried as his chief weapon a long spear; together with this, halberds and muskets were used in a certain proportion. To the company of 400 men were usually reckoned twenty-five musketeers. Maximilian's chief attention was directed towards the cannons. He had thoroughly mastered the technical details of their construction and use. Siege-guns and field-pieces were supplied on the system that to an army of 10,000 men 200 waggons were reckoned, of which some fifty were intended for cannons and the rest for missiles of stone or iron.

The Great Change in Militarism

The tremendous revolution which these innovations in warfare must have produced, their democratic tendency, and the greater importance attaching to them in consequence, are easily comprehended. Money became more and more a necessity. This was almost always wanting under Maximilian; the troops were often insufficiently paid, and successes were never forthcoming. Nevertheless, under Maximilian larger sums of money had been available for military purposes than at any other period. Capital, the new power which began to rule all manifestations of life, was able to make its influence felt in this also. One further point deserves notice in the growing use of firearms—that Germans particularly interested themselves in them, and that the universal employment of them started with Germany. Everywhere German gunners were to be found, and even in Morea a traveller met some of them.

The discovery of the New World had many direct effects on European countries. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the Hanseatic League was in undisputed possession of the commercial supremacy in the north of Germany; and in the south the towns of Basle, Ulm, Augsburg, Nüremberg, and Vienna had, each for its own district, a similar position, inasmuch as important Alpine routes terminated there. The Hanseatic trade ruled Russia, Scandinavia, and England; and the towns of Southern Germany entered into such close relations with Italy, the seat of the trade in the Levant, that the trading-house of the Germans at Venice enjoyed an unexpected prosperity. Germany now for the first time took part in universal commerce. The prosperity of its towns, which were forced to find in material wealth a compensation for the vanished hope of political supremacy, is a consequence of these events; for the wealthy townsfolk, with their more luxurious way of living, were the chief consumers of the costly stuffs and spices which the traders imported. Although Italy, the centre from which the wares of the East circulated through Europe, drew the chief profits from it, and obtained the foundation for a most magnificent development of power, Germany herself did not come off badly. It was always the land through which the North was reached, and its trading companies did business everywhere in the world.

Italy's Commercial Prosperity

The unmistakable prosperity of Italy prompted men to attempt to get communication with India by another way, in order if possible to bring its wares to Europe by the sea route. In Portugal especially the possibility of reaching India by ship was discussed soon after the middle of the fifteenth century. A few decades after, Europeans were living on the western and southern coasts of Africa and in the newly discovered America.

Even before the end of the century, in 1498, Vasco da Gama solved the riddle of the day when he ultimately reached India by sea. These events were of unexpected importance for the destinies of Europe. The result was a complete shifting in the relative power of the European states. Italy and Germany soon lost their position, while Spain, with Portugal, England and Holland, came forward boldly as colonisers and masters of the world trade. Lisbon now became one of the economic centres of the world; the sea became the universal high-road of commerce and the ship began to replace the trade caravan. Henceforth the countries on the Mediterranean were no longer the most favoured, but those whose shores were washed by the open sea. Numbers, indeed, of enterprising Germans took part in these long voyages, and tried to win a share in the new acquisitions.

The Sea as the High Road of Commerce

By the fifteenth century a German colony existed in Lisbon; the German geographer, Martin Behaim, of Nüremberg, was in the Portuguese service; and the Augsburg merchant family of the Fuggers, which had been quite important since about 1460, formed in 1505, in combination with the merchants Welser and Höchstetter, one of the trading companies such as were usually formed in those days to attain a certain definite object, in order to obtain several cargoes of Indian spices by the newly discovered sea route. The Germans had been allowed, in 1503, to found trading factories in Lisbon, and from that centre the Welsers, and then, outstripping them, the Fuggers, carried on the spice trade with extraordinary profits.

But in spite of these successes of individual German merchant lords, who won for themselves unexpectedly great fortunes, the German trade supremacy was doomed. Contemporaries themselves had a confused conception of the state of things, and expressed their dissatisfaction in accusations, unjustifiable in themselves, that these merchant princes robbed the people by usuriously raising the price of the most necessary commodities. The charge, brought especially by Lutheran preachers, rested on the prevalent conception which found immorality in all profits derived from trade. The "Reformation of Emperor Sigismund," the programme of social reform with the fundamental thought of Christian communism, had been repeatedly printed since 1480, especially in the agitated times after 1520. Men perceived then for the first time that the economic outlook of Germany was

Trade Profits Regarded as Immoral

changed, that the masses were far more discontented than in the old days. The blame for all this—and the simple-minded observer had the answer pat—must lie with the great traders, who made such incredible profits, possessed virtual monopolies, and by the splendour of their households outshone the mighty Emperor Charles V. The Fuggers continued to play a part in Spain during the whole sixteenth century, but at the beginning of the seventeenth the decay of the "common Spanish trade" began at a time when in the heart of Germany the calamitous consequences of the overthrow of culture made themselves acutely felt.

Spain's Trade on the Decline

The sovereignty of Charles V., who ruled over Spain and Germany, had concealed the beginning of this disaster; but the change which had set in showed itself all the clearer in the further course of events. The commerce with Italy lost more and more in importance, and no compensation for this could be found. The Netherlands, the northerly part of which, owing to its favourable position on the Atlantic, became, with Amsterdam at its head, the commercial centre of North Europe, no longer formed an integral part of the empire; indeed, they offered economically the sharpest opposition to Central Germany. The Dutch seaports soon outstripped the trading places on the Baltic, so that the Hanse towns themselves in the north were deposed from their supremacy in trade. Hamburg alone at that time gained in importance, for, thanks to its more favourable position for development, it undertook the part of middleman for the import of Dutch wares into Germany, and, with a view to large profits in the future, allowed Englishmen to settle within its walls.

The effect of these events, the shifting of all centres of gravity, was soon felt by the people in the heart of the country; for while trade and industries produced imcomparably smaller profits, the circulation of money was checked, and a marked rise in the prices of commodities and an increasing depreciation in the value of money were noticeable. The result is again a general retrogression of the nation from the stage of international intercourse to that of mere domestic economy—a return to economic conditions which had been long since left behind in the West and the South. The situation was different in the districts east of the Elbe. They were still backward in industrial progress. Magdeburg was almost the largest town eastward; the towns were everywhere thinly distributed, and a peasant life prevailed, less degraded, however, than that of the west. These eastern districts were less affected by the general turn of events. Indeed, the territorial lords developed a firm government, especially in Brandenburg, Saxony, and Silesia. They knew how to check the states; and they advanced further into the political foreground, especially since the new opposition between Protestant and Catholic princes forced the eastern territories, the principal support of Protestantism, to assume, more than before, a political position.

A Check to German Advance

The revolution in prices was felt most acutely in the East by the country nobility, which had already played a very modest political part. Some of its members, indeed, appeared regularly at Court as officials in the princes' service; but the mass of them had retired to their country seats, which more and more lost their character as centres of territorial dominions and assumed the features of manor-houses. The manorial estate was managed with a view to agriculture on a large scale, a system now first found on German soil; and the hereditary villeinage, also called serfdom, represents the peculiar status of labour in this new undertaking.

The Hard Lot of the Peasant

The development of the country in the south and west of Germany had produced quite different economic and social forms. The continuous parcelling out of landed estates and the frequently increased burdens had placed the peasant, after the cultivation of the land was ended, in a position which made him appear the most harassed person of the times. The same conditions prevailed which in France, aggravated by a strong despotic rule, produced the state of society directly preceding the Revolution in 1789. Such a state of things must arise where the natural overflow of population does not find a suitable opportunity to emigrate, or new opportunities for work through the introduction of fresh branches of industry.

And besides this, the peasant was excluded from every higher intellectual employment. He was politically powerless, and the decline of the old system of the lord's court had much lowered the old position of the "socman" in the supreme court. But no power, whether the territorial lord or the imperial legislature, contemplated doing anything to raise the condition of the peasant, and even if the thought had been entertained, there were no means available for carrying it into execution.

The urban proletariat was in no enviable position, and in many towns since about 1450, often in conjunction with the peasants of the district, had revolted against the council, and tried by violence to realise its communistic ideal. But the mad fury, capable of any deeds, which we see in the peasant revolts, never showed itself even remotely in these attempts.

Revolt Against the Clergy

After the rising of Pauker of Niklashausen, in 1476, who felt himself called by God as a reformer of church and society, the insurrections in the Alpine districts and in Friesland, in Franconia and Thuringia, on the Upper Rhine and in Swabia, did not cease. At the same time a movement against the secular privileges of the clergy, especially against their exercise of trades which injured the taxpayer, and against the immunity from taxation enjoyed by clerical property, was noticeable even before Luther's appearance, and explains the reception of his writings in 1520. There was an equal feeling against the authorities both in town and country.

Peasants' Strongholds Captured

At the beginning of the period from 1520–1530 the land was again in a ferment. The revolt this time had been carefully planned, and its object was to carry out Luther's teaching by force. But the outbreak was delayed for some time. However, in 1524, the Landgraviate Stühlingen on the Upper Rhine revolted, and the town of Waldshut was drawn into the rising; at the same time an open revolution broke out in the territory of the town of Zürich in close connection with the proposals for ecclesiastical reform. Soon the movement spread to all Upper Germany; its object was to realise the socialist programme which had long been in the air, and seemed to the peasants synonymous with the "justice" of Luther and the "freedom of a Christian man." By the middle of March, 1525, the demands had been formulated in the "Twelve Articles of the Peasantry." In other places, especially in Alsace and Austria, the most sweeping political demands were attached to those complaints against the manorial lords which must be reckoned as fair charges. In the Austrian dominions, especially in Tyrol, the rising in the autumn of 1525 was suppressed without much difficulty by concessions. But in Franconia open revolt and hideous outrages followed. In Swabia the "Swabian League" successfully prosecuted the war against the insurgents, and the town strongholds of the peasants, Rotenburg and Würzburg, were captured. The movement spread farther to the north, and there were outbreaks in Thuringia. Here the Anabaptist movement was mixed up with the social demands. Thomas Münzer himself led the forces into battle; but he and his companions had to yield to the armies of the princes at Frankenhausen, and some six thousand peasants were killed there.

Luther's Part in the Revolution

The great peasant revolt was a disastrous failure, so far as concerned the amelioration of the condition of the peasantry. The social revolution on the continent was still in the remote future. But the conditions which produced the social revolt tended also to make a religious revolution popular. On the other hand, it had an effect not unlike that produced by the excesses of the French Revolution outside of France; it frightened the conservative element among the intellectual progressives as well as the vested interests of property, bringing about that reaction which was incarnated in England at this time in Sir Thomas More and at the later epoch in Edmund Burke. Although Luther took up his parable against the revolution, his doctrine was held responsible for the anarchism which he condemned. At both periods culture and philosophy shrank back appalled when the genial irrigation which they had designed threatened to turn itself into a devastating flood.

BENEFACTORS OF THE REFORMER: MARTIN LUTHER AS A BOY IN THE HOUSE OF FRAU COTTA AT EISNACH

From the painting by G. Spangenberg, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

WESTERN EUROPE
FROM THE
REFORMATION
TO THE
REVOLUTION

THE
REFORMATION
AND AFTER
II

THE MAN AND THE REFORMATION

LUTHER'S GREAT WORK FOR PROTESTANTISM

Luther's Life in a Convent

MARTIN LUTHER, descended from a Thuringian peasant family which originally was settled at Möhra, was born at Eisleben on November 10th, 1483. His father, notwithstanding his small means, sent the boy to school, at first to the village school of the place, and in 1497 to Magdeburg, to the school of "The Brothers of the Common Life." After a year the boy, aged fifteen years, went to attend the Latin school at Erfurt, and there first came into contact with teachers who had studied "the Humanities." His circumstances were very straitened, since he was forced to beg his bread by singing, until a friendly reception was given him in the house of the merchant Cotta. During the summer term of 1501 Luther entered the famous University of Erfurt, where philosophers and Humanists worked harmoniously side by side, and was advanced to the degree of Master of Arts in 1505. His father would have been glad if he had chosen the career of a jurist, with its rich prospects, and the son had agreed to the suggestion, for great honours could be won in that way.

But before the young student had begun his intended professional studies something occurred which led him into other paths. Not indeed so much the often-quoted buffets of fortune, the death of a friend, and the deadly risk he ran through a flash of lightning, as the deep inwardly religious spirit, the conviction that the profession of a lawyer did not offer scope to his zeal, drove him to enter a convent. This step was taken in July, 1505, and Luther chose the settlement of the Augustinian Hermits at Erfurt, belonging to the Saxon congregation of the order, which was conspicuous for its strictness. The Bible was studied diligently there, and strict asceticism and self-examination were obligatory on the members.

The year of the novitiate, which demanded the performance of the lowest duties, was passed, and the dress of the order assumed in 1506; and with the consecration to priesthood on May 2nd, 1507, the title of Father was bestowed on him, as well as the permission to perform the Mass. Luther had fulfilled his duties in the convent with unwearying zeal, and had studied diligently. He had there seen the Bible for the first time in his life, and had begun to read it, without, indeed, understanding it at first. When he finally abandoned the obsolete ideas of theology learned at school, he began to have an inkling of what he afterwards laid down in weighty propositions.

Where Luther First Saw the Bible

While still at Erfurt, the young monk had attracted the attention of his superior in the order, the Vicar-General von Staupitz, who intelligently sympathised with his spiritual nature. It was he who transferred Luther after consecration as priest to the convent of the order at Wittenberg, in order to give him at the same time a post as teacher in the philosophical faculties at the university there. His lectures were entirely confined to the well-trodden paths of the academical teaching in philosophy, while metaphysical thoughts were exercising his mind, and he studied the "German Theology" of Tauler, the fourteenth century mystic.

Luther as a Theological Teacher

The journey to Rome in the year 1511 on the affairs of the order may well have been of supreme importance for the widening of his range of observation, and the recollections of the life at that time in secularised Rome may have influenced his attacks on the papacy. But immediately after his return home any fundamental opposition to the Church and her institutions was far from his thoughts. An event of greater significance for the future of the young man of twenty-nine was the attainment in 1512 of the title of a Doctor in Divinity at the instance of his old friend Staupitz. The subject of his professorial teaching was now theology, not philosophy. His inner religious convictions were thus opened to the circle of his pupils, while he himself was more and more engrossed with the problem of faith. The exposition of the Bible itself was now his task. Both in form and matter he tried to explain it differently from his predecessors and contemporaries in the professorate, since, while still always taking the text of the Vulgate as his basis, he not only gave the allegorical explanations of the Scripture, but put before his hearers the doctrine of the Apostle Paul himself. His interest in Augustine increased visibly, and he was sincerely pleased that the latter was now supplanting Aristotle in the university.

In addition to his lectureship, he was soon given the post of preacher in the convent church, and in 1515 he had, as deputy, to undertake the duties of a town clergyman. During this ministry for the care of souls he first came into contact with the trade in indulgences. Some of his congregation had bought indulgence papers from the Dominican monk Johann Tetzel, who was preaching at Jüterbogk, in the territory of Magdeburg—the Elector of Saxony had forbidden the preaching of indulgences in his dominions—and had shown them to him. Luther had already, in 1516, openly attacked this traffic in his sermons. Since money was required at Rome to build the church of St. Peter, indulgence was now granted for money to everyone, even the most hardened criminal, and that without the pious deeds formerly required. The religious conviction of Luther that justification by faith was an essential postulate, could not possibly allow such encroachments on the rights of the minister to pass unnoticed. He wished at any rate to open a discussion on the indulgence question in order to establish his view of the matter, which was clearly not understood, many thinking it was a mere squabble between monks. He therefore chose the form in which the professors under such circumstances usually invited discussion—that is to say, he published theses composed in Latin, which were nailed up on the door of the castle church at Wittenberg. They were ninety-five in number—probably as an answer to the numerous instructions given by Archbishop Albert of Mainz to his vendors of indulgences—and the 31st of October, 1517, was chosen, as being the eve of the dedication festival of the Church of All Saints. These propositions went in fulness far beyond what was usually contained in the statements of any one inviting discussion. They not only put questions, but also gave concise answers for anyone who could read them, condemned the abuse, and even went the length of attacking the sacrament of penance itself.

MARTIN LUTHER

But for Martin Luther the Reformation would have taken different lines. Born at Eisleben, in 1483, he studied for the Church, but could not conscientiously remain in it, and he became the leader of the far-reaching Reformation movement. This portrait is from the original picture by Holbein, now in the King's collection at Windsor.

This was the first act of Luther the reformer. But he himself was by no means clear as to its scope, for no thought lay further from him than separation from the Catholic Church. The stone, however, was set rolling, and continued to roll, without any special effort on the part of the man who first set it in movement.

Luther himself sent his theses to the ecclesiastical authorities, notably to Archbishop Albert of Mainz, under whose instructions the indulgence vendors worked. He was conscious of his disinterested motives, and declared himself astonished that no one came forward to the verbal contest, although in a few weeks all Germany was familiar with the contents of the theses, and trumpeted the name of the composer, who even before was not entirely unknown. The immediate object of the attack, the Dominican Tetzel, made a literary rejoinder to the theses, and opposed to them one hundred and six propositions based completely on Thomas Aquinas. Tetzel won the title of a Doctor in Divinity from the university at Frankfort-on-Oder; and since it was a Dominican who confronted the Augustinian monk, there is no reason to be surprised that at Rome no further importance was attached to the matter, which was regarded as a quarrel arising from jealousy between the two orders. A writing of Johann Eck, a professor at Ingolstadt, was really more serious for Luther. In this it was clearly stated that many contemporaries saw a heretical action in the publication of the theses, and drew an unmistakable comparison with the Bohemian Huss. Luther did not let himself be frightened by these attacks, but worked out his ideas further in a "Sermon on Indulgence and Pardon," using for this the vernacular; thus the dispute among the learned became a matter for the people. This was a very marked step for the shaping of the future.

LUTHER IN LATER LIFE

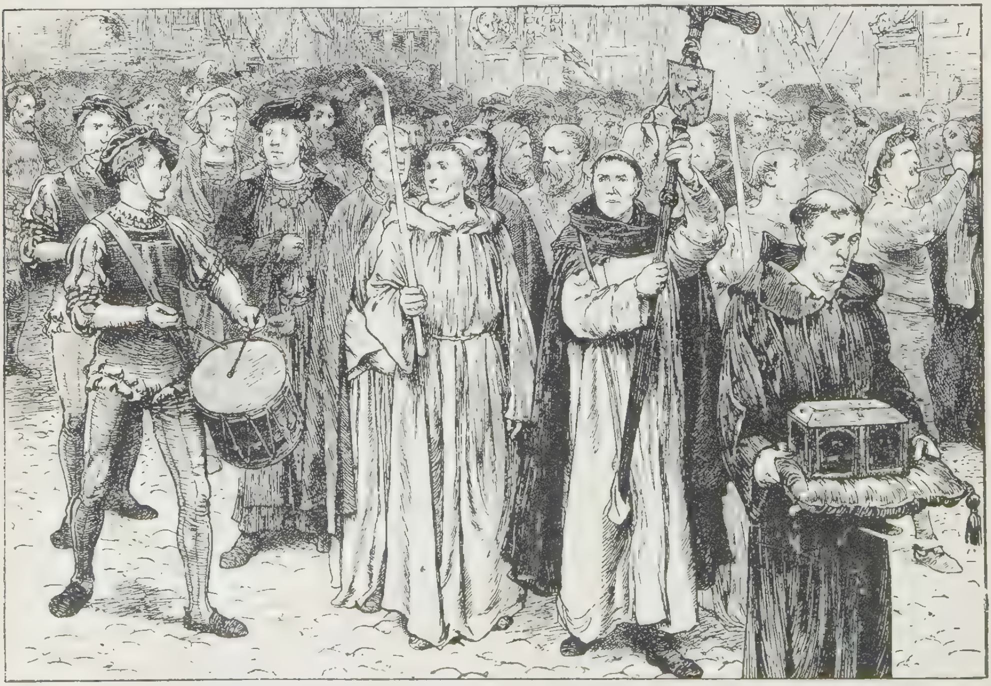
The painting from which this portrait is taken is now in the Tower Church at Weimar. It was begun in 1552 by Lucas Cranach, the Elder, and completed three years later by his son.

There was no wish at Rome to enter into a discussion of the disputed questions in the way that Luther naturally took for granted, but by the spring of 1518 a trial for heresy was suspended over him. When he was summoned before the court of two bishops in Italy, he applied to his territorial lord, the Elector Frederic of Saxony, who had long been friendly towards him, and asked that he should be given a hearing in Germany. The elector was staying just then in Augsburg, where Maximilian was holding his last imperial diet, and where, on account of the Turks' tithe, a papal embassy was also present. He consequently exercised his influence with the emperor, who was in urgent need of his support for the desired election of his grandson, Charles, that a decree should be passed enacting that the monk of Wittenberg should have a hearing before the papal embassy at Augsburg. The cardinal, Thomas de Via of Gaeta, usually called Cajetanus, offered no objection, and was ready to try the monk for his audacity; and at the close of the diet, in October, Luther, who in April, at a meeting of the order at Heidelberg, had in the circle of his brother monks already defended his views with vigour and courage, now, armed with a safe-conduct from the emperor, appeared humbly before the cardinal. The discussions, although they extended to the real matter at issue, led to nothing. This was inevitable, for Luther did not think of any renunciation of his errors, or of any promise to avoid them for the future. He left the cardinal, and so appealed, as the Church required, "from the badly instructed Pope to one who was to be better instructed." In the end he secretly quitted Augsburg. The news soon reached him at Wittenberg that the Pope demanded his banishment by the elector, and he was ready, if occasion arose, to leave the country. Nevertheless, he took the last step which was still open to him—he appealed to a general council at the end of November, 1518.

The papal chamberlain, Carl von Miltitz, who, belonging to a Saxon noble family, possessed a greater comprehension of the conditions of the country than an Italian, now appeared as papal legate at the court of the elector in order to induce him to take vigorous measures against Luther. He became convinced of the ferment existing among the people, which made him see that the sympathies of the masses were for the monk, and therefore tried to influence him by conciliatory measures. At a personal interview in Altenburg, Luther finally promised to keep silence on condition that his opponents would do the same; but since they did not agree to this, he did not feel himself bound to silence. The long-contemplated discussion between Eck and Luther's colleague, Andreas Rudolf Bodenstein von Carlstadt, was fixed for June, 1519, at Leipsic, and, in spite of a protest from the Bishop of Merseburg, it actually took place. Luther was once more the real object of the attack, as appeared from Eck's theses. These were principally occupied with the question of the papal primacy, upon which Luther had hardly touched. Luther himself did not appear at the discussion until the dispute between Carlstadt and Eck had already lasted

THE NOTORIOUS TETZEL

When the papal indulgences in Germany were farmed out to the Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, John Tetzel, a Dominican monk, was selected for the office of preaching the indulgences.



TETZEL'S PROCESSION FOR THE SALE OF INDULGENCES

Offering indulgences to everyone who was willing to pay the price, even down to the most hardened criminal, Tetzel travelled throughout Germany, and with all the "eloquence of a mountebank" painted in the richest colours the virtues of his wares. Tetzel himself, as shown in the illustration, carried in the procession as it passed from place to place the great red cross on which were suspended the arms of the Pope, while on a velvet cushion, in front of the marching company, was carried the Pontiff's Bull of grace. Mules laden with pardons brought up the rear of the strange procession.

LUTHER'S PROTEST: NAILING HIS THESES TO THE DOOR OF THE WITTENBERG CHURCH

The sale of indulgences, pushed so vigorously and with so much effrontery by Tetzel, found in Luther an uncompromising enemy. When the city of Wittenberg was crowded with people on the occasion of the Festival of all Saints, in 1517, Luther, at the noonday hour, boldly walked up to the castle church and nailed his theses, consisting of ninety-five propositions on the doctrine of indulgences, on its door, thus launching a movement that was to revolutionise the world.

several days. Eck drew from him not only the repeated assertion that an acknowledgment of the papal primacy was not necessary for salvation, but also the avowal that even the councils themselves might err, and that only God's word could be accounted infallible. Eck thus won the day, for he had proved Luther's heresy. The latter himself must have felt at that moment for the first time a conviction that he no longer stood within the Church and must have said to himself that the papal ban would inevitably strike him.

At this stage there was a division of opinion. Men took sides for and against Luther; everyone in public life had to adopt some definite standpoint. The greater part of the Humanists stood by the reformer, and in the forefront the teacher of Greek at the University of Wittenberg, Philip Schwarzerd, called Melanchthon, who, perhaps, grasped the questions involved better than all his contemporaries. Luther himself did not rest; he now produced a programme in which he combined all that possessed his soul. In August, 1520, his treatise, "To the Christian Nobles of the German Nation concerning the Reformation of the Christian State," appeared in print. The relations with Ulrich von Hutten and Franz von Sickingen, into which he had shortly before entered, had distinctly influenced this pamphlet; for, passing over the power of the princes, he placed his hopes on the emperor and the nobility during the impending attempt which was to restore the right relations between secular and spiritual powers. By this train of thought the author met the Humanists, who had for a long time been weary of the ecclesiastical tutelage in intellectual concerns. But Luther taught more emphatically than they did that the opposition between priests and laymen as it existed in the Church was unbiblical. At the same time a programme of secular reform was unfolded, which pronounced against the capitalists, in support of the knights, and lashed the money-seeking temporal policy of the papacy. In fact, a warning was issued to all temporal authorities that they should no longer allow the export of money to Rome in any form.

It is easy to understand the rapid circulation of this treatise, which in an unprecedented manner comprised all that thousands had long felt, even though as the fruit of quite different trains of thought. Even before the thoughts thus developed had been further expanded from the dogmatic side, especially with reference to the sacraments, in the "Prelude to the Babylonish Captivity of the Church"—he wrote this time in Latin—the news came to Germany of the papal Bull issued on June 16th, which condemned forty-one propositions of Luther, and required him to recant his teaching within sixty days. His deadly enemy, Eck, had co-operated in the preparation of this threatening Bull, and also brought it to Germany, where it was published on September 27th. But the most important point, the execution of the Bull, which the papal legates at Cologne imperiously demanded in November from the Elector Frederic, was omitted, since the territorial ruler at the advice of Erasmus absolutely refused their request. The Bull entirely failed in its effect in Saxony; the University of Wittenberg refused to publish it. In the universities of Erfurt and Leipzic, and even in Vienna, open sympathy was expressed with Luther, who himself on December 10th in front of the gates of Wittenberg, publicly burnt the decretals and the papal Bull, just as his writings had been burnt at Cologne, Mainz, Louvain, and other places.

The Pope's Challenge to Luther

MELANCHTHON THE SCHOLAR
Philip Melanchthon was a prominent figure in the early band of bold Reformers, and his enthusiasm in the movement contributed largely to its success. This portrait is from an engraving by Dürer.

Before the year 1520 drew to a close, yet a third manifesto appeared from Luther's pen, in which, differing from the criticism hitherto employed, he proceeded to construct a doctrinal edifice of his own. It was the treatise, once more written in German, "Of the Freedom of the Christian Man." It distinguishes between the spiritual and corporeal man. The spiritual man is free through belief in God, the corporeal is in bondage through his fear of his neighbour. The effect of this treatise almost exceeded that of the preceding ones. His words were everywhere read and understood, for what he propounded he said in the language of the people. Personally he gave up monastic practices in the winter of 1521–1522, even though he still wore the cowl. Since after four months, the allotted period, Luther's recantation did not reach Rome, Pope Leo X. hurled the ban against the heretic and his followers on January 3rd, 1521, and suspended the interdict over all places where they should remain.

At first the party round the young Emperor Charles openly entertained the plan of using the religious movement in Germany to exercise pressure on the Curia in political questions. On the other hand, the imperial court, however unwillingly, had to pay regard to Luther, if it did not wish to fall out with the Elector of Saxony. One thing was, at any rate, certain—the diet, which met at the beginning of the year at Worms, must occupy itself with the question which was agitating all leading spirits. The imperial programme of work had not, indeed, touched the religious question; but the states demanded its discussion. The states would assent to an imperial decree against the heretic, which would have meant the ban, only on the condition that he was tried before the assembly of the empire, and had declared with his own lips that he would not recant.

Luther came to Worms with an imperial safe-conduct on April 16th, and on the very next day the hearing began before the emperor and the states. When the emperor put the question to him whether he acknowledged his books, and whether he would recant or not, he asked for time to reflect, and then, on April 18th, answered to the now more precise question that he could think of recantation only if he was confuted out of the Scripture or by logical arguments. The effect of his words on the Germans was thoroughly favourable, while the Romanists, and with them the emperor, showed themselves little edified. The result was an imperial proclamation to the states, which confirmed the safe-conduct as far as Wittenberg, but at the same time prohibited the continuance of the preaching, and announced the treatment of Luther as a convicted heretic. On the way from Worms to Wittenberg,

The Defiant Reformer at Worms

Luther, who certainly knew of the plans of the friendly elector, was surrounded in the vicinity of Waltershausen in Thuringia by Saxon horsemen and conducted to the Wartburg, while his friends in Germany supposed him to be dead. The emperor now formally proclaimed from Worms the ban of the empire over the heretic, and ordered the confiscation of the property of all who adhered to him, and the destruction of his writings; indeed to avoid further harm, the introduction of a general censorship of books was demanded.

A FAMOUS HUMANIST

Ulrich von Hutten, who was born in 1488 and died in 1523, was a famous German poet and humanist, and warmly supported the cause of the Reformation.

From the beginning of May, 1521, Luther lived in the Wartburg; only a very few initiated, above all Spalatin, knew of his abode, which at first was not even revealed to the elector. "Squire George," as the theologian was called there, employed his solitude in studying the New Testament in the original, and beginning his translation. In September, 1522, the whole New Testament, but without Luther's name, was printed in German. This was by no means the first German edition of the Bible. During the quiet work in the Wartburg, the reformer, who hitherto had advanced alone into the foreground, lost the reins from his hand, and other men, who thought they were working on his lines, were the spokesmen. At Wittenberg, professors and students began to translate Luther's ideas into action, and Carlstadt especially drew his conclusion from the doctrine that there was no separate spiritual class when he demanded the marriage of priests. The Lord's Supper in both forms was administered at Wittenberg in the autumn of 1521 to Melanchthon, among others. The wild excesses of the Hussites began to spread in the winter. Altars and pictures were cast out of the churches, and laymen began to preach to the people. At Zwickau especially, where the clothmaker Nicolas Storch and the priest Thomas Münzer tried to kindle the revolt, the image-breakers won adherents, although the council repressed the movement and banished Münzer, who now sought safety in Bohemia, without indeed being able to accomplish much.

GERMAN LEADER OF REFORM

This celebrated German knight, Franz von Sickingen, lent his great influence to the Reformation movement, and led a league which sought to introduce it by force. He died from wounds in 1523.

Luther had appeared once in December, 1521, for a short time at Wittenberg, in order to express his opinion as to the condition of things in the town, but soon afterwards returned to the Wartburg. At the beginning of March he no longer maintained the reserve which was required of him, but left his place of refuge, contrary to the will of the elector, and entered Wittenberg in order to preach daily to the people, and to warn them against further blind excess of zeal. One note rang clearly in these exhortations—that the Master attached weight to faith alone, and in comparison cared little for the externals of religion. His words had a marvellous effect. The development, in the same form as at Wittenberg, spread to the places round, both far and near. In South-west Germany particularly, where the social differences were sharper than elsewhere, the teaching of the monk of Wittenberg found a friendly reception from citizen and peasant, and a flood of printed pamphlets helped to disseminate it.

The princes, indeed, had shown little favour to the ecclesiastical innovations; even Luther's patron, the Elector Frederic, had not openly severed himself from the Church. But nowhere was there any intention of seriously executing the Edict of Worms, and the year 1522 showed how far popular opinion, a hitherto almost unknown power, influenced the states. In answer to the papal demand that the decrees of Worms should be carried out, the Council of Regency declared that it was unwilling to employ measures of force—but that a council in a German town with an equal number of clerics and laymen should immediately deliberate upon the questions. Although the papal nuncio Chieregati protested against this answer, the matter remained so. It was proposed once more to discuss at a council the question which had really long ago been legally decided. Indeed, it was not so much a sincere conviction that forced the states to this view as the fear of a sanguinary rising of the people.

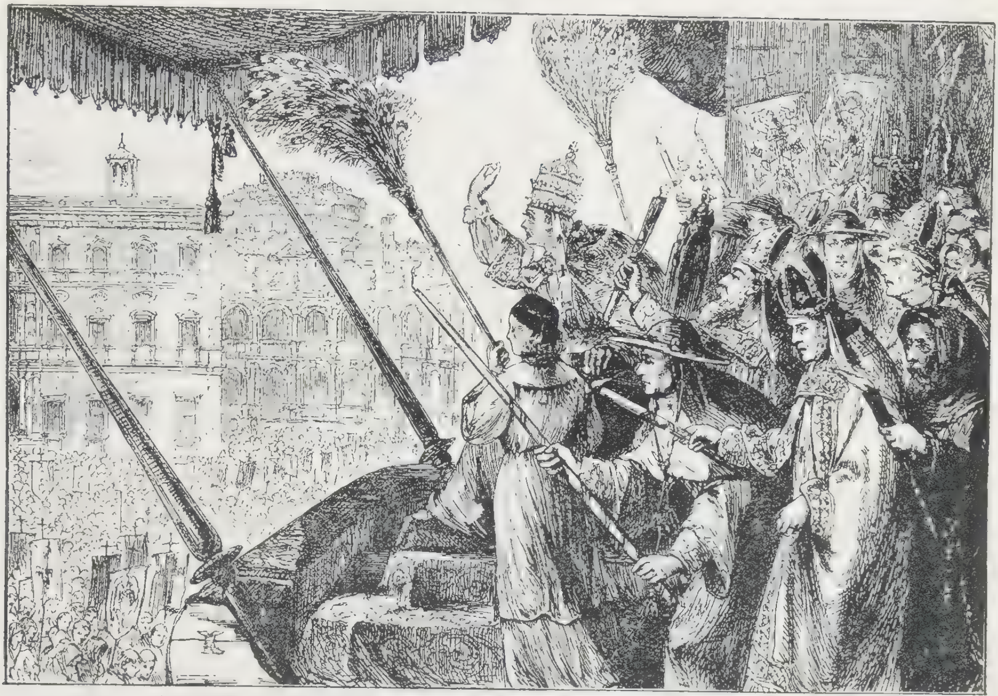
Papal Conference at Nüremberg

The German council and the preliminary council, which had already been summoned to Speier for November, 1524, did not meet. But the representatives of the papal party assembled in the summer of 1524 at Nüremberg and resolved, in addition to complete condemnation of Luther, to aim at an improvement in some unimportant points—the papal exaction of money and the morality of the clergy. This was the condition of Germany when all parties were equally affected by the outbreak of the Peasant Revolt. Former adherents of Luther, as Thomas Münzer and Carlstadt, fanned the flames and supported the fanatical movement and its communistic scheme of economy. Luther in two treatises, "Exhortation to Peace upon the Twelve Articles" (April, 1525) and "Against the Murderous and Marauding Hordes of Peasants," attempted not only to clear himself from the taunt that he was connected with the revolt, but at the same time called for the forcible suppression of the rebels, should timely warning be fruitless.

The result of the Peasant War is well-known. It affected the Reformation in the Church in two ways. On the one side the princes of Central Germany had heard from Luther's lips the exhortation to use severity, and the reformer now appeared to them as an advocate of the power of the princes; they could make him useful for their purposes. On the other side, in great districts of Germany many still entertained the opinion that at bottom Luther alone was to blame for the whole revolt, and therefore they had good

LUTHER BURNING THE POPE'S BULL AT WITTENBERG ON DECEMBER 10th, 1520

It was not to be expected that the bold action of Luther in nailing his theses to the church doors at Wittenberg would pass unnoticed by the Church authorities. A papal Bull condemning forty-one propositions of Luther and requiring him to recant his teaching within sixty days was published; the Reformer's dramatic reply is shown in this picture.



POPE LEO X. EXCOMMUNICATING LUTHER AS A HERETIC

Luther was not the man to yield even under papal pressure, and when he failed to recant, Pope Leo X. hurled his ban against the heretic and his followers on January 3rd, 1521, and published the interdict in all places where they should remain. In the above picture, the Pope is seen seated on the balcony of the Metropolitan Cathedral in Rome, surrounded by priests with lighted torches, while beneath him are crowds of people on bended knee, as he pronounces his terrible ban.

reason to be hostile to the Reformation generally. In these circles an energetic interference of the emperor, who had just come out victoriously from the first French war, was partly advocated, partly dreaded, while the princes of Saxony, Hesse, Brunswick-Lüneburg, Anhalt, and Mansfeld, with the town of Magdeburg, united themselves in the "League of Torgau," in order from this time, as guardians of the Reformation, to oppose under certain circumstances even the emperor himself.

The imperial diet of Speier in 1526 was already subject to this impression. The emperor was again asked to call a German council, and there was no attempt, as regards the Edict of Worms, to put binding demands to the separate states. Each prince was to act as he should be able to answer to God and the emperor. This implied for the members of the League of Torgau an establishment of evangelical national Churches, which from this time furnished, in the so-called "Church ordinances," guides for the direction of divine service and schools—in this latter respect Luther had already, in 1524, exhorted the towns to energetic measures—as well as of alms-giving and church discipline. The now generally adopted principle of the marriage of priests was of the greatest importance, after Luther himself in 1525 had married a former nun, Catherine von Bora. The position of the priests as a class apart was thus terminated, and at the same time a condition of things was established in the Lutheran manses which was suitable to the founding of a Lutheran tradition.

Anabaptists in Germany

While the peculiar position of the territorial lords as bishops of their own national Churches was being developed, and in the reorganisation of the schools in the country the attempt was being made to raise the peasant intellectually, and to educate him to be a worthy member of the community, the communistic and revolutionary efforts, which we have noticed at Zwickau, did not die away. In every part of Germany in the second half of the third decade there appeared representatives of this movement, who mostly designated themselves as "Anabaptists," and were opposed by the adherents of the old religion as much as by the followers of the Lutheran views. In Zürich the

Anabaptist Manz had been drowned in 1527, and at Münster, where in 1534 the Netherlanders Jan Matthys of Haarlem and Jan Beuckelszoon of Leyden wished to found a Christian kingdom on a communistic basis, the Protestant movement was completely suppressed in 1535. Political and religious aims were mixed up in the affairs at Münster. Similarly at Lübeck, where, under the leadership of Jürgen Wullenweber in 1534 the democratic elements conquered the aristocratic council and partly drove its members from the town. Here also the religious and the political revolutionary spirit met, to which later strict Lutheranism was an uncompromising opponent. But the ecclesiastical zeal of the democratic leader was here distinctly inferior to his political ardour, although he was finally executed in 1537 by the Duke of Brunswick as an Anabaptist.

Frith

LUTHER'S HOUSE AT FRANKFORT

The diet of Speier in 1526 had created an intermediate religious position which was equally insecure for the old and the new faiths, for each party had to fear a vigorous onslaught from the other. It did not therefore cause wonder when the Chancellor of Duke George of Saxony, Otto von Pack, told the Lutheran princes about a strong Catholic league. Philip of Hesse, in excess of zeal, immediately armed against his presumed foes, at whose head naturally the emperor would stand; but his position was seriously weakened by the discovery that Pack's documents, on whose evidence he had relied for justification, were entirely fictitious.

A new imperial diet met under the pressure of these events in the spring of 1529 at Speier. The imperial proposition read at the opening held out the prospect of a council, but also disputed the validity of the resolutions passed at Speier in 1526 with respect to the Edict of Worms. A committee, it is true, somewhat modified the form of the imperial demand; nevertheless the princes of electoral Saxony, Lüneburg, Anhalt, and Franconian Brandenburg, as well as the towns, opposed it, and contested the right of the assembly by a resolution of the majority to abolish suddenly the imperial recess of 1526. However, the view which was vigorously supported by Archduke Ferdinand gained the day—namely, that the majority must in all cases be respected. There remained nothing for the disaffected princes but to protest against the proclaimed right, a proceeding which gained them the name "Protestants." It is to be carefully noticed that in this protest no religious, but merely a constitutional, question was discussed—that is to say, whether a unanimously passed decree can be abrogated by a majority. Nevertheless, a uniform religious conviction spoke in the protest, which, struggling against authority, assumed the right for every estate in the realm to decide these questions by its own power. There was still the inclination to submit to a council.

The immediate result of this protest was the secret league, concluded in April, 1529, between electoral Saxony and Hesse, as well as the towns of Strasburg, Ulm, and Nüremberg, for the common protection of their religious convictions, even against the empire, while the Swabian League began to consider itself the champion of Catholicism. The separation between a Germany of the old faith and a Germany of the new faith was thus complete. On each side princes and towns stood united, for the diet of Speier had broken up the hitherto common principles of the towns, and no council was in the position once more to heal the breach. The soul of the Protestant League was Philip of Hesse. He had high political aims, and wished to effect a union of all who had separated themselves from the Church. His attention was, therefore, necessarily directed toward the Swiss reform movement, which ran parallel with that of Wittenberg, and was maintained in closer dependence on the humanism of Zwingli. A reconciliation of the dogmatic differences between Luther and Zwingli was the dearest wish of the landgrave, and he hoped to accomplish this by a religious conference, which met in October at Marburg.

Great as was the pleasure with which Zwingli and his Humanist friends, Hedio and Oecolampadius, accepted the invitation, it was with heavy heart that Luther appeared at the conference. It was impossible for him to depart in the slightest particular from his standpoint on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which presented the most important subject of dogmatic controversy. The conference, as might be expected, was absolutely barren in results. Luther tried vainly to conceal this fact even from contemporaries by a pamphlet, which epitomised in fifteen articles the points common to the doctrines of the two reformers, as opposed to the fundamental point of difference. The distress in the empire was, as a whole, very great, owing to the Turkish danger. Nevertheless, the imperial diet, which sat in June, 1530, under the emperor's presidency at Augsburg, was strongly influenced by the religious, or rather theological, controversies, for the papal legate and the Protestants were agreed that this was the first matter to be treated. The Protestants, in conformity with the request of the emperor, had briefly drawn up their doctrinal views in the "Confession of Augsburg," a work of Melanchthon, which offered as mild a resistance as possible to the papal opponents, and emphatically repudiated only the admission that Luther's doctrine was heretical, and asserted that, on the contrary, it coincided with the teaching of Augustine. Luther, outlawed and excommunicated, did not venture, since the elector disapproved,

LUTHER AT HOME AMIDST HIS HAPPY FAMILY CIRCLE

This peaceful picture presents a striking contrast to some of those on the preceding pages. In the heart of his own family the reformer could put aside his distractions and give himself up to the enjoyment of perfect rest and peace.

THE RELIGIOUS CONFERENCE AT MARBURG: LUTHER AND ZWINGLI DISCUSSING THEIR THEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

From the painting by A. Noack, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

to represent his own cause in Augsburg. Melanchthon took his place, but showed by his yielding disposition that he would not have been the right man to conduct the real struggle. He still hoped for an ecclesiastical peace, and would be content with the concession of the marriage of priests, of the chalice for the laity, and of a reform in the Mass, and therefore found support among the Catholic princes, but not at Rome. A Catholic rejoinder to the "Confession," called its "Refutation," expressed, to the benefit of the Protestant movement, an uncompromising opposition to any concession. The emperor saw in that the complete victory of his old Church, and the Protestant princes perceived at last that the breach could no longer be healed.

Landgrave Philip had already left Augsburg when the emperor wished to declare in the recess that the Protestants had been refuted out of the Bible. The latter naturally contested this point, especially by the "Apologia," composed by Melanchthon against the "Confutatio." The emperor did not accept this "Apologia." But the Protestant states, with the towns of Augsburg and Memmingen at their head, refused on their side to acknowledge the recess; they also did not wish to take part in raising the "Turkish aid."

PHILIP OF HESSE

Inspired by high political ideals, Philip of Hesse has been described as "the soul of the Protestant League." He aimed at effecting a union of all who had broken away from communion with the Church.

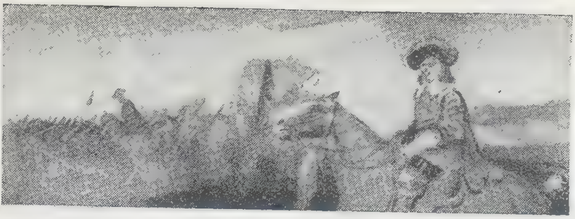
After the diet of Augsburg it must have been clear to the Protestant states that it would now be impossible to support the innovation in religion, as Luther demanded, and yet continue in allegiance to the emperor. He was no longer an impartial ruler, as men had fondly imagined, but a strong partisan of the papacy. A closer union among the Protestants had become necessary. Under the influence of the election of Archduke Ferdinand as king of Rome, the alliance was formed in February, 1531, at Schmalcalden in Thuringia. The rulers of electoral Saxony, Hesse, Lüneburg, Anhalt, and Mansfeld, as well as the towns of Magdeburg and Bremen, united for "the maintenance of Christian truth and peace, and for the repression of unlawful powers," while other princes and towns still hesitated to join. There was no immediate prospect of confederates in South Germany. On the other hand, relations had already been established with King Frederic I. of Denmark and King Gustavus of Sweden; even in England a new page was opened, since King Henry VIII., completely hostile to the Emperor Charles, was in his own way effecting a reformation within the Church.

These events, coupled with the fear that all South Germans would join the Schmalcaldic League, the impossibility of inducing the Pope to convene a council, and, above all, the increasing danger from the Turks, finally decided the emperor to abandon the execution of the recess of Augsburg and to conclude a preliminary peace with the Protestants on July 23rd, 1532, the so-called Religious Peace of Nüremberg. By the conditions of this the states were to maintain peace among themselves on questions of belief until the council met: under certain circumstances a diet was to be substituted for the council. In any case, all trials on religious points impending in the Supreme Court were to be discontinued for the time. The emperor by this peace formally recognised the league as a political power.

The policy of the empire had been permanently under the influence of the religious movement since 1521, and was even more so now. The development of dogma and cult became gradually an esoteric theological concern, and was no longer the chief factor in determining political action. The princes, provisionally united with a part of the towns in the Schmalcaldic League, were from this time the representatives of Protestantism, in place of the professors of Wittenberg. The religious and social age of the new doctrine was ended in order to make room for the political age.

LUTHER BEFORE THE IMPERIAL DIET OF SPEIER IN THE YEAR 1526

From the painting by G. Cattermole in the South Ke[illegible]



THE PROBLEM OF THE REFORMATION

LAUNCHING OF THE NEW CHRISTIANITY

CHRISTIANITY has at no time faced so dangerous a storm as at the dawn of the "New Era." The religious feeling of the mediæval Church rested on the two pillars of blind submission to authority and conviction that the spiritual was antagonistic to the temporal. But doubts had been raised for centuries as to the justification for these conceptions. Humanism had made the opposite ideas the common property of educated men. There was a quickened consciousness of what the inalienable nature of man required, the consciousness that man is a personality whose impulse is towards liberty, self-determination, and unhindered development, as well as the consciousness of the position which man has to take with regard to the world around him, the wish for work in the world not less than enjoyment of the world. The child who felt himself happy under the constant care of his parents, and still dreaded the wide world outside, became a youth who wished to decide for himself and to take a place in the world by his works and by his enjoyment.

The Mistaken Policy of the Church

The Church, however, did not recognise the justification for this effort, nor did she educate all her subjects to religious freedom and independence, as well as to moral activity in the world and moral joy in existence. No, she rigidly held to her old ideas and would gladly have seen every one hold them. She trusted still to the efficiency of her means of discipline, as if the time never comes when the son scoffs at the rod of the father.

And yet there was no other Christianity than that which was characterised by those mediæval fundamental conceptions. It was clear that the new notions were irreconcilable with the old faith. Men must either believe and live once more according to those old ideals and sacrifice the new ones, or they must hold fast to the new doctrines and abandon the old. Countless numbers had already chosen the latter alternative; they could not stand against the overpowering current of the age. But then they threw all faith away from them, since there was no other than that which was steeped in those old ideas. Custom indeed is a potent factor even in the sphere of religion. Most still preserved the religion in externals for a while; but sooner or later the need of some uniform conception of life prevailed over custom, at any rate among those who were distinguished as spiritual leaders.

Demand For a New Christianity

But alas! for that religion to which men adhere only in consequence of the law of inertia. It is true that at the dawn of the new era the number of those who, from sincere piety, wished to uphold Christianity, was still very large, especially in Germany, But the Church could no longer satisfy their religious needs, since the desire for subduing all Nature to the service of man had already begun to colour religious life, and since even in this domain blind submission and retirement from the world were felt to be an outrage on the nature of man.

Whence was religion to find safety? Only one thing could bring help: a new form of Christianity must be given to the world, a Christianity which would not suppress man's nature, but would rather develop and sustain it, a Christianity which recognised the impulse towards religious liberty and man's dominion of Nature and tried to guide it into the right paths.

Christianity's Revival in Germany

It is true that the effort of the Church to crush all religious independence instead of inspiring a spirit of freedom unfits those who break away from her to become themselves safe guides. Religious freedom is abused in the saddest fashion, but those who thirst for truth are at any rate offered the opportunity of quenching their religious craving. Christianity may revive in them under a new and purer form. It was not mere chance that this renewal of Christianity was effected in Germany.

Even in the Middle Ages all those efforts to divest the faith, which had been transmitted from the Græco-Roman world, of its legal character, and to make it the personal concern of the individual, had originated among Teutonic peoples. The peculiarly characteristic Teutonic sense of reality which hates mere show, the depth of purpose which cannot be satisfied with outward piety, the inquiring spirit which is not contented with any reassurance from human authorities—these caused this intensifying and deepening of religious life to spring up in Germany, the heart of Europe, and to find there an enthusiastic welcome.

Religion Welcomed by the Germans

Martin Luther grew up among mediæval conceptions. He held by the Church and he obeyed the Church. A reverential awe seized the boy of fourteen when he saw that Prince of Anhalt in the Franciscan cowl walking through the streets of Magdeburg, bent double under the heavy beggar's wallet: "Whoever saw him must in devotion kiss him and blush for his own worldly state." But he was consumed with an ardent longing for religious independence, and therefore for a personal conviction that he stood in the right relations to God He was a man of such astonishing inward sturdiness that it was absolutely impossible for him to flatter or delude himself in any way as to his own state. In order to win God's grace he did not shrink from the most extreme steps which the Church prescribed for that end. He renounced all that was valuable to him on earth, he entered the Augustinian monastery and undermined his health by services which he considered meritorious.

But Luther, like thousands before his time, could not rest satisfied with the idea that he had nothing more to do. For he felt, in his unflinching self-examination, more and more clearly that all his pious deeds were insufficient in the eyes of God; that all was done only from fear—in fact, in his case, with a secret indignation against God, who, in spite of everything, withheld His grace. He only sighed more loudly. "When shall I finally become pious and do enough to obtain a gracious God?" Despair threatened to master him, as he had now, as he thought, learned from experience that we cannot get for ourselves the one thing on which all depends, the real love of God: we cannot, therefore, win for ourselves God's favour. "I was destined to sink into hell," he wailed. Then the general of his order, the holy Staupitz, pointed out another goal for his efforts. It is impossible for us to earn God's grace by our piety. But Christ is our refuge from despair: Christ does not frighten us, but consoles us. Through Christ we can obtain forgiveness for not being what we ought to be—forgiveness, and with it God's grace. Instead of the unanswerable question: "When shall I finally become pious?" we must put the other question: "When shall I obtain forgiveness?" And the answer runs, "Only through Christ, through faith in Him"—that is, through personal trust in Him Who brings God's grace to us.

Luther's Strivings After Godliness

Luther now read the Bible in quite a new light. "The just shall live by faith"; the saying became great and excellent to him. Faith alone justifies, and brings life. The more he learnt in the long struggle to leave the old way, which the teaching of the Church had pointed out, and to walk in the new way of trust in God's grace, the more he found that this path was the right one. His conscience was calmed. He felt that he now had actually found a gracious God. Thus from his own mental state he convinced himself that he had found the way to salvation, and that the Holy Scriptures are the sole spiritual truth.

The Great Discovery of Luther

The new Christianity which he found was nothing more than his conception of the old, old words: "Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." "No man cometh unto the Father but by Me." Luther thus attained independent faith; no human being, no Church had now any authority in his eyes. And yet this faith did not arise from his own liking. On the contrary, the objective fact, the grace of God, which was objectively present, became his subjective possession.

The terrible danger which lay in the awakening of the impulse towards independence in the domain of religion, the danger that each individual constructs some faith for himself, and is therewith contented, was to be averted. This faith was to be independent, but not arbitrary; completely subjective, and yet based on that which was present outside him; completely free and yet completely fettered: authorised by the only privileged authority, the living God. How feeble compared with that is the authority of men, the Fathers of the Church, the Popes, the Councils! How dimly shine the beacon-lights on which the sinner, trembling before God, rests his hopes—the saints with their services and their mediation, those helpers in time of need, the pitying queen of heaven, men's penances and good works, indulgences, the sacrifice of the Mass! Whoever stands in actual communion with God needs such things no more. All that is to be retained of such observances—preaching, baptism, absolution, the Lord's Supper—is to serve only for strengthening the sanctifying trust in the grace and love of God.

How splendid a new morality might grow on such a new soil of faith! "A Christian is the free lord of all things, and subject to no one." No sort of compulsion can produce really good works, but as the good tree bears of itself good fruits, so the faith which inspires the man brings forth, as it were involuntarily, actions which are well pleasing to God. The new conditions lead to new conduct. Morality is to be quite unconcerned, whether a Church strictly enforces her decrees or not, whether she even tramples them underfoot; conduct is above all commands and prohibitions, all standards of social example. There remains, indeed, in the heart a tendency towards evil; but faith cannot palter with it, cannot gloss it over with sham work of holiness. For faith, so truly as it loves God, hates evil, and therefore fights unwearyingly against it.

AN OPPONENT OF LUTHER
This eminent German theologian, Dr. Eck, was one of the disputants at Leipzig in 1519, and afterwards proceeded to Rome to stir up Pope Leo X. against the reformer.

Mediæval View of Piety

Christianity's Influence on the New Era

Just as the claim and essence of this morality took a modern form, so, too, did its application. The Middle Ages held that man's highest act of piety was to leave the world, and to devote himself to religious works. But whoever, in the station in which God had placed him, had attained actual communion with God knew that he had in this station to show his new spiritual attitude, that it was not *what* he did that made the difference, but *how* he did it, whether he did it from love of God, because God had called him to this work, and so in the way which was pleasing to God. What folly to consider impure the pure earthly vocations—family life, marriage, civic life! Even the most conspicuous religious work such as prayer, the founding of churches, monasticism, could be impure, while the most inconspicuous secular work is sanctified by faith and love "even were it only to lift a blade of straw." Was worldly joy to be impure in itself? Whoever has the grace of God, receives with thankful joy from the hand of God all the good that God's goodness gives; this thankfulness keeps him from misusing it. The terrible danger lying in the awakening of the sense which is directed towards the world, lest the man disregard the Creator and Lord of the world in worldly work and wordly enjoyment, and employ both only for his selfish ends, and bring only destruction on himself and on his fellow-men—this danger is surmounted. Christianity has thus won a modern form. It no longer contradicts the ideals of the new era: it wishes and is able rather to keep them from degenerating. However strongly the current of freedom and subjection of Nature may flow at that new era, the new-born Christianity lends its aid so that man need not be swept away by the flood. Christianity is thus brought in safety from the old era to the new. Luther himself did not suspect the epoch-making importance of his religious discovery. The respect for the Church which he had imbibed from earliest infancy did not allow him to contemplate any deviation from her teaching. In order to oppose a mere abuse he nailed his ninety-five theses on indulgences to the castle-church at Wittenberg. But though their language was temperate, though they expressed little of his new revolutionising thoughts, they kindled like a flash of lightning.

When Dr. Eck had read them, he cried out: "Ha! he will do it. He is the man for whom we have so long waited." It was felt that a personality was speaking there which had an ardent longing alike for objective truth and subjective certainty. The supporters of the old order did him good service when by their opposition they disclosed the yawning gulf between their conceptions and his. Many of the Humanists, hitherto indifferent to it, were fired for this struggle by the disputation at Leipzig between Luther and the great Roman theologian, Dr. Eck in July, 1519. The movement became a matter of interest to the German people through his treatise "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation," in which he championed with fiery words the complaints against the papal chair and the yearning desire for a really reformatory council.

Rome an Obstacle to Progress

Rome, regardless of results, passed her verdict. The papacy, with the Bull which condemned Luther, his teaching and his followers, stood as an obstacle in the path of the new intellectual movement. When it at length succeeded in drawing the emperor over to the same side, and the Pope's decision was recognised by the suspension of the imperial ban over the innovators, one of two alternatives alone was possible—either the mighty religious revolt must be crushed by force, or Rome must bow before it. But Rome remained firm, and yet political conditions made it impossible for the emperor to carry out the part he had undertaken in accordance with the judgment of the papal legate, that of being "the obedient executor of the Roman chair."

Thus the Reformation movement, which had incorporated various component parts, found the time to become, as it were, clear about itself and to renounce all that did not agree with its real nature. Whoever wished merely for the abolition of some crying abuses, or in blind submission to the Church expected help from her alone, left Luther so soon as it was apparent that the Church persisted in her condemnatory judgment. Others thought that they ought to go further than Luther, while, in fact, they had not yet passed the slough of the Middle Ages. This sect of mystics and fanatics once more saw a contrast between the Spirit of God and that of the creature. These men, therefore, demanded an outward renunciation of all that is earthly; they wished that the Spirit of God should speak directly in man, and despised all natural mediation and all historical development. They railed at Luther because he found a pleasure even in earthly things; they pretended that their maddest fancies were revelations of the divine spirit; they repudiated science and study, and wished to abolish everything in the Church which did not date from the apostolic age.

Mystics Who Railed at Luther

When Luther was forced to live in the Wartburg, this storm broke in Wittenberg. Professor Carlstadt wished to cease lecturing; the schoolmaster refused to teach any more. All that was the growth of time, especially the images, was to be removed by force. Luther, in spite of the prohibition of the elector, left his secure hiding-place, and preached every day for a week against these fanatics, until he had completely calmed the seething waters. In other places, it is true, especially where the Roman antagonists forced their own spiritual instruction upon the people to the exclusion of the new teaching, the sole watchword on which the disaffected were agreed was the rejection of infant baptism. But the movement of Luther was now distinctly separated from this troubled and turbulent wave.

It had to repel from itself a third party, those who complained, above all, of social evils and did not shun the path of revolution in order to abolish them. This discontent, which had existed long before Luther's appearance, was destined to burst into flames now that the Roman Church refused to concede the religious liberty demanded, and attempted to suppress all such efforts with bans and excommunication. Luther represented their legitimate grievances with fervour, but still emphasised the point that it is unbecoming in a Christian to use violence against a superior. "Let him who receives my teaching raise no disturbance." When, therefore, the "peasants" began to murder and to burn, and the "lords" became despondent from consciousness of the blame attaching to them for the rebellion, Luther, with the greatest determination, reminded the authorities of their duty to crush remorselessly the sanguinary revolution. Thus he lost the support of all who, in the last instance, merely wished for social, not religious freedom.

Rising of the Peasants

Many of the Humanists, owing to Luther, had become absorbed in their struggle against the ecclesiastical wrongs, and had completely devoted themselves to his teaching. The "king of the Humanists," however, the great scholar, Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, still adopted an uncertain attitude, and with him many others. He rejoiced in the war against the "fat paunches of the monks" and against the extravagantly exalted "triple crown of the Pope." But he attached more weight to peace and concord than to truth. "Even truth displeases me if disorder is caused by it." He was wanting in Luther's marked religious fervour. He was finally, in 1524, persuaded to write against Luther. The doctrine of free-will served him as a pretext to assert in contradiction to Luther's certainty of faith resting on experience, that in the sphere of religion there are only views, but no personal certainties. Even Holy Scripture is not clear enough to give us conviction; at most, some certainty is to be obtained, since it is probable that scholars, popes, and councils have found what is right. Generally speaking, less depends on faith than on morality and concord, and, in order to produce these, reliance cannot always be reposed in reasoned truth, for such truth may easily cause harm.

Thus the breach between Luther and Erasmus had become visible. Erasmus, since he had not found the religious conviction which the deepest and most religious spirits of that age desired, contented himself with a vague tolerant probability, so that Luther answered him: "The Holy Spirit is no sceptic; He has not inscribed on our hearts a vague delusion, but a potent and great certainty which does not allow us to waver, but makes us, thanks be to God, feel as certain as we are that two and three make five."

THE "KING OF THE HUMANISTS"
Desiderius Erasmus, the great scholar of the Humanists, was lacking in religious fervour, and while he rejoiced in the war against the "fat paunches of the monks," he also wrote in opposition to the leader of the Reformation.

The Creeds of Erasmus and Luther

While Luther wished for a moral code which, based on confidence in God, sought only to please God, Erasmus wished for "morality," which, if necessary, was to be attained even by unproved assumptions, subject to one provision only—that it did not disturb the peace of the citizens. Thus the claim of a religious feeling springing from God, and directed towards God, on which the whole Lutheran system is based, was rejected by Erasmus. The Humanists, who did not wish for more than Erasmus could offer, now severed themselves definitely from the Reformation. The supporters of the old order exulted at all the losses which the anti-Roman movement outwardly sustained. But their hopes of seeing it crushed were continually defeated, for its loyal adherents attained by their efforts in these years of schism only a still greater conviction, and in spite of all hostility won an increasing number of followers. Luther, while still in the Wartburg, began his translation of the Bible. The New Testament appeared in September, 1522, and in the next twelve years went through at least sixty-eight editions. The separate parts of the Old Testament followed, until in the year 1534, the whole Bible was completed. Luther's great enemy, Cochlæus, thus testifies to the effect of this work: "Tailors and shoemakers, even women and other simple folk, read Luther's New Testament with the greatest avidity as being a source of all truth. They were not ashamed to dispute about the faith and the gospel with priests and monks, masters and doctors of divinity."

Luther's Translation of the Bible

Equally great success was attained by the spiritual songs set to new vigorous melodies in which Luther and some of his disciples, following his example, made the newly discovered faith resound through the world; above all by the hymns, which have soared beyond the Kyrie Eleison, so characteristic of mediæval Christianity, to the proud joy felt by the child of God sure of the Grace of God: "Nun freut euch, liebe Christengemein', denn ich bin dein, und du bist mein, uns soll der Tod nicht scheiden"; "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott—das Reich muss uns noch bleiben." The people sang these songs not only in divine service, but also at their work and on the road. The divine worship hitherto held in Latin was performed in the German tongue. The first regulation of the reformed public worship that is extant, dates from the year 1522, drawn up by Caspar Kanz in Nördlingen. Luther did not follow with his German Mass until 1526, since he was reluctant to propose external innovations so long as the people were not ripe for them.

In consequence of the resolutions of the imperial diet of Speier of 1526, the Lutheran states undertook to regulate the ecclesiastical system in their own provinces on the new basis, and the visitations organised for the purpose revealed the pitiable conditions which had been produced through the neglect of the people by the Roman Church, which had become still more disorganised through the uncertainty of recent years. Luther then gave Christianity his two Catechisms, of which the Lesser Catechism especially, a masterpiece, brought the new doctrine home to the people.

But who was to attend to ecclesiastical affairs in the Lutheran districts? Visitations had to be arranged and the parsonages filled up; the monastic property, now derelict, had to be managed and turned to other uses; a definite organisation had to be introduced for Church matters. Most of the bishops, however, resolutely opposed the new religion. Who was, then, to perform the services, which could no longer be required from them, in the separate provinces? Only the territorial lord possessed the requisite authority and power for such outward church government.

It was not a complete novelty when Luther, in his treatise "To the Christian Nobility," stated the proposition that, if the need arose, *every* member of the Church must help her, so far as possible, and when he now called on his sovereign not to refuse to help the Church of his territory in her hour of trial. On the contrary, a return had already been made in the fifteenth century to the idea prevailing in the empire of the Franks before 800, that the lord of the country had rights and duties in the Church of his territory; and the Pope himself had conceded many such privileges to the territorial lords. The princes had often done such services to the Church. If ever the corruption of the monasteries made reform imperatively necessary—the bishops having failed in this their duty—then the territorial lords had taken the reform in hand; or if heresies had broken out, they had considered it their duty to guard their subjects

THE GREAT SCHOLAR ERASMUS AS TUTOR TO THE YOUTHFUL CHARLES V.

from this poison, just as they protected their sovereign from hostile attacks. Luther certainly, following the text "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," once more clearly separated the spiritual and the secular power, and thus declared that the submission of the secular power to the Church and the thraldom of the conscience under some external power were alike wrong. But yet he assuredly did not wish that the secular princes should exercise a spiritual authority, or should extend their government to the very heart of the Church and subject men's consciences to compulsion.

Princes Helping the Church

All the same in this distinctly critical time they ought clearly to recognise their duty of attending to the outward welfare of the Church. She ought to follow her own ordinances and laws. But the requisite ordinances and superintendence ought to be provided for her by the princes, who must take the welfare of their subjects to heart, and who, from their prominent position in the nation, are alone in the position to do so. They certainly are able to abuse the influence that is thereby assigned to them, but no form of Church government is imaginable which is not exposed to this contingency. The Church in the Middle Ages flourished however, when princes, with the feeling that they were members of the Church, attended to her outward organisation; and she was on the very brink of destruction when she was secured from all interference of the secular power. The spirit that guides her is the all-important point. Starting with this conviction, Luther entrusted to the territorial lords the direction of their churches in external matters.

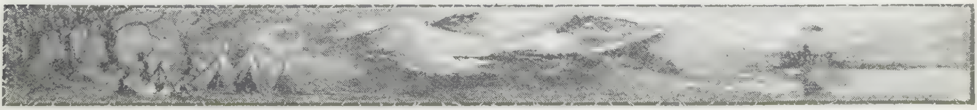
Perfidy of Duke Maurice

These princes rendered good service to the cause of the Reformation. It was they who in the imperial diet at Speier in 1529 "protested" that the resolution of the majority should not be published as "passed, with their good-will, knowledge, and counsel"—a resolution which had laid down that those who had hitherto endeavoured to root out the Lutheran doctrine should persist in their efforts, that no one should be allowed to protect those who were prosecuted for religious opinions, and that in the Lutheran districts all the existing remnants of Catholicism were to be preserved. To assent to this, they declared, meant "nothing else than openly to deny Christ and His word." It was they who in the diet at Augsburg in 1530 solemnly, in the presence of emperor and states, professed the faith which the highest powers in Christendom had banned and proscribed; it was they who closely banded together in the Schmalcaldic League in 1531 for the protection of the Protestant faith.

Results of the Peace of Augsburg

The selfish policy of Duke Maurice of Saxony certainly enabled the emperor in the Schmalcaldic war to defeat and take prisoner the heads of the Protestant League in 1546. But when Maurice, in order to undo the consequences of his perfidy, turned against the emperor, the Religious Peace of Augsburg was finally, in 1555, able to make into a principle of jurisprudence the right of religious freedom and political equality for the followers of the different creeds. This applied, indeed, at first only to the authorities. They received the privilege of free choice between the old and the new faith; for the thought that every individual subject should have full liberty in the exercise of his religion was at that time still inconceivable. The feud between the parties in the Church was still too fresh and accompanied by remembrances too bitter to allow the idea to be entertained that the different confessions could live peaceably side by side in the same district. But mediæval conceptions had been so completely shattered that, after this peace, no one was to be punished on account of difference of faith; subjects who held another religion were to leave the country without incurring any loss of honours or goods. It is small wonder that the Emperor Charles V. could not bring himself to co-operate in the conclusion of such a peace.

Armin Tille



REFORMERS IN CONFERENCE JOHN CALVIN PRESIDING AT THE COUNCIL OF GENEVA IN THE YEAR 1549

From the painting by P. A. Labouchere

THE TRIUMPH OF PROTESTANTISM AND THE CLEAVAGE IN ITS RANKS

LUTHER'S appearance on the scene had produced the greatest effect even on those who would not for any consideration desert the papacy. So deep a religious earnestness spoke from his writings, that many within the Catholic Church began to feel ashamed of the immoral life that prevailed among the higher as well as the lower clergy, and of the thoughtless manner in which men had made light of their sins, and, like Luther, they clamoured for a reformation. On the other hand, many good Catholics could not conceal from themselves that all the doctrines and arrangements which had been established in the Church were not unassailable.

The Bible in the German Language

Thus a dangerous uncertainty crept in. Even in the year 1485 Archbishop Berthold of Mainz had instituted a censorship of books in order to suppress the German Bibles, of which there had been many editions, and accordingly men like Sebastian Brant and Geiler of Kaisersberg had declared it "a wicked thing to print the Bible in German." But now the preparation of a German Bible was advocated by Catholics in the imperial diet at Speier in 1526, and loyal members of the Church caused such translations of the Bible to be prepared and circulated.

The Church as the Interpreter of Scripture

Even the chief doctrine of Lutheranism, the proposition "By faith alone we are justified," was acknowledged by the Catholic party at the religious conference of Regensburg in 1541, accepted in connection with a protocol by the imperial councillor Granvelle, and sent to Rome for approval by the papal legate Contarini. The Pope indeed rejected this tenet in that crude form and the agreement fell through. But Luther's appearance must have exercised immense influence on those who still remained loyal to the Roman chair when such proposals were possible. It was high time that the Church clearly defined the boundary between herself and the Lutherans, and made it impossible for any of her members to cross it. This was done at the Council of Trent (1545–1563). "Extermination of heresies and improvement of morals" was the programme. The distortions, therefore, of the primitive Christianity charged by Luther, which, he said, had gradually crept into the Church in early centuries, but of which very different ideas had been permitted, were now declared to be the official teaching of the Church, and so perpetuated; by this all attempts to come to terms with Protestantism, and to be once more united, were finally excluded. It was thus distinctly declared that the tradition of the Church was to be honoured with the same reverence as the Holy Scriptures.

Bishop Brentano, when asked what traditions were meant by this, declared: "We accept those which satisfy us; we emphatically reject those which clash with our belief." It is the province of the Church alone to decide what "the true meaning" of Holy Scripture may be. Thus the Church is made the authorised exponent of Holy Scripture, and the doctrine of justification by faith as proved by personal experience is condemned; the Church, moreover, holds the place of mediator for redemption between God and man. Salvation comes through her, and the seven sacraments by their own virtue work as instruments of grace.

Reformation Within the Church

On the other hand, the disgraceful excrescences, which had given special cause for "railing against the Church," were cut away, partly by general religious means, partly by direct prohibitions. The council resolved on various measures for the removal of all non-Roman practices, but left their execution to the Pope. A confession of faith was established which had to be sworn by the holders of any ecclesiastical office and by all teachers at the university. In this, loyal obedience was sworn to the Pope, "the representative of Jesus Christ," and a pledge on oath had to be made that "the Catholic faith, without which none could be holy, should be supported by all subjects." The "Roman Catechism" was drawn up as a counterblast to Luther's Catechism. The "Index of forbidden books" was introduced for the suppression of poisonous food for the mind. The Council of Trent finally declared the text of the Latin translation of the Bible, the Vulgate, to be "authentic," and orders were given "that no one should venture to reject it on any plea whatever." But since the text of the previous editions showed many differences, it was not clear which translation might not be rejected.

Errors in the Vulgate

Pope Sixtus V. in 1590 prepared a "completely faultless edition," and, appealing to the guidance promised to the apostle Peter, forbade the faithful to "alter, add to, or omit the smallest particle in it." His second successor, Clement VIII., however, found so many faults in this edition that he ordered all extant copies to be brought up and destroyed, and prepared a new edition, which altered more than 12,000 passages, and included some books that were not to be found in the original. verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, still less of translations, has not, of course, been claimed at any time.

The Catholic Church by these declarations of doctrine definitely opposed Protestantism, and had declared a bitter war against the new era which had dawned. But afterwards a stupendous reaction set in. Once more there appeared enthusiasm for the Catholic cause, a joy of battle, a delight in conquest, a spirit of self-sacrifice. The contest with Protestantism was now changed. The Catholic writers, with astonishing diligence and acuteness, set about the task of creating a science of theology which, while adopting the ideas of the new era sanctioned by Luther, sought to show that these contained the germs of the gravest dangers, unless associated with explicit obedience to the Roman Church and her teaching. Others boldly ventured on the domain of history.

New Life in the Roman Church

The catacombs of Rome were said to attest the high antiquity of the Roman teaching and the customs of the Church. What would now have become of the Catholic Church in Germany if it had not at last been roused to a vigorous struggle? Even in those countries where, according to the injunction of Duke William of Bavaria that "he who recanted shall be beheaded, he who does not recant shall be burnt," the anti-Roman movement had been most mercilessly crushed, as, for example, in Austria and Bavaria, Protestantism had nevertheless gained much ground. For example, in 1556 the states of Lower Austria would grant aid against the Turks only on condition that free exercise of religion was conceded them. The Emperor Ferdinand was obliged to grant them at least the communion in both kinds. A few years afterwards, even the prelates declared to the emperor that his whole land would fall away from the Catholic faith if the marriage of the clergy and the communion in both kinds were not conceded.

The situation became even worse in 1564, on the accession of Maxmilian II., who had been brought up in the Lutheran faith. Only consideration for Spain and the Catholic princes of the empire deterred him from formally going over to the Protestant Church. He granted free exercise of religion to his states. A large part of the nobility introduced the Reformation for themselves and their subjects. A Venetian reported as the result of his observations in Germany that only one person in ten was still Catholic. In a short time the Catholic Church in Germany must have disappeared.

Protestant Triumph in Germany

But a well-equipped army, ready for battle, was now prepared to reconquer for the Papal Church all that had been lost. We read in the official history of the Jesuit order, "God in His eternal wisdom has placed Ignatius Loyola to confront Luther, the scandal of humanity and bane of Europe, that hog from Epicurus's sty, that child of evil, whom God and men detest." All the orders created by the mediæval Church had shown themselves incapable of resisting the Reformation.

These monks had either themselves joined the Reformation or they had opposed it in a way which caused the world to laugh at them, for they fought with the weapons of a bygone age, with an antiquated conception of life. The intentions of the ex-soldier, the Spaniard Ignatius, were something so new that the Inquisition, when men and women, filled with enthusiasm, joined him in his home, became suspicious and arrested him. In fact, he, the saviour of the Church, narrowly escaped condemnation. At Rome he wished to place himself and his army, "the Company of Jesus," at the orders of the Pope. But there, also, he met with universal distrust. Only his consummate skill in estimating and entering into the peculiar nature of his opponent won over the Pope. "Here is the spirit of God," cried the latter as he read the following sentence in the constitution of the order which lay in front of him; "this company and all individuals discharge the warlike services of God in true obedience to our most sacred lord, the Pope." The order was confirmed by the Pope on September 27th, 1540.

FOUNDER OF THE JESUITS

Ignatius Loyola, who belonged to a noble family in the Spanish province of Guipuzcoa, resigned the career of arms for the service of religion. He founded the Society of Jesus.

Ideal of Mediæval Piety

Self-Dependence in the Realm of Religion

What was its importance for the history of religion? It sought to adapt Catholic Christianity to an era dominated by new ideas, and to offer to Christianity, in place of the new doctrine which Luther discovered and praised, a substitute which was to be found and used equally in the Catholic Church. No impression could be made any longer on the new era with the mediæval ideal of retirement from the world. This new order, therefore, was not intended to retreat from the world and consume its strength in asceticism, but to work in the world and on the world. Nor does it wish to withdraw its converts from the world. They may remain in the world, if only they remain subject to the Church in spite of secular enjoyments, and are useful to the Church with their secular work. Even blind submission, the other ideal of mediæval piety, grew dim, to many at least, before the impulse to win independence and to possess a personal sense of religion. Ignatius showed one way to content this aspiration. The means which Luther desired for the purpose and declared to be attainable—namely, that the individual man should acquire personal communion with God through faith, and thus become a new man, subduing his sinful inclinations—were said to be folly and to contain the greatest of all dangers, since the individual would feel himself at liberty to disregard the Church. The soldier Ignatius knew another way. Just as the strength of the body is so built up by military training that its full powers are at the service of the will, so the strength of the soul must be developed by "spiritual training" until all unregulated impulses submit to the control of the reason. If the man is thus properly trained, he can himself regulate his emotions and has the inspiring consciousness of personal development. The eagerness for self-dependence that marked the new era found a full satisfaction in the domain of religion. Luther promised the happy condition of religious self-dependence only to an inner conversion such as God alone can effect. Ignatius did this more easily; even that sovereignty of reason over the other powers of the soul, which the man can create for himself by exercise, fills him with elevating self-trust. By this very sovereignty over himself the man wins an immense power over others who are not yet become so independent.

Just as control over one's own strength was represented by Ignatius as the highest consummation, so sovereignty over others was to be the ultimate object of all efforts. Ambition, that deeply rooted defect of ecclesiastical Catholicism, will flourish in this order, and will more and more destroy the nobler and divine components which ecclesiasticism had retained from the primitive Christianity. In what field especially were these warriors to display their activity? Oral confession, which had become hated and despised, must once more be revived, for whoever submitted to it showed his willingness to allow himself to be ruled. Nothing else afforded so favourable an opportunity to regulate men's consciences. At a time, then, when worldliness was omnipotent and the disinclination for confession and penance universal, the masses could not become once more accustomed to confession unless "the yoke of Christ was lightened," as the Jesuits termed it.

The Church Revises the Moral Code

They therefore applied their greatest ingenuity to a revision of the moral code, the precepts of which were to be followed in confession, and tried to establish such elastic principles that consciences must have become dulled; but the task of confession was made far more simple. Sin, it was said, consists merely in the wrongful act, which is committed not from ignorance or passion, but deliberately. It is not always necessary for a man to do what he himself considers right: he may, contrary to his conscience, obey that which an authority has declared to be permissible. "A woman, for instance, has murdered her husband in order to marry her paramour and has afterward sinned with him. Must she, then, run the risk of death and shame by revealing this circumstance in confession?"

Since one authority, Henriquez, answers in the affirmative, and another, Lessius, in the negative, according to this "probable" view it is permissible for a man to be silent on the point even against his own conscience. Therefore in an act the intention has always to be considered. "It is allowable for a son to desire most earnestly the death of his father, yet not so as to wish any harm to the father, but so as to wish some good for himself—namely, the rich inheritance which will then come to him." Again, it is permissible to deceive others by the choice of words which they are bound to understand in a wrong meaning. Similarly, a man may think of something more than is said. If "someone who has killed a 'Pater' is questioned on the matter, he may reply that he has not killed the 'Pater,' since he is thinking of another of the same name." Such

Tricks of Confession

conduct is justifiable in a man whenever it is a question of "preserving his person, his life, or his honour, protecting his property or exercising any virtue." As a confessor might mitigate the penance for sinful love, so he might do also with unbelief. Whereas in earlier centuries a mere assent to that which the Church taught was sufficient, it was now declared to be enough if the faith was not actually disputed. "A man is capable of receiving absolution," so the doctrine is laid down, "even if he knows nothing of the dogmas of the faith." It became possible in this way to bring those who were devoid of all real religious feeling to a purely external submission to the Church, which showed itself in confession.

A complete series of other orders or unions owed their rise to the anti-Protestant movement in the Catholic Church. Their ideal was no longer abandonment of the world, but activity in the world. The slavish bondage under irrevocable vows was now so universally felt to be contrary to Nature that it was held expedient to make it possible to withdraw from such societies. The institutions of Vincent de Paul (1576–1660) became most successful, especially the Society of the Sisters of Mercy, founded in Paris in 1634. These took their vows only for one year. In the room of the nun who is withdrawn from all mankind, the universal sister comes forward. The cloister is no longer their secluded world, but the home which offers them training and rest. What was their final aim? Vincent explained to the

Methods of the Jesuits

sisters: "It has never been God's will when He founded your community that you should minister to the body only, for there would never be lack of persons for that. The intention of the Lord is rather that you help the souls of the poor to find entrance into paradise." Thus the conversion of the heretics is a primary duty of his missionaries and sisters, and the rejoicing is great when in this or that hospital some score of "unbelievers" are brought back to the fold of the Church.

Catholicism, thus strengthened and flushed with victory, could set about the recovery of what had been lost. First some compensation was looked for in foreign countries. After 1542 the Jesuits worked in East India, Japan, and China. Since their results did not seem sufficiently rich, it is said that they so far adapted themselves to circumstances that they preached Christianity as a Chinese philosophy, and prostrated themselves in devotion before images. Nobili came forward after 1606 as a Brahman, and allowed the baptised to remain in their heathen customs. When other Catholic missionaries came there, a hot dispute raged over this question; but the results obtained by the Jesuits with such "clemency" were so immense that even the prohibition by the Pope of a method of conversion which roused such ill-feeling could not induce them to abandon this procedure. In Japan they were able to baptise many hundred thousand people, until in their lust for power they meddled with politics and thus called forth a terrible persecution, which ended in the country being completely barred to all Christians. In Paraguay, however, they were able to found an independent state according to their wishes, a model state which consisted of young Indians ruled by them. Pope Gregory XV., in order to give unity, combination, and permanence to the Catholic missions, founded the "Propaganda" at Rome in the year 1622.

Catholicism sought to counteract the movements of the Reformation wherever they showed themselves in Europe, partly by Jesuitical subtlety, partly by actual violence. In Scandinavia, however, Lutheranism remained victorious. But the Inquisition raged mercilessly in the Netherlands after 1555. Yet the people did not allow themselves to be brought back to the Catholic Church, and the northern provinces, after the most prolonged and sanguinary struggle obtained in 1648 religious and political liberty. Since in France, notwithstanding every persecution, the number of Protestants increased, the penalty of death was pronounced in the year 1557 on all who did not adhere to the national religion. Blood flowed in streams.

The Terrible Massacre of St. Bartholomew

The shameful massacre of the Protestants assembled for divine worship at Vassy gave the signal for civil war. After religious liberty and civil equality had been reluctantly conceded to the Huguenots by the Peace of St. Germain in 1570, the Catholic court party employed the most terrible treachery imaginable. The massacre of the Protestant malcontents in Paris began on St. Bartholomew's Night in 1572, and swift messengers carried the order to murder throughout the land. Henry IV., by the Edict of Nantes in 1598, assured to the Protestants their religious and political rights; he fell beneath the dagger of the monk Ravaillac.

Richelieu, indeed, broke the political power of the Huguenots, who prosecuted Catholics in turn, but he also confirmed their ecclesiastical privileges in the "Edict of Grace" of Nîmes in 1629. The often-attempted destruction of the French Protestant Church was completed only some decades later.

The Reformation found supporters in Italy and even in Spain. But there the Church had a free hand, so that in a short time through bloody persecution the last trace of anti-papal movements was obliterated. In 1570 both countries were "purified" in a Catholic sense. Even in England, under the Catholic Mary (1553–1558) an attempt was made to restore the papal supremacy. Nearly three hundred Protestants were executed. When the Protestant Elizabeth mounted the throne, Pope Paul IV. refused her the crown. Then hundreds of Jesuits gradually crept into the country, exhorted by the Pope "to get rid of the impious Jezebel." Plots against the queen were repeatedly discovered. The Catholic Philip of Spain sent his formidable Armada to England to purge that nest of heretics. Under James I. there was a plot of fanatical Catholics to blow up the king and all the assembled House of Parliament; the superior of the Jesuits, it is said, knew beforehand of this Gunpowder Plot. Although all these attempts were unsuccessful, yet they showed clearly enough the objects at which the upholders of the papacy aimed.

Romish Plots Against England

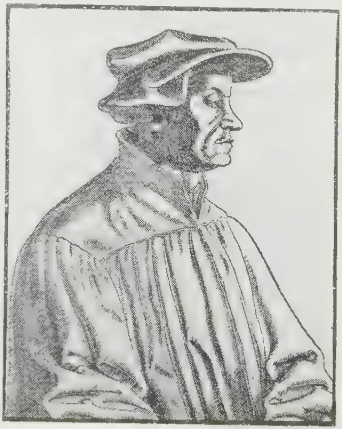
In Germany the Jesuits, in their chief centres, Vienna, Cologne, and Ingolstadt, undertook the extermination of Protestantism. All evangelical preachers were driven from Bavaria after 1564, the Protestant nobles were excluded from the diets, and all Protestant subjects who would not be converted were forced to emigrate. The spiritual princes followed this example. Ferdinand II. of Austria, educated by Jesuits, before he mounted the throne took a solemn vow in front of the miraculous image of the Virgin at Loretto that he would at all cost put an end to heresy in his hereditary dominions. Yet in many parts of his realm there were hardly any Catholics left; at Graz, the capital of Styria, only three were to be found. Ferdinand did not rest until he had brought back all his subjects to the fold of the Church, or had expelled them from his land. The action of the Jesuits became bolder and bolder. It was soon openly stated in print that the Religious Peace of Augsburg could no longer be

Ferdinand's Zeal for the Church

Zwingli's Place in the Reformation

kept; then, that it was an easy thing completely to stamp out the plague of heretics in Germany, since there was no leader among the Protestants who was formidable in a war; and, besides that, they were divided among themselves, for the Lutherans and Calvinists did not hold together. This observation corresponded only too closely to the reality. In Switzerland, by the side of the movement which Luther had inaugurated, a somewhat altered form of the opposition to Rome had been developed by Zwingli independently.

Ulrich Zwingli, born on January 1, 1484, and thus of almost the same age as Luther, enjoyed a conspicuously Humanist education, studied under Conrad Celtes in Vienna, and devoted himself especially to the theology of Erasmus. In 1506 he was curate at Glarus, and as such expounded the Bible and studied Origen. But after his expulsion by the French party, who hated him for his sermons against the mercenary system, he went as secular priest to the pilgrimage resort of Maria-Einsiedeln, and began in 1516, actually before Luther, to preach in favour of reformation, but without visibly leaving the Church. Here, and still more at Zürich, where he lived after 1519, he adopted a gradually more independent style of explanatory writing and took up an anti-French attitude in politics. In 1522 his opinions as to such institutions of the Church as fasting and celibacy became accentuated; he called for a moral reform as the result of "justification by faith."



A GREAT SWISS REFORMER

The Reformation movement in Switzerland owed much to the zeal of Ulrich Zwingli. When, instigated by Rome, the five papal cantons went to war with the two reformed cantons, in the year 1531, Zwingli was slain in the struggle.

In the next year, in a discussion at Zürich, which had been started in consequence of a complaint brought by the Bishop of Constance before the council as to the religious innovations, Zwingli rejected everything which did not precisely conform to the ordinances of the Scripture; he was thus far more radical in his proposals than Luther, and met with the approval of the people of Zürich. He married in 1524 Anna Meyer, née Reinhard, a widow aged forty-three, and administered the communion in both kinds.

From Zürich the ecclesiastical reform of the sovereign congregation spread to the other Confederates; in Appenzell the Mass was abolished in 1552. But immediately an opposition was raised among the "five places," Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Lucerne, and Zug, which, as favouring the French mercenary system, had been dissatisfied with Zwingli's protest. The reformer now, in 1525, demanded war against the five cantons. But the danger was averted this time; Zürich actually gained the triumph of not being excluded from the federation, notwithstanding the antagonistic demands of the original cantons, and of finding a comrade in the faith in the canton of Berne. After the democratic municipal government had been introduced into Berne in 1528, the cantons of St. Gallen, Glarus, Schaffhausen, and Basle adopted the Reformation according to Zwingli's ideas. At the same time, fortunately, more friends were won for it in South Germany. In the towns of Constance, Mühlhausen, Nüremberg, and others there was lively sympathy with the Reformation at Zürich, which was based on civic independence; and Zwingli might fairly dream of a larger league of followers when Philip of Hesse invited him to the religious discussion at Marburg. We know how his hopes were deceived. And now the Five Places were ready to defend their old faith by the sword. They allied themselves with Austria, but received no assistance from that quarter, and were obliged, in the summer of 1529, to conclude the first Peace of Cappel, which established the equal rights within the federation of the cantons of both religions. Zwingli had thus obtained a great success, and was by no means conciliatory when, on the part of the Schmalcaldic League, the question was put to him, whether he was willing to attach himself and his followers to the union; he still hoped for a great South German League with the towns predominant. A political organisation would bring him nearer this

The Great Success of Zwingli

end. Zürich and Berne were, according to his wish, to obtain, constitutionally, the foremost place in the federation. Zwingli wished, therefore, to proceed with the utmost rigour against the five cantons who professed the old religion; but he did not find any support from Basle or Berne. The attempt was now made to isolate the five cantons by a blockade of provisions; but they quickly rose against Zürich, and won a complete victory on October 11th, 1531, at Cappel. Zwingli himself was slain and his body was quartered. After a second defeat sustained by the citizens of Zürich, the second Peace of Cappel was made in November, which assured to the Catholic as well as the reformed states their own confession, but demanded from both the dissolution of their treaties with foreign powers. The Reformers were conquered, and the old religion recovered lost ground. The South Germans, who adhered to the new faith, having nothing more now to hope for from the Swiss, attached themselves more closely to the towns of Central Germany which were members of the Schmalcaldic League.

THE GENEVANS AFFIRMING THEIR RENUNCIATION OF ROMANISM

The distinction between the Lutheran and the Swiss parties may perhaps be traced to the different conceptions of the Deity emphasised by their founders. Luther claimed that he reached by personal experience the certainty that God is absolute Love. This idea, he said, had filled him with rapture and given him rest. Zwingli, on the contrary, the more independent he became by freeing himself from the influence of Luther, looked on God as the Highest Being, as the Omnipotent. If he called God "the highest good" he did not include in that expression that which makes God our highest good, but that which tends to make Him in Himself and for Himself the highest. Luther and Zwingli both insisted on God's honour, but in different directions. Luther wished to preach trust in the love of God; for, according to him, God's highest honour, in contradistinction to that on which the selfish man rests his honour, consists in condescension, in giving and blessing. But since man can be saved only on the path of completely free choice, Luther would not hear of any sort of compulsion. He rejoiced if only some individuals attained the true faith; persecution of the truth did not cause him any astonishment. Zwingli, on the other hand, wished that the majesty of God should be maintained at all cost. He therefore wished to create a Christian community, in which God's law must be followed by all; he would, therefore, make persecution of the truth impossible, and would, on the other hand, repress all error, so that he did not despise political undertakings for the attainment of his objects.

The contrast was visible in the different positions adopted towards the sacraments. Luther regarded them as proofs of God's love, which wishes to give us heavenly gifts; Zwingli, as proofs of our obedience to God. Luther adored the condescension of the Lord, who in the Holy Communion unites himself with His believers; according to Zwingli's view the exalted divinity cannot so unite himself with what is earthly. Not the body and blood of Christ at all, but bread and wine only, are received. Zwingli declared as early as 1525 that his Lutheran opponents were "impelled by another spirit"; and in the religious conference at Marburg in 1529, where Zwingli, full of his political plans, tried to effect a union with the Wittenberg party, Luther could not refrain from the expression: "You have a different spirit from ours." Although little suspecting the real tendency of this whole discussion, he hoped for a settlement of the dispute in the future.

This Swiss movement, in a slightly altered form, spread far beyond its home. Five years after the death of Zwingli, in the year 1536, Calvin set himself the task at Geneva of founding a community in which everything bowed before the law of God. Every individual citizen was obliged to bind himself by oath to a confession of faith. All members of the congregation were subject to a constant supervision by lay elders. He at last put his ideal into practice after terrible struggles and the unwearying application of the strictest measures. What had at first to be extorted by the severest penalties became gradually public custom. No traces of ungodliness or of religious indifference were now visible. The prescribed Church ordinances and legal rules of life governed everything. Calvin thought by this to have established the supremacy of God. He gave the reformed Christianity its permanent stamp. The party which was started by Zwingli was almost entirely disregarded by him, as he placed Luther, on account of his greater depth of character, far higher than Zwingli; and by his extensive correspondence and his numerous writings he acquired great influence far beyond the borders of Switzerland. Geneva afforded a refuge to the French, English and Scottish exiles who had been driven from their homes for their religion's sake, and when quieter years came they returned to their country filled with the spirit of Calvin. He founded in his native Geneva a university which provided the foreign reformed congregations with preachers and inspired them with the strict Calvinistic spirit.

JOHN CALVIN

He was born at Noyon in Picardy, and joining the Reformers he became one of the great figures of the movement. He did a lasting work for Geneva, where his system of ecclesiastical discipline was established.

Thus Protestantism parted into two streams. The true Lutheran spirit laid no stress upon the point whether a man subjected himself in externals only to the commands of God, but feared that such conformity to the law might hinder a man from recognising his inward alienation from God and from seeking and finding fellowship with God. The reformed spirit, on the other hand, emphasised the point that God was the only and the absolute Lord, and it wished to bring about the execution of this Lord's will. Even if all cannot be led to salvation, yet all can be forced to outward obedience. Calvinism had, therefore, a strict legal character; but it was able far more than Lutheranism to persist in outward works, to produce a universal adherence to the Church and observation of morality, to create national churches and to maintain them in discipline and order. Again, there was an inclination to fight, on behalf of the honour of God, with purely secular means when spiritual means were insufficient. In Geneva, which contained some 20,000 inhabitants, during the five years of Calvin's rule no fewer than fifty-eight sentences of death and seventy-six decrees of exile were pronounced. In France, the

Netherlands, and Scotland the Calvinists were able to combine into a political party and to take up arms repeatedly in defence of their faith. But, on the other hand, this zeal awoke a noble spirit of sacrifice and a great impulse toward action. Hence it followed that while Luther wished to work only where his calling made it his duty, the Calvinists wished to spread the honour of God in every part.

Calvin, for this reason, was not long satisfied with the results that he had attained in Geneva. Just as he gradually supplanted the teaching of Zwingli throughout Switzerland, so he wished to conquer the Lutheran districts of Germany. About 1551 he seemed, in fact, to be near the realisation of this plan. All evangelical communities of Europe had come under his influence. Only North-east Germany held fast to Lutheranism. And the man on whom, after Luther's death, the leadership of the Lutherans had fallen, Melanchthon, was himself no longer loyal to the teaching of the German reformer. The Hamburg preacher, Westphal, first warned men of the danger that Calvinism was threatening to absorb all Protestantism. Bitter struggles ensued, which opened the eyes of the supporters of Lutheranism to the fact that they, as the heirs of what their fathers won, would have to fight desperately for the maintenance of this inheritance. Even in Electoral Saxony the friends of Calvin's teaching were able to win the supremacy. When, in 1574, it was finally clear to the elector, who held sound Lutheran views, what their intentions were, he threw their leaders into prison and deprived of their offices all preachers who refused to assent to the Lutheran doctrine.

Disputes Among the Protestants

The individual Reformed Churches had already drawn up confessions of their own in the period between 1559 and 1566. But when Arminius at Leyden came forward against the doctrine of Calvin that God has predestined some to damnation, others to salvation, and found numerous followers, the Synod at Dordrecht (1618 to 1619) tried to draw up a confession which would hold good for all Protestants and which declared that the doctrine of predestination was right, but mitigated its too repellent severity. It is true that all the Reformed Churches did not accept the resolutions of Dordrecht. But still an attempt was made by both Protestant Church communities to prevent the continual unrest of the congregations by fixing definite limits. At the same time another form of Protestantism was established. Elizabeth of England hoped finally to secure tranquillity for her country by considering, as far as possible, the wishes of those who were favourable to Rome. With this object the Thirty-nine Articles, which were drawn up and determined the special character of the English national Church, a peculiar mixture of the reformed and the Catholic spirit. Thus, Western Christianity was divided into four specific Churches. In connection with these events the succession of the Lutheran elector, John Sigismund of Brandenburg, to the Reformed Church in 1613 was of great importance. Indeed, the excitement in the country at this change of confession was so great that he thought it prudent not to yield to the promptings of his Calvinistic surroundings, but rather to issue a declaration that he would not force on any congregation a preacher whom they suspected. But still many ways lay open to the elector by which he could restrict Lutheranism.

The Divisions of Western Christianity

The consequence of all these occurrences in the domain of religion was the Thirty Years' War. The Protestant Churches in Germany, and as a result the Reformation generally, would have been annihilated had not Gustavus Adolphus, influenced alike by political and religious motives, interfered in the war of religion. The end of this terrible period was the complete exhaustion of both sides. The Catholic party could no longer conceal the knowledge that it was now impossible to destroy Protestantism—that it must be recognised as an independent power. The Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, established the equality of the religious parties, ending not merely a thirty years' war, but rather one that had lasted one hundred and thirty years. It recognised the claim to existence, which the mediæval Church denied, of those who represented the ideas of the new era in the field of religion. If the Catholic Church wished, however, once more to extirpate those ideas, she could not again, in Germany at least, attempt the destruction of their representatives. The independence of Protestantism was definitely established.

Protestant Independence Established

FRANCIS I. OF FRANCE & CHARLES V OF GERMANY VISITING THE TOMB OF ST. DENIS
From the painting in the Louvre by Baron Gros

THE EMPIRE UNDER CHARLES V.

THE PROGRESS OF PROTESTANTISM

EVEN during the lifetime of the Emperor Maximilian his grandson Charles had been ruler in the Netherlands, and at the beginning of 1516, after the death of his other grandfather, Ferdinand, had also become king of Spain as Charles I. But he had at first no independence and was entirely in the power of his councillors, while no very friendly feeling towards him prevailed in the Netherlands owing to the pressure of taxation, and open insurrection broke out in Spain. In 1519 he was elected Emperor in succession to Maximilian, and the youth of nineteen, sovereign in three realms, saw himself, apart from the internal difficulties in all three lands, opposed to the rivalry of the two most important political powers of the time, the Pope and the French king. All prospects pointed to a stormy future.

Crowning of Charles V.

Charles, immediately after the election in Frankfort on June 28th, 1519, was forced to make important concessions to the princes in a capitulation; and he did it by his Spanish plenipotentiary, who could not, any more than himself, fail to see the wide-reaching consequences of these promises. It was not until October, 1520, that the "Roman emperor elect" put foot on German soil and was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. One of the first acts of his reign was to summon a diet to Worms for the beginning of the year 1521. The new emperor was eagerly expected in Germany, and not least among the friends of the Reformation; for much, if not everything, depended upon his attitude. He also had good reason to be interested in the personality of Luther. In the first place, he might, under certain conditions, be used as a weapon against Rome; and, secondly, it was important to conciliate, or at any rate not to incense, his patron the powerful Elector of Saxony.

The Real Rulers of the Empire

But we know the course taken by the discussion of the religious question at Worms. The emperor had indeed other subjects much more at heart. He wished to discuss the administration of the peace of the empire, the appointment of a council of regency to represent him, the expedition to Rome, and the recovery of the territory alienated from the empire. But however much he exerted himself, he could not succeed until he had conciliated the states by the discussion of the religious question, which was demanded on all sides. Finally, indeed, some isolated points in the political domain were settled. The succession in the hereditary dominions of the Hapsburgs was assured to Archduke Ferdinand, Charles's younger brother; as regards the government of the empire, it was agreed that it should be mainly in the hands of the states, but that no alliances with foreign powers should be made without the sanction of the emperor. The Supreme Court was revived and an imperial defence system established, since a central fund, with a *pro rata* division among the states, was created.

Emperor and Pope in Treaty

The arrangement of these matters was most important for Charles. But it was no end in itself, but merely a necessary preliminary for him, since he did not wish to be disturbed for the moment in his international plans. On his accession he had taken over the quarrel with Francis I. of France both on account of Burgundy and also of Naples; and the fear of Charles's superiority in Italy, in case he should lay claim to Milan, drew Pope Leo X. towards France. An armed collision was inevitable. The attitude taken up by the Pope was the most important question for Charles, for he could do nothing against France without him. The clever diplomacy of the legate Hieronymus Alexander solved the problem, since, weighing against each other according to their importance the political and ecclesiastical position of the Pope, he recognised the latter as the most weighty. By means of the treaty which Emperor and Pope made on May 1st, 1521, he compelled Charles to adopt a fundamentally hostile attitude towards the reform movement, while the alliance of the Pope with King Francis, which appeared appropriate on purely political grounds, was now dissolved. France, on the other hand, gained an ally in Ferrara, and secured for herself, in spite of the already mentioned protest of the citizens of Zürich, the right to enlist troops in the Swiss cantons. The sympathies of the English inclined more toward Charles, so that the greater power seemed to rest on his side, especially since the Swiss, faithless to their compact, went over to the papal side in the autumn of 1521.

England Favourable to Charles

The imperial army, under the leadership of Prospero Colonna, conquered in the course of the year 1521 the larger part of Milan without encountering serious difficulties, since the hated French governor, Odet de Foix, Vicomte de Lautrec, lacked the money to pay his soldiers. At the end of the year, only Genoa, Cremona, and the Castle of Milan were still French. A renewed attempt of the French arms in the next year to expel the invaders failed completely; in fact, Lautrec, defeated on April 27th, 1522, at Bicocca by Colonna and the German Landsknechte under George von Frundsberg, was compelled to evacuate Italy altogether.

Henry VIII. of England openly declared war and sent an army into France. Charles was now master of Italy. In August, 1523, there was a renewal of the alliance between him, his brother Ferdinand, Henry VIII., Pope Hadrian VI., the Duke of Milan, and the small Italian republics for the common protection of Italy against Francis, who was preparing a new expedition to Italy for 1524. Francis wished to place himself at the head of the army, and was already on the way when he heard of the plan of his ambitious cousin Charles, Duke of Bourbon, to go over to the emperor. He therefore remained behind himself and sent only his general, Bonnivet, who achieved some small successes. Meantime the English invaded the North of France once more, and a German army ravaged Burgundy. On April 14th, 1524, the combined French and Milanese army of Bonnivet was completely vanquished by the German marksmen at Gatinara on the Sesia, where the Chevalier Bayard, the "knight without fear and without reproach," heroically met his death.

English Army in France

Charles of Bourbon, together with the Spaniard Pescara, the husband of the poetess Vittoria Colonna, had commanded the army in this campaign. Now, when the power of France in Milan was completely broken, and Francesco Sforza was again installed as duke, he induced Charles himself to invade France; but Marseilles could not be taken, and Pescara was obliged to withdraw to Italy. King Francis now pressed close after him into Milan and sat down before Pavia, while the German army, without any supplies, was seeking a refuge in the mountains.

These successes of the French arms at once detached allies from the emperor. Venice went over to Francis, and the Pope and Florence entered into a treaty of neutrality. The German Landsknechte, so soon as their claims for pay were satisfied, reassembled, and, strengthened by a reinforcement of fifteen thousand Germans, invaded Milan territory, where King Francis during the winter of 1524 to 1525 had carried on a wearisome investment of Pavia. The Germans advanced in February, and the Landsknechte were eager for a battle. It was fought on February 24th, 1525; the Imperialists, under the Constable of Bourbon and Pescara, won a complete victory. King Francis was severely wounded and taken prisoner; his army was annihilated, Bonnivet slain, and the artillery lost. The emperor was proud of this victory. He wished to make a wise and full use of it, but failed to do so, and wasted time in long negotiations, while at the same time he demanded too many humiliations from the French crown. England concluded peace with France in August; Pope Clement VII. had already taken the French side. The other states of Italy had now to fear the supreme power of Charles as much as formerly that of the French king.

King Francis Defeated and Imprisoned

In liberated Milan voices were now heard against the imperial liberator. A peace between Charles and Francis was finally concluded in January, 1526, at Madrid, which would have meant the complete overthrow of France if it had been Francis's will to keep it. Nothing less than the cession of Burgundy and the abandonment of all claims on Naples, Milan, and Genoa was demanded of him. But Francis, before he actually swore to the treaty, had determined to break it, and expressed this intention in a proclamation to his councillors, denouncing the treaty as having been procured by constraint.

Only a few months elapsed before the Emperor Charles saw himself faced by another hostile combination. In May the Pope, King Francis, the Duke of Milan, and Venice, concluded the Holy League in order to expel from Italy the imperial troops which still held the Milanese territory, and to restrain King Francis from carrying out the treaty into which he had entered. The Pope at once released him from his oath. Burgundy, notwithstanding the energetic protests of the emperor, was not ceded; even pressure on Francis's ally, the Pope, by a warlike demonstration of Colonna against the Medici in September, 1526, had no effect. The Constable of Bourbon had meantime the power in his hands at Milan, but could offer resistance to the league only after a reinforcement by twelve thousand Landsknechte, which Frundsberg brought him at his own cost. The general found himself forced by want of money to lead his army into the hostile states of the Church in February, 1527; nevertheless, a mutiny broke out on March 16th at Bologna among the Landsknechte, which was with difficulty suppressed. The deeply mortified commander was prostrated by a fit of apoplexy—to which he succumbed at his home in Mindelheim on August 20th, 1528.

THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.
Charles V. became, at the age of nineteen, sovereign in three realms, having been ruler in the Netherlands and king of Spain before his election as German Emperor.

Pillage and Murder at Siege of Rome

Bourbon's resolve to march on Rome itself was now fixed. He rejected an armistice, which the Pope wished to buy with a large sum, and stood by the beginning of May before the walls of Rome. In the storming of the city, which began on the very day after his arrival, May 6th, 1527, Charles of Bourbon was slain. His Landsknechte avenged his death, took the city, and began a terrible scene of pillage and murder. The Pope remained a prisoner in the Castle of St. Angelo, and the league brought him no help; he was compelled, therefore, to submit to an agreement by which 400,000 ducats and some strongholds were given to the army.

Misfortunes of the French Army

The Emperor Charles had taken no share at all in this expedition, but lost his power over the Landsknechte. At the same time England allied herself closely with France; and the emperor had been deprived of all his conquests of 1525. The French army found a friendly reception everywhere in Italy, and in the autumn of 1527, with the help of Genoa, besieged the imperial city of Naples. Fortunately for Charles, pestilence raged in the French army, and Marshal Lautrec himself finally—August 15th, 1528—succumbed to it; and the Genoese leader Doria, who felt himself slighted by the French, placed his ships at the service of the emperor in 1528. Further French operations failed, until at last, in accordance with the heartfelt wishes of both sides, the "Ladies' Peace," mediated by Louise, mother of Francis, and Margaret, aunt of Charles, was concluded on August 5th, 1529, at Cambray; France by it renounced all pretensions to Italy and the feudal lordship over Flanders and Artois. Charles, reserving his claims, left Burgundy in the hands of the French, and set at liberty for a ransom of two million crowns the sons of Francis, who were still remaining in power. Francis, who was to marry a sister of Charles, undertook the duty of reinstating the followers of Bourbon in their possessions. During his progress through Italy, which Charles began immediately after the signing of peace, a treaty was negotiated with Venice and the Duke of Milan. The emperor received from both considerable sums of money, of which he was able to make good use. The Pope crowned him at the beginning of 1530 as emperor at Bologna.

After a ten years' war Charles, now a man of thirty, appeared finally as the bringer of peace to Italy, and the conqueror of the French rule. Yet his position, apart from the religious dissension in the empire, which then began to influence all political life, was by no means favourable, for the West was continually threatened by the growing danger from the East, the victorious army of the infidel Turks.

We have already traced the growth of the Turkish power up to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Sultan Selim I., who died in 1520, had made conquests mostly on Asiatic soil and had subdued Egypt. But his son, Suleiman II., surnamed the Magnificent, once more attacked the European powers, conquered Belgrade in 1521, and drove out in 1522 the Knights of St. John from the island of Rhodes, since their Grand Master, Philip Villiers de l'Isle Adam (1521–1534), appealed to the Christian powers in vain for help. The Knights defended themselves heroically, and at last, on New Year's Night, 1522–1523, they left the island unmolested under the command of Villiers. The Emperor Charles assigned to them on March 24th, 1530, the island of Malta, with Gozzo, Comino, and Tripolis as a home, and thus once more pledged them to wage war against Turks and pirates.

The Knights Driven From Rhodes

When, on August 29th, 1521, Belgrade fell before the Turks, Lewis II., who had mounted the throne in 1516 at the age of ten, was king of Hungary. The Turks came once more, in 1526, with an enormous army against Hungary. The king advanced to meet them with an inadequate force, and was defeated and slain on August 29th, near Mohacz, while the victors without difficulty took the capital and marched onward, devastating the country with fire and sword. As King Lewis was dead, the old pretensions of the house of Hapsburg were revived. Archduke Ferdinand found, however, an opponent in the voivode of Transylvania, John Zapolya, who allied himself with France and the Sultan, and was elected king by a section of the people on November 10th, 1526.

Nevertheless, the representative of the Hapsburgs was elected on December 16th, 1526, by another section, in a diet at Pressburg, under the influence of the queen-widow, Mary of Austria, and on his advance in the summer of 1527, Zapolya was forced to retreat to Transylvania. Ferdinand was crowned at Stuhlweissenburg in November, and so linked Hungary permanently to the house of Hapsburg, just as at the beginning of the year he had connected Bohemia with it. Thus the Austrian monarchy was founded.

At the same time the Turkish danger became an imperial danger in a more real sense than before, for the imperial hereditary lands were the first objects threatened by the attack of the unbelievers. Suleiman came forward as the avenger of Zapolya in 1529, conquered Ofen on September 8th,

INCIDENT IN THE SACK OF ROME: THE DEFENCE OF THE CASTLE OF ST. ANGELO
In the storming of Rome, which began on May 6th, 1527, Charles of Bourbon was slain, and avenging his death, his Landsknechte took the city amid scenes of pillage and murder. In the castle of St. Angelo, which Benvenuto Cellini is here seen defending, the Pope was for some time kept a prisoner. Cellini, by his own account, was the hero of the fight.

THE CROWNING OF CHARLES V. AS EMPEROR BY POPE CLEMENT VII. AT BOLOGNA, 1530
From the picture in the Palace of the Doges at Venice

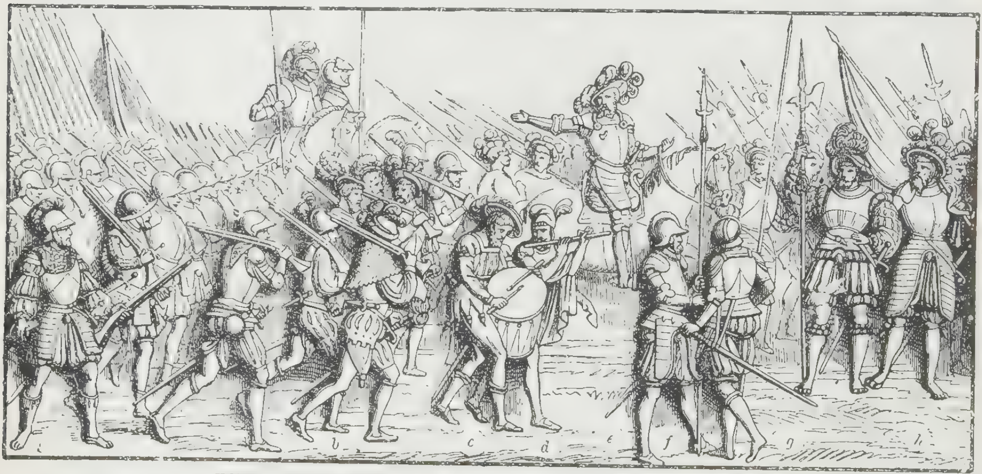
and caused his protégé to be proclaimed king. On September 27th he actually appeared with 120,000 men before Vienna and began the siege. All Europe trembled at this event; but the heroic defence of the garrison so far saved the situation that the Sultan was induced, by the murmurs of his troops and the threatened lack of provisions, to withdraw on October 14th, 1529, after he had destroyed the churches and devastated the country far and wide.

The Council of Regency, which had been established on the basis of the resolutions at Worms in 1521, had no longer the character of a board representing the states, but that of an official body, and therefore possessed little reputation in the empire. It had hardly gained any influence on Protestantism and its development. The emperor himself was, as we know, entangled in great international schemes, and could not, therefore, directly have any part in it, so that the imperial diets of the third decade had very little significance for the constitution and administration of the empire. On the other hand, within the territories, in connection with the Church reform, important alterations were effected, which resulted in the development of the absolutism of the princes and in the suppression of the states.

Charles at War with the Turks

The diet of Augsburg in the summer of 1530 was the first at which the emperor, having been absent for nine years, was once more present after having at length achieved a victory. There was work enough to do, for, in addition to the aid against the Turks urgently needed by the empire, it was essential to deliberate over a great number of imperial laws, among others over the criminal code, the so-called Lex Carolina. But the religious question, the solution of which was required by the Protestants before they would consent to aid against the Turks, gradually by its importance supplanted all other subjects of deliberation. It was only after the Religious Peace of Nüremberg, in 1532, that the emperor found himself in a position to carry out the long-cherished plan and to put an imperial army into the field against the Turks. During the summer more than 70,000 men advanced to the East. Nearly two-thirds of them were troops from the emperor's patrimonial dominions; but still it was an imposing army that marched out against the enemy.

Suleiman had little good fortune in his campaigns of 1532. He besieged in vain the small Hungarian town of Güns, which was bravely defended by Nicholas Jurischitsch. At Gran also the siege was unsuccessful, and the fleet of Genoa won some decided victories at sea. It would have been easy to win back the whole of Hungary by force of arms. But Charles left the army for Italy, in order to come to an understanding with the Pope about the Council, while the licence of the troops became the pest of the country. No great battle was fought, and the capture of some Turkish standards by the Palsgrave Frederic was of little moment. During the protracted negotiations which emperor and Pope carried on at Bologna the advantages gained through the Peace of Cambray in 1529 were lost, for the Pope and all other Italian powers gradually inclined more and more towards the French side, without Charles being quite clear on the point himself. Charles left Italy for Spain before any result had been obtained, and from that country undertook an expedition to Tunis against the robber Moors, and was afterwards involved in a new war (1536–1538) with King Francis.



THE TROOPS OF KING FRANCIS I. OF FRANCE

In this old print, representing the troops of King Francis of France, the various types of which his army was composed are illustrated. The different types here shown are thus indicated: (a) arquebusier, (b) gendarme, (c, d) drummer and piper, (e) captain of infantry, (f, g) pikemen and halberdiers, (h) Swiss captain and sub-lieutenant.

The German princes had meanwhile been left to themselves, and formed in the League of Schmalcald not only a political representation of evangelical interests, but at the same time a union against the encroachments of the Hapsburgs. In 1531 some towns, among others Frankfort, Hamburg, and Lübeck, had joined the league, and other towns of Upper Germany had followed them; only Nüremberg held aloof. The members of the league had created a military organisation for themselves similar to that which had been formed by the nearly extinct Swabian League.

In 1535 the alliance was renewed for ten years. Philip of Hesse undoubtedly took the lead in political questions, while electoral Saxony, under John Frederic, sank more into the background. Philip understood how to turn to the advantage of the league all interests hostile to the Hapsburgs both at home and abroad. His greatest success was the restoration to his duchy in 1534 of Duke Ulrich, who had been expelled from Würtemberg in 1519. This was tantamount to ousting the Hapsburg Ferdinand from his position in South Germany.

Würtemberg now adopted the Lutheran doctrine and became a member of the Schmalcaldic League, although Ulrich himself showed little gratitude to the landgrave. King Ferdinand was compelled, in a treaty at Kaaden on June 29th, 1534, to consent to the new state of things, and was unable to prevent Protestantism continually gaining ground in all parts of Germany and even in the crown lands of Eastern Austria. Besides Pomerania and Anhalt, the duchy of Saxony and the powerful Brandenburg joined the league in 1539, and the course of the Reformation in England and the northern kingdoms resulted in a political union of the rulers in those parts with the league.

While the new faith made such progress, Pope Clement VII. died. His successor, Paul III. (1534–1549), was from the outset willing to yield to the imperial request for a council, and on June 2nd, 1536, consented to summon it to Mantua for the end of May, 1537. He invited the Lutherans to it. Their leader had really nothing to say against it, but composed for this purpose the so-called "Schmalcaldic Articles," the contents of which, however, demonstrated the impossibility of taking part in the meeting. A national German council would in any case have been acceptable, but no one in the circle of the Protestants would consent to the meeting of a general council.

Since 1536 the emperor had again been involved in a war with France, for Francis would not yet consent to renounce his claims in Italy. Charles now invaded Southern France and ravaged it mercilessly. Although the French arms were supported by a simultaneous movement of the Turks which was aimed against the republic of Venice, and by the help of the Protestants, yet the success of the war was trifling, and the exhaustion of the two antagonists led to a truce for ten years from July 18th, 1538; the Pope negotiated it, and it was conducted at Nice. The reconciliation of the two sovereigns seemed so complete that they were able to plan a common war against the Turks; but first the German Protestants were to be brought back again to the universal Church by peaceful methods, according to the emperor's wish.

The Protestants, by the widening of their league, had plainly infringed the conditions of the Religious Peace of Nüremberg. It was therefore thoroughly opportune that the Catholics in Nüremberg united themselves, on June 10th, 1538, in a counter league, organised on the model of the Schmalcaldic League, with the object of protecting the Peace of Nüremberg while excluding foreign powers. Duke Henry the Younger of Brunswick was the leader of the union. The summons to fight was welcomed by the members of the Schmalcaldic League, for the Elector of Saxony, in the event of a favourable result to the war, could make good his claims to the Lower Rhenish Duchy of Cleves against the emperor. But Charles was now inclined for peace. He tried, when the possibility of a council disappeared, to bring about an agreement by similar contrivances on a small scale—a proof that even yet he was not aware of the opposition between the old and the new faith.

COMMON FOOT SOLDIERS ADVANCING TO THE ASSAULT

The foot soldiers attached to the army of Francis I. are represented in this illustration, the divisions being—(i) musketeer, (k) standard-bearer, (l) captain, (m) colonel, (n) halberdier, (o, p) drummer and piper, (q) arquebusier.

The "Grace of Frankfort" had already led, on April 19th, 1539, to a compact between both religious parties, from which indeed neither side expected much. The emperor had quietly brought about a mutual understanding between Catholic and Protestant theologians in June at Hagenau, and in November, 1540, at Worms; and on the occasion of the Diet of Regensburg, in April, 1541, he wished to crown the work. The antagonists, among them Eck and Melanchthon, actually agreed before long on the most important points of the faith; once again the attempts at union were rejected in Wittenberg and Rome. The most essential result of the arrangements at Regensburg was that a spiritual prince, the Archbishop of Cologne, Count Hermann of Wied, began on this basis to introduce the Reformation in the archbishopric, and thus to prepare for the secularisation of a spiritual principality.

Victories of the New Doctrine

There were then all along the line conspicuous successes of the new doctrine and the Schmalcaldic party, especially since at this very time Francis I. also was ready once more for an alliance against Charles. The struggle between the Catholic and the Protestant league might have begun, and on the whole the latter seemed to have the advantage. But the latter was now no longer compact, and openly split up when the bigamous marriage of Philip of Hesse, concluded with the assent of the reformers of Wittenberg, was known, and John Frederic was deeply affronted by the insult to the Saxon princess, Philip's lawful wife. Hesse and Saxony were separated, and the previous leader of the Protestants planned an alliance with the emperor, in fact, actually entered into it, on June 13th, 1541, although with some provisions as regards the League of Schmalcalde.

Henry VIII. in Alliance with Charles

The League itself was now shattered, had no longer any suitable leader, and could not seize its opportunity when, in 1542, King Francis, supported by Sweden and Denmark, once more began open war against the emperor, while Suleiman took possession of all Hungary. The leaders of the league remained inactive. They never once supported the Duke of Juliers against the emperor, but, on the contrary, used the opportunity to secularise the bishoprics and seize the confiscated spoils. On March 24th, 1543, Duke William of Juliers had won a victory through his general, Martin von Rossem, with French help, over an imperial army at Sittard. But Charles now obtained Henry VIII. of England as an ally, and in the summer appeared on the Lower Rhine with a splendid army of 40,000 men. Düren was soon won, and the whole district was in Charles's hands; the duke, in virtue of his submission made at Venlo on September 6th, 1543, ceded Zütphen and Guelders to the Netherlands, and was forced to promise to break off all relations with France and to restore Catholicism in his dominions. The princes of the league may now have been prepared for an attack of the emperor on their weakened alliance. But the diet of Speier in 1544 produced an acknowledgment from the emperor that he was willing to abandon the idea of the general council and to settle amicably religious troubles within the empire.

The princes, after this victory, joined with their forces in the war against France, which led to a peace on September 18th, 1544, at Crépy-en-Laonnais, where it was arranged that king and emperor should join in common cause against the heretics. Francis also agreed to share in the war against the infidels. But a truce with Suleiman, who indeed held the greater part of Hungary, temporarily averted the Turkish peril in the autumn of 1545.

The Pope's Attack on Protestantism

At the beginning of the year 1546 the emperor seemed free to subdue the heretics by force of arms, especially since the Pope, at the council which was eventually held at Trent towards the end of 1545, made a vigorous attack on the Protestant teaching, and promised his support with troops and money in the event of a war against the Schmalcaldic League. A formal treaty was made between Pope and emperor in June, 1546. William of Bavaria joined Charles, and so did some Protestant lords; the Hohenzollern margraves, Hans and Albert, and Duke Eric of Brunswick, entered into the service of the emperor. But the young Duke Maurice of Saxony became gradually more important than these princes.

He had withdrawn from the League of Schmalcalde in 1541, and, together with Philip of Hesse, whom he joined in opposition to electoral Saxony, had made overtures to the emperor. He was devoid of religious enthusiasm, but was brave and politic. An alliance with the emperor held out brilliant prospects, and he was therefore not reluctant to accede to this in the diet of Regensburg in June, although he did not break off every connection that joined him with the League.

The emperor and the Pope were now concerned chiefly with the preparations for a religious war. But such a declaration could not be bluntly made in Germany, if the support of the towns and the knights was to be assured, since they were averse only to the princes, not to the Lutheran doctrines. The fact that Protestant princes were allied with the emperor seemed indeed to argue that the war would not be for religion, but the co-operation of the Pope pointed the other way. The emperor had cleverly begun to work with both means; but it must have been doubtful whether he could succeed in keeping his word to both parties. The Protestants were long unwilling to believe that the preparations were made against them, although Philip, who now once more adhered to the league, warned them of their danger. The states were assembled for the diet of Regensburg. It was certainly felt that warlike movements were impending; but there was a reluctance to question the emperor until the Protestants ventured to do so, and received the answer that the imminent business was the punishment of some refractory princes. This only suggested the Landgrave Philip, who had not come to the diet. The emperor wished by his declaration to separate Hesse and electoral Saxony, but this he did not succeed in doing. Contrary to expectation, the league now held together, and even the towns stood loyally by it.

THE POPE PAUL III. AND HIS TWO NEPHEWS

From the painting by Titian

The campaign was opened towards the end of June, 1546. But the man who had always recoiled in horror from a religious war, although in his later years obedience to the emperor did not seem to him so essentially a Christian duty as before, did not live to see this war. Martin Luther died on February 18th, 1546, at Eisleben. But his marvellous personality influenced, although often in a way which history must condemn, the moulding of ecclesiastical matters in Germany for many years after the Reformer had passed away.

At the beginning of the war the emperor was still holding a diet at Regensburg, and remained there until the first days of August, although he had only a small bodyguard with him. His troops were still in foreign countries, while the league had more than 50,000 men in the field. Had they advanced directly on Regensburg they must have succeeded; but instead of this, they split up their forces, took Donauwörth on July 20th, and, when at last they came into conflict with the imperial army before Ingolstadt, were unable to gain any victory. Meanwhile reinforcements to the extent of 20,000 men joined Charles's army, and by the end of autumn the position became hopeless, when Maurice declared open hostility to his cousin, the elector, on October 27th, after he himself had been invested with the title of Elector of Saxony in the place of the proscribed prince. In conjunction with King Ferdinand he occupied the electorate, and by this movement compelled the forces of the league stationed in Swabia to withdraw at once to Central Germany. The emperor had thus become master of the south, for the towns surrendered to him, and Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg was forced to abandon his resistance.

At the beginning of 1547 the Catholic creed was completely restored in the Archbishopric of Cologne. Hermann von Wied resigned on February 25th, and was forced to make way for his former coadjutor, Adolf von Schaumberg, while the army of the league broke up in Central Germany. John Frederic's one aim was the reconquest of his dominions. But while he attempted this, Charles returned unmolested from Bohemia to Saxony, and surprised him on April 24th, 1547, at Mühlberg on the Elbe. Ferdinand and Maurice were with the emperor; the Saxons deserted their strong position in the town, and were defeated in the pursuit by Duke Alva, the imperial commander-in-chief, on the moors of Lochau. The Saxons were completely routed, John Frederic was wounded and captured, and soon afterwards Wittenberg fell into the hands of the emperor. In North Germany only Hesse, Bremen, and Oldenburg remained unsubdued. Philip did not wish to commit himself to an uncertain struggle, and accepted the mediation of the Elector Maurice, who made an agreement with the emperor to the effect that the landgrave, if he submitted, should not be further punished.

Death of King Francis

Philip of Hesse came, but, contrary to the spirit of the agreement, though according to the letter of it, which excluded only perpetual imprisonment, was thrown into prison on June 19th. Thus the two princes, formerly the most powerful in Protestant Germany, languished in prison, while Charles was freed by the death of King Francis on March 31st, 1547, from his dangerous rival, and on June 19th bought a truce for five years from the Turks at the price of a yearly tribute.

The hope entertained by the Pope of a yielding on the part of the Protestants was not fulfilled; on the contrary, the emperor had to grant them complete liberty in the exercise of their religion, while his representatives at Trent did not show any special friendship towards papal pretensions, and were, above all, resolutely opposed to any removal of the council to Italy. Paul III., however, took that step; on March 11th, 1547, he removed to Bologna, ostensibly from fear of the plague. A schism in the old Church now threatened, for in Bologna Charles did not wish to cooperate in the reform of the Church, and since the Pope refused, he was compelled to take it in hand himself—at any rate, so far as Germany was concerned.

Proposals of the Diet of Augsburg

The diet of Augsburg in the autumn of 1547 produced a scheme, the Interim of Augsburg, in which King Ferdinand had a considerable part. The religious system in Germany was to be re-established in conformity with this until a universally valid decree of the Church council should be passed. This system of faith was formulated by the middle of March, 1548. It sufficiently expressed the conquest of the Protestants. Its main requirement was a reversion to the old Church, and it conceded only two points, the communion in two kinds and the marriage of the clergy; for the rest, an attempt was made to evade the real dispute by expressions which admitted of various interpretations.

But no unity was produced even on this basis, which was supported by the assent of the Catholics. The Interim was to be binding only on the Protestants, while the members of the old faith refused to comply with it. The emperor's well-meant scheme accordingly came to nothing. He succeeded better in strengthening his absolute power as emperor, for the towns, treated with equal unfriendliness by sovereign and princes, now lost their political influence.

Charles's Ambitions for His Son

Charles now filled the Imperial Chamber with councillors appointed only by himself, and the Netherlands were united with the empire as "a Burgundian circle" on June 26th, 1548, but were at the same time declared independent of the Imperial Chamber. The protection of the empire only was contemplated, without any prejudice to the independence of the disturbed territories. Although the Interim was hated by the whole nation on account of its unreasonable demands, and found only here and there a formal recognition, Charles attempted, in connection with the diet of Augsburg, to win support for the election of his son Philip. This time, however, he found opposition, not only from his brother Ferdinand, who had an earlier claim in consequence of his election as king of the Romans, but also from the whole body of princes. Their experience of Charles deterred them from accepting an unmitigated Spaniard like his son; national safety demanded a definite refusal.

On March 9th, 1551, after Philip had already been invested in 1550 with the Netherlands, an agreement was made between the emperor and the king that Ferdinand should be emperor after Charles's death, but should be succeeded by Philip, who would become meanwhile king of the Romans, while Ferdinand's son, Maximilian, was eventually to succeed Philip. Thus nothing was definitely decided as to the all-important position of the electors, in fact, the arrangement was to be regarded as a compulsory one so far as the younger line of the Hapsburgs was concerned. It was a scheme to fix the empire in one dynastic family.

The diet at Augsburg of 1550–1551 was thinly attended. Much ill-feeling was aroused by the high-handed policy of Charles and his followers towards Germany, especially since Charles, in spite of the urgent requests of the princes, did not consent to dismiss the Spaniards, who were unconstitutionally kept under arms. In addition to this, there was the peculiarly severe imprisonment of the Landgrave Philip, which had been felt by all princes as a degradation of their order generally. Briefly, there was a general tendency towards rebellion against the emperor, and the power to do so seemed ready to hand. Efforts had already been made in 1548 to form a new alliance in the north-east of the empire, and hopes had been raised of French help, and of the co-operation of Protestant Denmark. Dukes Albert of Prussia and John Albert of Mecklenburg, as well as Margrave Hans of Küstrin, formed a league in February, 1550. And when Maurice of Saxony, who felt himself deeply injured by the emperor, made overtures to the members of the Northern League, a secret treaty was formed in May, 1551, at Torgau to protect the liberty of the princes against the emperor. Maurice, by virtue of the powers vested in him as imperial agent, had previously enrolled an army without attracting notice, in order to enforce against Magdeburg the long-postponed ban of the empire, and continued at the head of these troops. The Ernestines were induced to become neutral; and while it was resolved to spare King Ferdinand as much as possible, negotiations with France were set on foot, which, being successfully conducted in the winter of 1551–1552, were brought to a conclusion on February 14th, 1552, at Friedewald in Hesse.

FREDERIC THE MAGNANIMOUS

John Frederic, known as the Magnanimous, favoured the Reformation movement and introduced Lutheranism into Saxony, of which country he was elector. The above portrait is from the painting by Titian, at Vienna.

Henry II. promised his help in the war against the emperor, in return for which he was allowed to hold, as "Vicar of the Empire," the towns of Metz, Toul, Verdun, and Cambray. These proceedings did not remain unnoticed; but the emperor did not himself attach any credence to the reports which reached him at Innsbruck, where he lay sick. He was therefore greatly astonished when the storm burst on him in March. King Henry invaded Lorraine with 35,000 men, and the princes advanced into South Germany as far as Augsburg. Charles was still unwilling to believe in the complicity of Maurice, especially since Maurice had just joined Ferdinand in order by his aid to bring about an agreement between emperor and princes. The town of Magdeburg surrendered to the victors on April 4th. The emperor had no resources at his disposal, and was obliged to win time by negotiations. Ferdinand and Maurice met at Linz on April 18th. A larger meeting was summoned for May 26th at Passau, to prosecute the negotiations, but Maurice did not countenance any lull in hostilities. He wished to cut off the emperor completely, and actually forced him by an advance to the Alps to fly into Carinthia, whither he was accompanied by John Frederic of Saxony, now released from captivity. Maurice took Innsbruck shortly before the beginning of the negotiations at Passau, and the members of the council assembled at Trent fled in order not to fall into the hands of the elector.

Shortly after the appointed day the deliberations of the states began at Passau. The emperor and even his brother were refused access to it; nor was French influence to govern the assembly this time. The demands of Maurice were, in Church matters religious toleration, and in politics the regency of the princes and the destruction of the imperial supremacy. His princely colleagues were easily induced to assent.

Charles was no longer the acknowledged master. When, at the end of 1552, he marched against King Henry, and invested Metz, Maurice had already followed King Ferdinand to the war against the Turks. In Central Germany the licentious Hohenzollern Margrave Albert, at any rate not hindered by the emperor, began a wild career of lawlessness and rapine. The princes of South Germany formed a league against him, and the Elector Maurice finally conquered him on July 9th, at Sievershausen. Unhappily the elector was wounded in the battle, and died on July 11th. Albert was again defeated on June 13th, 1554, near Schwarzach, in Lower Franconia, and fled to France.

Without the help of the emperor the princes had restored peace and order in the empire in 1554. But Charles was weary of his sovereignty and began to withdraw from public life. That very year he transferred all sovereign rights in Germany to his brother Ferdinand; his son Philip became, in October, 1555, ruler of the Netherlands and of the Spanish possessions in Italy, with the title of King of Naples; in January, 1556, he similarly received the Spanish crown. The emperor retired in September, 1556, to San Geronimo de Yuste, and died there on September 21st, 1558.

MAURICE OF SAXONY AND THE MARGRAVE ALBERT

Maurice of Saxony was a supporter of Charles, but when his opportunity came he forced the emperor into granting favourable conditions to the Protestants. He conquered the lawless Margrave Albert when the princes of South Germany formed a league against him.

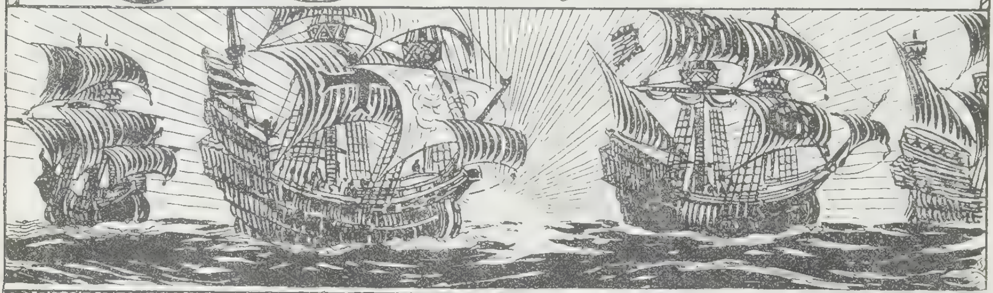
It now rested with Ferdinand to arrange the affairs of Germany and to convene the diet promised in the Treaty of Passau. It met on February 5th, 1555, at Augsburg. The Protestants demanded a religious peace with recognition of the confessions, taking into account the actual conditions existing at the time of the Treaty of Passau. This recognition was, however, to apply only to the states and not to the subjects, whose confession was still to be dependent on that of the territorial lord. Ferdinand was forced to submit to these demands. The following points were agreed upon: the peace had no limits of time; it was valid for all estates of the empire, to which the right attached of changing the religion of their district; but this referred only to the confession of the Catholics and to that of the adherents to the confession of Augsburg, not to that of the followers of Zwingli. From this time the empire took the Lutherans legally under its protection, and the princely power of the Catholic princes was at the same time greatly strengthened, since they henceforth superintended the property of the Church. The death penalty for heresy was abolished, and all were to have free right to leave the country. It was, however, settled at the same time that a spiritual prince might indeed personally go over from the Catholic to the Protestant faith, but in this case his district or his spiritual office must remain Catholic; he therefore must be separated from it. This last proviso was called "the Ecclesiastical Reservation." The Protestants laid a formal protest against it, but they took care not to hazard the whole work by a too obstinate insistence on an untenable point. So, on September 25th, 1555, the Religious Peace was established by the recess, and remained in force up to the Peace of Westphalia.

With the religious question the constitution of the empire was necessarily modified, and the government by the states took over, in every important point, the still existing imperial powers; thus the new organisation of the Imperial Chamber put the nomination to the posts and the examination of procedure into the hands of the states. And the new system of circles, intended to facilitate the judgments of the Imperial Chamber, produced the result that the last royal privilege, the maintenance of the Public Peace, became the right of the several states. Even the law of the empire recognised by this the fact that the territory of the prince had assumed the character of a complete political organisation.

WILHELM WALTHER

THE ENTRY OF CHARLES V. INTO ANTWERP
From the painting by Hans Makart

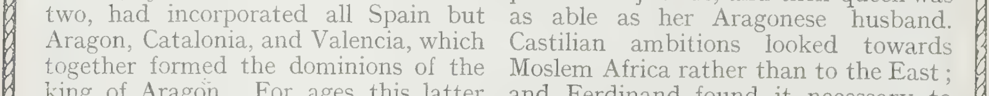
RISE & CHARACTER of SPANISH POWER



BY MARTIN HUME, M.A.

THE struggle of the Christians to reconquer Spain from the Moslem hardly ceased for eight centuries. Often beaten back, the hosts of the Cross steadily gained ground from age to age, and out of the reconquest, pushed as it was from various points on the north, not one great Christian power, but several smaller kingdoms grew, with separate traditions and institutions, and different racial populations. When the last Moslem state, Granada, fell, in 1492, the two principal Christian realms had between them absorbed all the smaller kingdoms except Portugal. Castile, by far the more extensive of the two, had incorporated all Spain but Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, which together formed the dominions of the king of Aragon. For ages this latter kingdom, possessing some of the finest harbours in the Mediterranean, had looked with yearning eyes towards the East as the seat of its future influence. Already it owned the Balearic Isles, Sicily, and Naples; and, although the dream of its greatest king in the thirteenth century of a powerful Aragonese empire, extending from Genoa to Valencia, and dominating the Mediterranean, had been frustrated by the advance of the French southward, Italy and the Levant still beckoned the Aragonese onward, and when the wicked, crafty old King John of Aragon promoted the secret marriage in 1469 of his young son Ferdinand with Isabella, the heiress of Castile, his hope was that the realms thus unified, and the kings of Aragon wielding the added strength of Castile, might overcome the French resistance to the Aragonese advance.

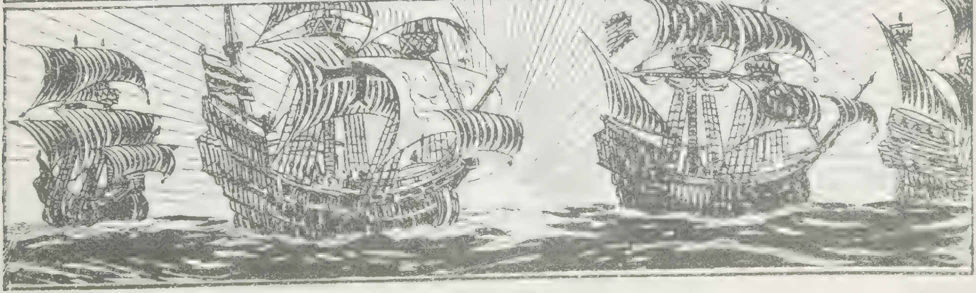
But fate makes cruel sport of worldly schemes. What was intended to secure the predominance of Aragon led to the accidental exaltation of a great Spain, of which Castile was the principal member and Aragon a secondary and uninfluential state. Castilians were proud and jealous, and their queen was as able as her Aragonese husband. Castilian ambitions looked towards Moslem Africa rather than to the East; and Ferdinand found it necessary to serve Castilian ends before he set about compassing his own. First, Granada had to be conquered and the Castilian realms conciliated, while Spaniards generally had to be welded into a solid instrument by which the King of Aragon might use them all for his own purpose. The realms were all jealous and dissimilar, and the cohesive power adopted by Ferdinand to bind them together was the common bigotry and spiritual pride aroused by the persecution of religious minorities, Jews, Moslems, and Christian backsliders. The fires of the



Inquisition deliberately lit by Ferdinand and Isabella for a political object answered their purpose, and made Spaniards of all the realms exalted fanatics, convinced of their spiritual superiority and divine selection to fight God's battle upon earth—fit weapons now for Ferdinand's hand.

But, in spite of Ferdinand's consummate cunning, all his plotting went awry. His only son was married to the Emperor Maximilian's daughter, and his second daughter married to the emperor's only son, Philip, sovereign in right of his mother of Flanders, Holland, Luxemburg, and the vast domains of the house of Burgundy; while his youngest daughter was married to the heir of England, and his eldest daughter became Queen-Consort of Portugal. With, as he thought, all the strings of European policy in his expert hands, Ferdinand saw in prophetic vision France enclosed in a ring of enemies, impotent to stay the forward march of Aragonese ambitions in Italy and the East. But death stepped in, and other men with ambitions as strong as those of Ferdinand renounced his selfish tutelage. One after the other his children died, until he found that the heir of the joint crowns of Castile and Aragon was his mad daughter Joanna, and, after her, her elder Flemish-Austrian son Charles, who would inherit an empire extending over Central Europe from the North Sea to the Danube, with Spain and part of Italy, as well as the vast undefined territories which the Genoese Columbus had discovered for Isabella, little to Ferdinand's delight, as the drain of men for America drew from Castile the strength he needed for his own ends. Ferdinand, before he died, foresaw the disaster to Aragon that the merging of her crown into that of a world-wide empire would produce, and he tried his best to defraud his elder grandson of the Aragonese realms in favour of the younger brother Ferdinand, who was as Spanish as Charles was Flemish.

But fate and Cardinal Ximenez stood in the way; and in 1516 the sallow foreign boy, Charles, with a greedy gang of Flemings, came to Spain to enter into his inheritance. Though few thought it at the time, Charles was a genius, and he soon saw that Spain must be the centre of his great empire. When once he had crushed, at Villalar in 1520, the Castilian demand for Parliamentary financial control, Castile alone of all his realms was powerless to resist his demands. Castilians were haughty and bigoted, and the policy of the emperor, like that of his grandfather, was to inflame their pride to the utmost. Materially, Spain was poor, and she ruined herself utterly, but her men-at-arms trampled over Europe and America triumphant, the sword in one hand, the cross in the other. To the world Spain was a symbol of potency and wealth inexhaustible, but the policy upon which she squandered her blood and treasure abroad was not her own. She was spent in crushing heterodoxy in Germany and Flanders, in holding back the Turk from Hungary, and in ousting France from Italy; and Spain benefited nothing. The hollow fame was hers, the apparent power, but in the day of her glory she ruined herself for an idea at the bidding of her king and the prompting of her pride.



SPAIN AND FRANCE
IN THE TIME OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

OF the great tasks Spain set itself after the fall of Granada, the colonisation of America was but one, and, for the moment, not the most important. Ferdinand the Catholic devoted his chief energies to making Spain the dominant power in Europe, and he looked upon the riches of America only as means to this end. He had given the heiress presumptive to the throne, his daughter Joanna, in marriage to Philip the Fair of Burgundy and Austria, and thereby made quite possible a Spanish-Hapsburg empire. After Philip's premature death there opened up before his eldest son, Charles, the prospect of a world-embracing, irresistible empire.

A Period of Spanish Prosperity

However, when Isabella of Castile died, Aragon and Castile, which had been united with such difficulty, seemed only too likely to separate. But the fact that Philip the Fair survived his mother-in-law for only a short time, and that Joanna was mentally incapacitated from governing, made it possible for Ferdinand to act as regent of Castile until his death in 1516. Cardinal Ximenes was able to preserve quiet for a short time longer, and the peaceful and prosperous development of Spain at that time was largely due to him. He was a typical exponent of Spanish policy, which made for absolutism in close alliance with the Church.

Charles V. Ruler of Two Nations

Never was a prince, in entering upon his government, confronted with such a number of momentous questions and problems as was Charles I. of Spain, afterwards Charles V., Emperor of Germany. A tremendous movement was shaking the nations of Europe. The movements of the Renaissance and the revival of learning, originating in Italy, had reached the Germanic peoples in the north, and had there prepared the ground for the rise of a national civilisation, which was also under the influence of Christianity. At the same time, the movements broke down some barriers between the nations of Europe. It was before the eyes of all civilised Europe that the great events of the time were brought to completion, and the convulsive struggles of the waking spiritual life were felt, like the heave of an earthquake, in the remotest corners of the continent. Thus it was a peculiarly unfortunate circumstance that Charles V. should have united under his rule two nations whose aims and ideas were entirely opposed. On the one hand was Spain, a country roused to the height of religious fanaticism by its conflict with the Moors, and in closest connection with the papacy; on the other hand was Germany, struggling for intellectual and religious freedom. No middle course was possible; the ruler was bound to rely on one or other of the two nations. It is not surprising that Spain gained the preference.

Rome's Influence in Germany

A people united under an absolute monarchy, well versed in the arts of war, promised to be a much more valuable instrument in the hands of an ambitious ruler than Germany, divided into a number of petty states, struggling for intellectual independence. The future of each nation was then definitely decided. Spain threw in its lot with the Roman Church once and for all, and by its opposition to the Reformation gained a short period of splendour at the price of permanent intellectual and spiritual stagnation. Germany preserved its independence of thought after a desperate and costly struggle, suffered for centuries under the wounds which it received, and never succeeded in wholly driving out the influence of Rome.

However, for the moment, other questions demanded instant solution. Upon the death of Ferdinand I. absolutism was by no means firmly rooted in Spanish soil. Its lack of popularity with the industrial portion of the population was sufficiently obvious. The towns had readily come forward to help to crush the nobility, but they were by no means disposed to sacrifice their own rights to the Moloch of absolute monarchy; and the short-sighted policy of the youthful king, who brought his Flemish friends to Spain, and bestowed upon them the highest dignities in the land, gave the towns the opportunity for resistance which they desired. In reality, a far larger question had to be settled than the question of the privileges of the towns, many of which were antiquated and void. The point in dispute was whether a wide-reaching foreign policy, which could be carried out only by an absolute monarchy, was henceforward to take precedence, or whether this should give way to a sound domestic policy for the purpose of advancing material prosperity, which the industrial and manufacturing classes could carry out in conjunction with the crown.

Honours for the King's Favourites

At the Cortes of Valladolid, in 1518, the representatives of the towns assumed a bold position, while the nobility, who had not yet recovered from their crushing overthrow by the previous king, remained in the background. In Aragon, also, and Catalonia, as in Castile, Charles had to listen to many bitter truths before the usual oaths of allegiance were taken and money-grants made. Charles had, meanwhile, been elected Emperor of Germany, and before starting for that country he made an attempt to procure the necessary supplies in an irregular way.

Thereupon disturbances began to break out, and after the emperor's departure there came a formidable revolt of the *comuneros*—the Castilian towns. Toledo, the ancient capital, headed the movement; the inhabitants of Segovia manifested no less zeal for freedom. Juan de Padilla undertook the leadership of the revolt, and succeeded in driving out the regency which Charles had established in Valladolid, and winning over most of the Castilian towns to the confederacy. Among the demands of the town were several which show that the revolt was occasioned not merely by economic causes, but that the citizens raised their voices as the representatives of a broader enlightenment. They asked, for instance, that the nobles be taxed as the citizens were; that the natives of America should not be treated as slaves, should not be transported to the mines as labourers. To give an appearance of loyalty to their movement, the towns opposed the emperor in the name of his mother, the mad Joanna.

Castilian Towns in Revolt

Unfortunately there was no unity among the rebels. The nobles, as a whole, stood aloof from the movement, or supported the crown, which had more in common with them than the citizens had. The regents therefore found time to oppose a small, but well-trained, force to the army of the people. On April 21st, 1521, a battle was fought at Villalar, which resulted in the complete defeat of the citizens and the capture of their chief leaders. In a short time the revolt was at an end; the leaders paid for their presumption with their lives, and the towns with the loss of their rights. Spain was henceforward a ready instrument in the hand of an absolute monarch; and the foreign policy of the emperor, with all the glory it was to bring, could now break forth in full splendour. A rising of the lower classes and labour guilds in Valencia, socialistic in nature and having nothing to do with the revolt of the Castilian towns, was also suppressed in the course of a few years. The guilds had availed themselves of the universal right to bear arms, which had been instituted as a protection against the attacks of the Algerian pirates, to form *germanias*, or brotherhoods, of their own; they then turned upon the powerful feudal nobles, who found a support in the Moriscos, the Moors who had remained in the country.

Feudal Nobles Supported by the Moors

The situation enabled the government to take measures of great importance. It crushed the germanias with cruel violence, and thereby shattered the growing presumption of the citizens. At the same time, the intervention of the Moriscos in the quarrel gave it an excuse for grinding down this industrious class in the nation by restrictive measures, and for obliging a part of them to emigrate, to the great loss of the country and especially of the land-holding nobility. Christianity was then made obligatory upon all inhabitants, and the Inquisition was set to watch the zeal of the new converts with argus eyes. The old popular assembly of the Spanish kingdom, the Cortes, was naturally out of place in the new absolute government. The Cortes of Castile were convoked for the last time in full session at Toledo in the year 1538. Once again the nobles ventured to oppose the financial policy of the crown, and were successful. Henceforward only particular orders, chiefly the procurators of the towns, were summoned to the assembly to vote supplies.

Shattered Dreams of Charles

There were no further protests of any importance against the burden of taxation, which increased rapidly under Charles V. Charles V.'s dreams of a universal monarchy were shattered by the hostility of France and the religious movement in Germany, notwithstanding the great sacrifices which Spain had made in money and men. For the moment, the country succeeded in bearing up under the heavy burdens which Charles had laid upon it. Here and there were traces of the decay of economic prosperity; but, thanks to the Moors who had remained in the country, industry, on the whole, throve. Where the old Christian population was still in existence, Isabella, more than all others, had succeeded in planting new industries and ensuring their success, occasionally by artificial means. Under Charles V., Spain was still progressing, and those best foundations of national prosperity, agriculture and cattle-breeding, were still actively carried on.

FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC & HIS QUEEN ISABELLA
It was the ambition of Ferdinand to make Spain the dominant power in Europe, and all his energies were bent in that direction. During his reign Granada, the last Moorish kingdom in Spain, was conquered. Christopher Columbus found a warm friend in Isabella, when he sought assistance for his enterprises, but Ferdinand was not so sympathetic.

The districts inhabited by the Moriscos, such as Valencia, Murcia, and Granada, were similarly in a most flourishing condition, whereas in the old Christian provinces the lust for adventure and the drain of men in the continual wars had made deep gaps in the peasant population. In the Moorish provinces the nobles, to whom most of the land belonged, had a particular interest in furthering the development of agriculture. Upon the high plateaus of the interior a grave change was going on, similar to the experiences of other countries, especially England, a change which worked most disastrously for the labouring portion of the population. Sheep-raising made great strides—Spanish wool had a wide reputation for excellence—and was taken up by the nobles and extended as far as possible. The price of corn was kept down by law; the peasants found themselves unable to live by agriculture, and were bought out of, or expelled from, their holdings. Where thousands of peasants had once tilled their fields, boundless pastures extended, trodden by millions of sheep and by the few herdsmen who attended them. But when the peasants were once driven from their land, when the elaborate system of irrigation had fallen into ruin and the villages were deserted, it was impossible for a long period to bring the land again under cultivation. Thus Spanish prosperity was largely dependent upon the Moorish population; but the national instinct, which made for purity of race, was irresistible when strengthened by the fanaticism of the Church. It forced the crown and the nobles to choke up the sources of the nation's wealth. Such suicidal action was not complete under Charles V., or else its disastrous effects were counteracted by good fortune on other sides; but under his successor, Philip II., Spain shot up to a dazzling height of apparent strength and power and plunged with unutterable rapidity into ruin.

The Great Battle of Marignano

Louis XII. died on the first day of the year 1515, and Francis of Angoulême succeeded him on the throne. The chivalrous king wished to win back Milan for his crown, crossed the Alps in summer, and defeated in the sanguinary battle of Marignano the Swiss of the Duke of Milan. The Pope now wished to be on friendly terms with the victorious king, and the Swiss confederation preferred to make a treaty of peace with him. The position of the French in Italy grew stronger and stronger, especially since, after the death of Ferdinand of Aragon, on January 23rd, 1516, a friendly treaty was effected at Noyon between Ferdinand's grandson, the future Emperor Charles, and Francis, by which the daughter of Francis was betrothed to Charles, and the French claims on Naples were promised her as a marriage portion. A treaty with the Swiss was concluded in the autumn of 1516, by which a yearly sum was guaranteed to every canton; that is the treaty, by virtue of which the Confederates so long served under French pay, the same which incurred the bitter criticism of the patriotic reformer Zwingli. We know how the Emperor Maximilian in his latter years concluded peace alike with King Francis and with Venice, and how then, under the Emperor Charles, the fortune of war and diplomatic skill brought great results and still greater hopes now to one side, now to the other, until the Peace of Crépy shattered Francis's expectations of an extension of his dominions.

FRANCIS I., KING OF FRANCE
He succeeded his father-in-law and uncle, Louis XII., on the throne of France in 1515, and during his reign the Reformation broke out. Francis has been described as "Protestant abroad" while "Catholic at home."

An Empty Royal Treasury

The Faithless Francis of France

The king, during the period of his reign (1515–1547) was under the influence first of his ambitious mother, Louise of Savoy, and then of his chancellor, Antoine Duprat. His extravagances brought such uncertainty into all his actions as sovereign that his reign was in many respects very unprofitable for France. The Concordat of Bologna settled afresh the relations with the supreme head of the Church in 1516; the Pragmatic Sanction was put aside, and the right of the crown to appoint bishops and abbots was admitted, while the Pope recovered his right to the annates. The country was dissatisfied with this innovation, since the clerical posts were now given away merely by personal interest. The Parlement for a long time withheld its consent, but was obliged finally to yield to the wishes of the despotic king. The perpetual emptiness of the royal treasury, which was inconsistent with the sums lavished on favourites, was partially remedied by the most unworthy transactions, while the king himself sacrificed his oath and his honour in political treaties without any thought of keeping his promises. Francis, and still more his mother, behaved with the same faithlessness to the Constable Charles of Bourbon as to the emperor, since the former was deprived of the inheritance of his wife, and was finally driven by this treatment into the enemy's camp. Nothing perhaps damaged the king more in the eyes of his contemporaries than the fact that he repeatedly entered into negotiations with the Infidels, the bitterest foes of Christianity, just as, though a good Catholic and keen opponent of heresy, he did not shrink from allying himself with the Protestant princes; and all from enmity to the intolerable power of the Emperor Charles. The old position towards England continued under Francis, and we know how Henry VIII. temporarily came to an agreement with the emperor in France A year before the death of Francis, on June 7th, 1546, a peace was at length effected with England, as well as with the empire. While the vicissitudes of the war kept France continually in unrest, the material welfare of the people had been promoted to some extent by the king; the silk industry was introduced at Lyons in his reign. He created a national fleet, and thus gave opportunity for voyages of discovery in the New World and the foundation of French settlements in Canada. He perfected the apparatus of war, especially artillery. He liberally supported scholars and artists. Leonardo da Vinci was brought by him into the country; Raphael is said to have been his court painter.

At his court for the first time accomplished ladies played a prominent part, but at the same time a licence in manners was introduced which was hitherto unknown. The new teaching of the Gospel had soon spread on French soil. But its followers were immediately subjected to the bitterest persecution, in which the king, departing from precedent, assigned their persecution and punishment to the temporal courts. The king himself clung obstinately to the old faith, although he suggested the opposite to the Schmalcaldic princes, and invited Melanchthon to his court for the discussion of religious questions. In January, 1535, he ordered six Protestants to be burnt at the stake, and in 1545 he mercilessly massacred the remnants of the Waldensian community in Provence.

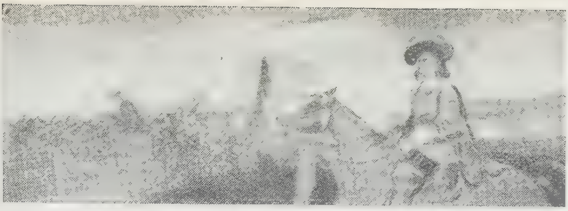
Lutheranism had, during the first twenty years of the century, found friends everywhere, and in all classes, including the king's sister, Margaret of Navarre, and the court poet, Clément Marot. But persecution, as well as the German origin of the doctrine of justification, may have hindered the growth of a sect and any dissemination of the teaching among the masses until the Church reform in France received a real head in John Calvin, who, leaning more on Zwingli than on Luther, began a work which was in many respects conducted along independent lines. His religious system at Geneva acquired the more importance since it found considerable support in France, although Francis's son, Henry II. (1547–1559), persecuted the heretics no less violently than his father, from whose system of government he otherwise deviated in many respects.

The chief power at the court of Henry was his mistress, Diana of Poitiers—after 1548 Duchess of Valentinois—a reckless opponent of the new Church, which, definitely formulated in Calvinism, had a stronger basis than before, when individuals rather than dogmas were involved in it. And at the same time court intrigue readily availed itself of the new confession as a pretext for getting rid of objectionable persons, since an edict of 1551 made it the duty of the judges to search out heretics wherever they might be. Henry's foreign policy resulted in the recovery of Calais, which England had held for 200 years; but otherwise his reign is important mainly as the time when the seeds of the religious discoveries which distracted France for the next half century were sown.

HEINRICH SCHURTZ
ARMIN TILLE

LADIES OF SIENA ASSISTING IN DEFENCE OF THE TOWN AGAINST CHARLES V. IN 1553

WOLSEY'S LAST INTERVIEW WITH KING HENRY VIII.



ENGLAND UNDER HENRY VIII.

CHANGES IN SOCIAL AND COMMERCIAL LIFE

WIDELY different from his father's was the spirit in which Henry VIII. approached the problems of home and foreign policy. He began his reign by sacrificing his father's Ministers, Empson and Dudley, to the popular outcry against these too faithful agents. Aspiring, versatile, accomplished in the new learning, the friend and patron of scholars, capable of making heavy sacrifices for a whim or a generous impulse, Henry VIII. was the antithesis of his father. He threw himself into the religious controversies which Luther had aroused, and earned by his pen the title of "Fidei Defensor"; he trifled with extensive plans of foreign wars and conquests, dreamed of subduing France, and offered himself as a candidate for the empire.

The Power of the Great Wolsey

Yet for many years he allowed his government to be controlled by a statesman who had imbibed the main principles of the old Henry's policy. Thomas Wolsey, at first the king's almoner, afterwards Archbishop of York and cardinal, aimed at gratifying his master's ambition by skilful mediation between the continental powers. Of necessity the cardinal embarked at times in enterprises for which England had adequate resources. After he had, in 1511, brought England into the Holy League which had been formed by Spain, the Venetians, and the emperor to expel the French from Italy, Wolsey was compelled to find troops and money for useless attacks on the French frontiers (1512—1513), in which his master reaped some trifling laurels by the Battle of the Spurs (Guinegate) and the capture of Thérouanne and Tournay.

Wolsey's Tortuous Intrigues

The most brilliant success of the war was won upon English soil in the absence of the king. James IV. of Scotland, invading England in the interests of France, was defeated and slain at Flodden Field in August, 1513, rather through his own rashness than from any remarkable skill on the opposing side. Wolsey was fortunate in being able to wind up the war by advantageous treaties both with France and Scotland. His abilities were better displayed in the course of the fierce rivalry between the houses of Hapsburg and Valois, which began when Francis I. was defeated by Charles V. in the imperial election of 1519. It has been supposed that Wolsey's dealings with Francis and the emperor were inspired by the ambition of procuring the papal dignity for himself. He was certainly tempted with this bribe on more than one occasion by Charles V., and would doubtless have accepted the tiara if it had been offered in good earnest.

But the main object of his tortuous intrigues was to aggrandise his master. He succeeded in convincing Charles and Francis that the attitude of England must decide the issue of their quarrel. He bargained alternately with each, and in 1520 was formally accepted as a mediator. His hope was to maintain the equilibrium of France and the empire. When war broke out he took the side of Charles as that most acceptable to the king, who never ceased to dream of emulating Henry V.; but, after the defeat and capture of Francis at Pavia in 1525, all the weight of English influence was used to save the French kingdom from dismemberment.

Improving the Standard of the Clergy

But the principle of maintaining the balance of power began to weary Henry VIII.; and Wolsey without his master's confidence was powerless. At home the cardinal was unpopular; he had concerned himself little with domestic questions, although some have discovered in one of his measures the germs of a new and fruitful reform. To improve the intellectual standard of the clergy he began at Ipswich and Oxford to build and endow great colleges, the funds for which were provided by the suppression of small and depopulated monasteries. He may have hoped to forestall those attacks upon the Church which there were the best reasons for expecting. But his best

KING HENRY VIII. OF ENGLAND

From 1509 till his death in 1547 Henry VIII occupied the throne of England and, in spite of his many failings and cruelties, held a warm place in the affections of his people. The King's relations with his wives, whose portraits appear on the opposite page, were anything but happy, and the whole story of his domestic vagaries reflects very little credit on him. With but scant sympathy, if any, for the Reformers, Henry made use of the Reformation for his own ends, but little imagined that his personal policy would have such a far-reaching effect on the destinies of the nation.

From the painting by Hans Holbein

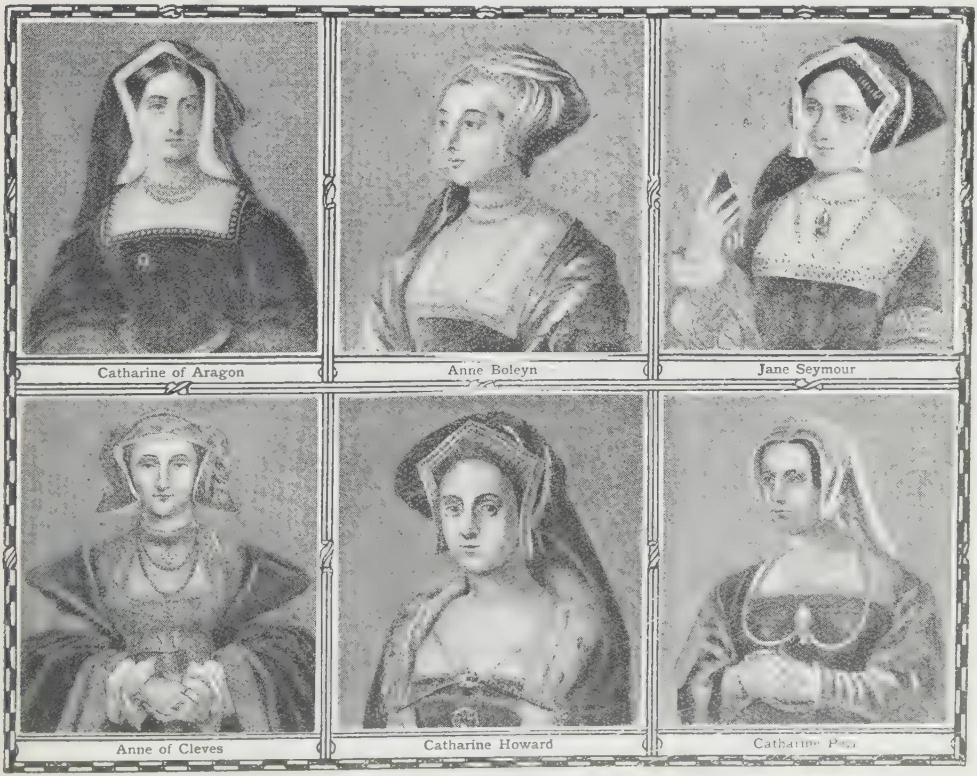
energies were given to diplomacy, and it was currently supposed that he thought of England merely as a treasure house, to be despoiled for the benefit of his master and himself. He made heavy demands upon the Commons, which provoked unfavourable comparison between his administration and that of Henry VII.; nor did he improve matters by attempting to browbeat recalcitrant members, and to raise benevolences when the liberality of Parliament proved insufficient.

Like all his house, Henry VIII. was sensitive to popular discontent. Now, as more than once in later years, he resolved to make a scapegoat of his Minister; and his plan was brought to a head when Wolsey pressed him to cement an alliance with France against the empire, by repudiating Catharine of Aragon and marrying a French princess. The king caught at the first half of the plan. He was weary of Catharine, and mortified that she had borne him no male heir to make the future of the dynasty secure. But he had fallen under the spell of Anne Boleyn, a lady of considerable attractions and doubtful reputation, who appeared at his court about 1522. Wolsey was instructed to obtain from Rome a declaration that the marriage with Catharine had been null and void *ab initio*, and he was soon allowed to see that his French policy must give way to the wishes of Anne Boleyn.

The course which Henry desired the Pope to take was repugnant both to ecclesiastical law and to the conscience of the age. The marriage with Katharine had been contracted under a dispensation from the Pope, the validity of which Henry had never seriously questioned during eighteen years of married life. The plea that the legitimacy of Catharine's daughter, the only offspring of the marriage, had been questioned by a French ambassador was a convenient fiction. The divorce was demanded neither by dynastic considerations nor by the foreign policy of the king. It threatened, in fact, to estrange a large proportion of his subjects, and to irritate Charles V. without leading to a closer connection with Francis.

Yet Wolsey, rather than forfeit his position, undertook to press the king's suit at Rome. Possibly the cardinal counted on the Pope's refusal to set aside the dispensation of his predecessor; and Clement VII. did, after much hesitation, insist upon reserving the case for his own decision with the full intention of deciding against the king. But the Pope's firmness proved the ruin of Wolsey, who incurred the suspicion of having opposed in private the concession for which he pressed in public.

The cardinal was suddenly stripped of all his honours and the greater part of his wealth. Permitted to retain the archbishopric of York, he lived for a time in seclusion; but he was at length accused of treason and summoned to stand his trial. He died of a broken heart in 1530 on his way to answer a charge to which


Catharine of Aragon
Anne Boleyn
Jane Seymour
Anne of Cleves
Catharine Howard
Catharine Parr

THE SIX WIVES OF KING HENRY VIII.

THE TRIAL OF QUEEN CATHARINE AT BLACKFRIARS IN THE YEAR 1529

King Henry VIII. was only eighteen years of age when he married Catharine of Aragon, and after nearly twenty years of wedded life he fell in love with Anne Boleyn, and sought a divorce from his queen. When the trial opened at Blackfriars on May 31st, 1529, Catharine threw herself at Henry's feet in sight of all the court and made a pathetic appeal to him. After a long delay, the marriage was annulled and Anne Boleyn, to whom in the meantime the king had been secretly married, was publicly crowned and recognised as queen.

HOLBEIN'S PICTURE OF KING HENRY VIII. EMBARKING AT DOVER

In 1520 Henry VIII. sailed for France to have an interview with Francis I. Accompanied by Queen Catharine and his entire court, the king embarked at Dover and was escorted across the Channel by a great fleet of warships.

his whole career gave the lie, and his death removed from the scene the last and most skilful exponent of the foreign policy devised by the king's father. The idea of maintaining the balance lay dormant, until the religious struggle on which Germany had already entered and England was entering had divided Europe into two hostile camps, and dynastic ambitions had become inextricably confused with dogmatic controversies.

Before 1530 England was distinguished from her continental neighbours partly by the possession of a constitution in which a unique importance was assigned to popular representatives, partly by a social system in which there existed no sharp and impassable frontiers between class and class. But the whole of the national life was overshadowed, at the close of the Middle Ages, by an ecclesiastical system which was framed on a model common to all the nations of the West; and in matters of the faith England, like all other catholic communities, accepted the authority of Popes and general councils. The Reformation intensified the insularity of English life and

THE MEETING-PLACE OF KINGS: "THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD"

This is a companion picture to that appearing at the top of the page. The meeting of Henry VIII. and Francis I. occurred on English territory, in fields between the towns of Guisnes and Ardres, and was attended by great magnificence. So grand, in fact, was the display made by the nobility of both England and France that the spot where the meeting took place was named "The Field of the Cloth of Gold," there being no fewer than two thousand eight hundred tents, many of them covered with silk and cloth of gold, pitched on the surrounding plain.

national character, for the nation left the Catholic communion without entering either of those two Protestant Churches which rose, in the sixteenth century, to a position of international importance. Although highly conservative in tendency, the Anglican communion bears little resemblance to any other. The principle of subordination to the state, which its leaders accepted from the first, gave it stability as a national Church, but incapacitated it for any wider sphere of action. Even Scotland after some hesitation refused to accept Anglicanism and threw in her lot with Calvin of Geneva.

CARDINAL WOLSEY

Originally the son of a small farmer, the crafty Wolsey established himself in the good graces of Henry VIII., rising in 1515 to be Lord Chancellor of England and cardinal. He was disappointed at not being elected Pope.

This peculiar character of Anglicanism is due to the circumstances under which the English Reformation took place. There were Lutherans and other Protestants in England when Henry VIII., unable to procure a divorce from the Pope, decided to deny the authority of Rome. But the English Protestants were then a mere fraction of the nation, and they were not invited to advise the government in the work of destroying and remodelling ecclesiastical institutions. Henry VIII. intended that there should be no changes of dogma, or only changes of the slightest kind. His object was to bring the courts, the revenues, the patronage of the Church entirely under his own control, to make what confiscations seemed convenient, to allow such alterations in the forms of service as were imperatively demanded by his subjects. The first effects of the Reformation were, therefore, constitutional and legal. The growth of a strong Protestant party, attaching paramount importance to certain dogmas and certain forms of Church government, was a gradual process. The earliest changes effected by Henry VIII. were indeed sanctioned by Parliament. But Parliament did little more than register edicts which it did not care, perhaps did not dare, to resist. The body which should have been the chief guardian of liberty became the most reliable instrument of despotism.

It must not be supposed that the impulse towards ecclesiastical reform was

THE PROUD CARDINAL WOLSEY ON HIS WAY TO WESTMINSTER HALL

Preceded by a person of rank bearing his cardinal's hat, Cardinal Wolsey is here represented as going in procession to Westminster Hall. According to Cavendish, the biographer of the cardinal, Wolsey would issue forth "apparelled all in red, in the habit of a cardinal, with a tippet of sables about his neck, holding in his hand a very fair orange, whereof the meat or substance within was taken out and filled up again with part of a sponge wherein was vinegar or other confections against the pestilent airs the which he commonly smelt when passing among the press."

From the picture by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., in the Guildhall Art Gallery

WOLSEY AFTER HIS FALL SEEKING REFUGE IN LEICESTER ABBEY

Wolsey's star, so long in the ascendant, waned at last, and the proud cardinal, incurring the displeasure of his sovereign, was driven from office, all his wealth and estates being confiscated. On his way from York to London to answer a charge of treason, the fallen churchman, broken in body and spirit, sought refuge in Leicester Abbey, and it was there, shortly before his death, on November 29th, 1530, that he gave utterance to the memorable words, "Had I but served my God with half the zeal I served my king, He would not in mine age have left me naked to mine enemies."

From the painting by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., in South Kensington Museum

wholly wanting in the nation. The claims of the papacy to rights of patronage, jurisdiction, and taxation had been long resented. Even in the fourteenth century those of the first class were attacked by the statute of Provisors in 1351, those of the second and third by that of Præmunire in 1353; and both measures were renewed with increased severity by the parliament of Richard II. Wycliffe's attacks upon the abuses of the Curia were the most popular and best-remembered aspects of his teaching. Under the Lancastrians England had taken some interest in the conciliary movement, of which the ultimate object was to reform the government of the Roman Church. And under the Tudors we can distinguish two parties of different composition which were profoundly anxious to raise the tone of popular religion.

The Renaissance in England, as in Germany, was coloured by devotional feeling; the great Oxford scholars were also religious reformers. Nowhere were the satires of Erasmus on the Church more eagerly read and discussed than in the cultured circles of which Warham, More, and Colet were the leading spirits. Lutheranism secured an English following between 1520 and 1530; and the sect, though chiefly composed of obscure and humble enthusiasts, had caused anxiety to Wolsey before his overthrow. But in parliament the Lutherans and the scholars were practically unrepresented, and the latter were, almost without exception, repelled into extreme conservatism by the feeling that the king, acting under purely selfish motives, was likely to overwhelm the true and false elements of the national faith in a common ruin.

Among the Lords and Commons Henry depended for support partly upon those who were irritated by the very tangible abuses of the Church courts, by the excessive fees of ordinaries, by the moral censorship of immoral ecclesiastics; partly upon those who looked for a share of the Church's wealth; but chiefly on the timid and inexperienced, who believed that the divorce was essential to save the dynasty, and the ecclesiastical revolution, to put the legality of the divorce beyond all possibility of question.

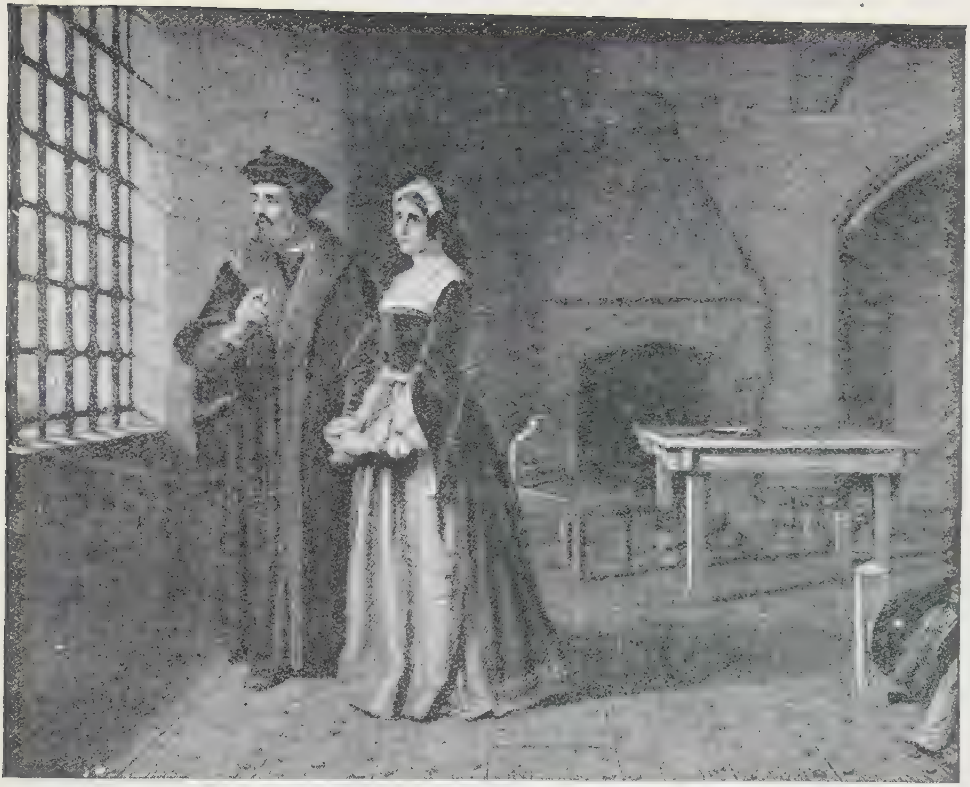
For seven years Parliament was engaged in the work of reforming the Church. Legislation moved slowly at first, while there was still a hope of intimidating the

Pope ; nor, when this hope failed, could the king secure all that he desired at once. Each new step raised new fears of resistance, and the momentous work was interrupted by a serious rebellion, the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536–1537). The chief measures aimed against the Church were as follows. In 1529 popular sympathy was conciliated by legislation against pluralities, excessive fees, non-residence, and clerical trading. In 1531 the clergy were compelled, by the threat of a præmunire, to acknowledge the king as the supreme head of the Church, besides paying an immense fine. In 1532 benefit of clergy was restricted, and the payment of first-fruits to Rome was abolished. In 1533 it was forbidden to bring appeals before the Roman Curia, and an act for submission of the clergy provided that no convocation should meet or pass any canons without the royal licence. In 1534 the king received the power of nominating to all archbishoprics and bishoprics—by the *congé d'élire* ; and the Act of Supremacy made it treason to deny the king's power in matters ecclesiastical. In 1536 the work of spoliation was begun by the suppression of the smaller monasteries ; and in spite of the rebellion to which this measure gave occasion, the greater monasteries shared the same fate within the course of a few years (1537–1540). The enormous spoils, both land and movables, were squandered chiefly upon courtiers, or used as bribes to secure the loyalty of the great families. A few new bishoprics were founded and endowed with monastic lands, but this measure, though loudly advertised, does not account for a tithe of the confiscations.

WILLIAM WARHAM AND THOMAS CROMWELL
William Warham, born in 1450, was elected Archbishop of Canterbury in 1504, and from 1506 till his death, in 1532, he was Chancellor of Oxford University. Thomas Cromwell was associated with Wolsey, and was created Earl of Essex in 1540. But his days of honour were soon over, and in July of that year he was beheaded on Tower Hill.

SIR THOMAS MORE
When Wolsey fell from place and power, Sir Thomas More, against his own desire, was appointed Lord Chancellor, and was severe in his sentences for religious opinions.

The moving spirit in the councils of the king, the man who shaped his legislation and intimidated Parliament to pass it, was the base-born Thomas Cromwell, one of Wolsey's servants, who had not only escaped the shipwreck of his master's fortunes, but had afterwards wormed himself into the favour of the king. Imbued with the lessons of the Florentine Machiavelli, this upstart made it his first object to establish an autocracy. He was of no religion, he had no scruples, and though free from the vice of wanton cruelty, he persecuted, without distinction of creed or class or merit, all who criticised the revolution. He burnt Anabaptists to vindicate his master's orthodoxy ; he beheaded More, the leader of the Humanists, and Fisher, the most revered of the bishops, for objecting to the royal supremacy. He pacified the rebels of 1536–1537 by lying promises, and removed the fear of future risings by indiscriminate executions. His spy system was perfect ; he knew everything, and forgave nothing. But he fell at length a victim to the despotism which he had created. He attempted, in his fear of a Hapsburg ascendancy, to bind Henry VIII inextricably to the cause of the German Protestants. The king followed his Minister's advice so far as to issue the Ten Articles in 1536 and to marry the sister of the Duke of Cleves. Then he drew back, for he had no mind to be a heretic in dogma or in foreign policy. The Six Articles, enacted by Parliament in 1539, announced the adhesion of the English Church to the real presence, the communion in one kind, clerical celibacy, and auricular confession. In 1540, Cromwell was attainted and



SIR THOMAS MORE IMPRISONED IN THE TOWER

There is here represented an episode in the closing days of Sir Thomas More. Looking one day from his prison window in the Tower, he saw four monks on their way to execution, and he called the attention of his daughter Margaret to those "blessed fathers who were going as cheerfully to their deaths as bridegrooms to their marriage."

From the painting by J. R. Herbert, R.A., in the National Gallery

sent to execution. His place at the king's ear was taken by reactionaries, who atoned for their assent to the royal supremacy by the severity with which they persecuted heterodox opinions. Still the party of moderate reform gained ground at court and in the nation. It was represented by the Primate, Cranmer, a pliant but well-meaning theologian, who drifted by imperceptible stages towards the Protestant position and exercised no little influence on the king. An English version of the Bible, prepared by Coverdale upon the basis of Tyndale's rendering, the English Litany, and a primer of English prayers, were the great services of Cranmer to the national Church. Though opposed and denounced by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, the chief of the reactionaries, Cranmer retained to the last his influence over Henry.

THE REFORMERS CRANMER AND COVERDALE

Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, joined the Protestant cause and was burned at the stake in 1556. In Miles Coverdale the Reformation movement had a loyal friend. His translation of the Bible appeared in 1535 with a dedication to Henry VIII.; he died in 1568.

The Reformation began with a violent change in foreign policy. Yet the king reverted at the earliest opportunity to the leading ideas of his first Minister, in so far as he aimed at preserving the attitude of a neutral and a mediator. But he could no longer venture on officious intervention such as that of Wolsey. It was Henry's good fortune that the English Reformation coincided with a crisis in the relations of Hapsburg and Valois, and that the crucial years which followed his destructive legislation were those in which the Protestants of Germany engrossed the mind of Charles V. England was thus able to dispense with serious alliances, dynastic or religious. What attention the king could spare from domestic affairs was concentrated chiefly upon the Scottish question. In Scotland also there were two parties hostile to the Church—the one Lutheran, rapidly becoming Calvinistic by conviction, the other consisting of greedy nobles who coveted the lands of bishoprics and conventual establishments. Henry entertained some hopes of luring his nephew James V. to embark upon the same course as himself; failing in this, he neglected no opportunity to foster an English party in the northern kingdom. James retaliated by reviving the French alliance, which he cemented by his marriage with Mary of Guise, and this step led to the outbreak of hostilities. A Scottish army prepared for the invasion of England, in response to an English raid into Scottish territory. At the battle of Solway Moss that army met with an overthrow disastrous and complete, the news of which came as a death blow to the Scottish monarch.

On the death of James, in 1542, the crown of Scotland passed to a minor, Mary Stuart. Her mother, who shared the duties of the regency with Cardinal Beaton, had work enough to cope with heretics at home, and would gladly have concluded peace with England; but

"THE AMBASSADORS: A NOTABLE PAINTING BY HANS HOLBEIN

Hans Holbein, the famous Dutch painter, came to England during the reign of Henry VIII., and painted numerous pictures of court life and prominent personages. "The Ambassadors" is one of the most famous paintings of the artist.

TYNDALE TRANSLATING THE SCRIPTURES

The devoted scholar and reformer, William Tyndale, was born in Gloucestershire in 1484 and with other Reformers fled to Antwerp when their enemies were seeking their destruction. There they wrote books in English in condemnation of the corruptions of the Romish Church. Tyndale's translation of the New Testament was welcomed in England, but it roused the indignation of the Romish clergy, and many copies of the work were publicly burned in London. In 1535, Tyndale was arrested, and, after being kept in confinement for sixteen months, was put to a martyr's death.

From the painting by Alexander Johnston

Henry pressed his advantage, harried the Scottish border, and encouraged the Scottish Protestants to murder Beaton in 1546. The English king hoped by this policy to secure the complete control of Scotland, and to unite the crowns by a marriage between his son and Mary Stuart. But he did not live to realise the folly of thus provoking a high-spirited and patriotic nation. He died early in 1547, leaving his own inheritance to a minor, and his death was the signal for English troubles not less acute than those he had fostered so unscrupulously in Scotland.

ENGLAND UNDER EDWARD & MARY
AND THE MARTYRS OF THE REFORMATION

Henry's Legacy to the Nation

A CHURCH of ambiguous complexion, a despotism newly established and dependent upon popular support, a bitter feud between reactionaries and radicals, such were the legacies of Henry VIII. to the nation. His numerous marriages, divorces, and settlements of the succession had introduced another element of confusion into politics. By Catharine he left a daughter, Mary; by Anne Boleyn, whom he married in 1533 and beheaded in 1536, a daughter, Elizabeth; by his third wife, Jane Seymour, who died in 1537, a son, Edward VI. The crown had been settled on Elizabeth before her mother's fall. It had again been settled on the children of Jane Seymour in 1536, Mary and Elizabeth being declared illegitimate. A third Act of 1544 settled it on Edward VI. and his issue, with remainders to Mary and Elizabeth. Finally, the king, in a will authorised by Parliament, provided that, on failure of his children and their issue, the descendants of his younger sister, Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, should succeed in preference to those of Margaret of Scotland.

England Under a Council of Regency

More than one rebellion, and a fatal struggle between a Stuart and a Tudor queen, were the outcome of the hopes aroused or disappointed by these dispositions. It availed the king's children but little that he had diligently persecuted and proscribed the families of Yorkist or Lancastrian descent. The heirs whom he recognised were sufficient to provide posterity with war and strife. Under the will of Henry VIII. the government, during his son's minority, was to be vested in a council of which he had fixed the composition. The members were chosen apparently with reference to their religious opinions. Most were committed to Protestant principles, and Gardiner's name did not figure on the list. In his later years Henry had shown himself all but convinced that the Reformation, if it was to be permanent, must be carried further. It would seem that he deliberately left to his executors the fulfilment of a policy which, however essential, was absolutely opposed to his earlier declarations. So at least the Council of Regency interpreted their mandate, and they selected as protector of the realm that one of their number who was most inclined to an extreme reformation. This was the young king's uncle, the Earl of Hertford, or, as he soon became with the goodwill of his colleagues, the Duke of Somerset.

Foreign Preachers in England

The duke was an idealist, though not untainted with the sordid materialism of his age. Economic reforms floated confusedly before his mind, and his one difficulty was where to begin in remodelling a world which indeed called urgently for many changes. His first step was to relax the tyranny of the dead king. A Parliament which met in 1547 was allowed to repeal all persecuting statutes enacted since the time of Richard II., and most of the new treasons which had been created since 1352. The cancellation of the Six Articles gave relief to Lutheran, Zwinglian, and Calvinist alike. A statute was also repealed by which the late king had been empowered, under certain restrictions, to give his proclamations the force of law. So much the long-suffering Commons imperatively demanded, and Somerset, if he did not approve all these concessions, saw no possibility of denying them.

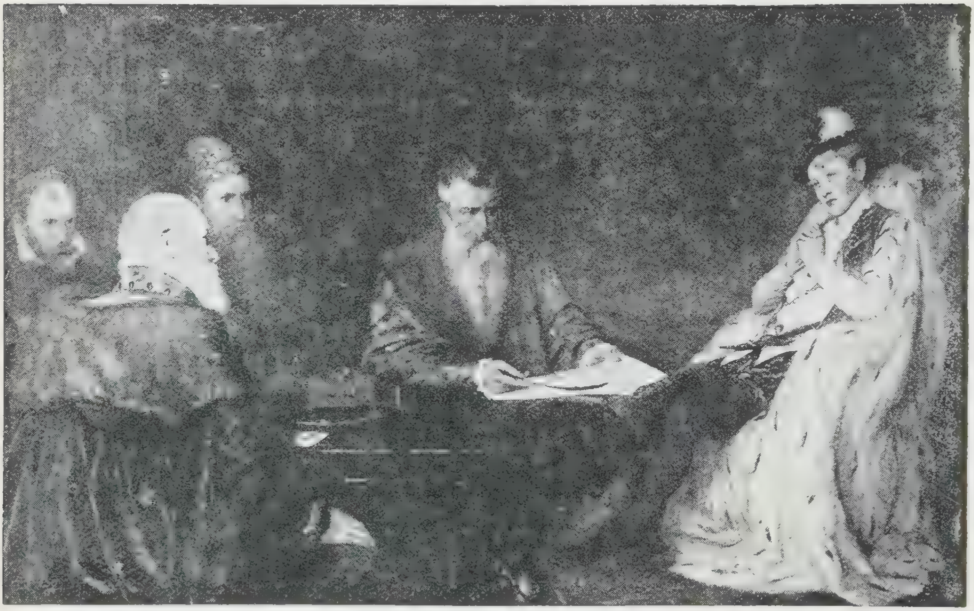
It was with greater zeal that he lent himself to the religious policy of Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, and the foreign preachers who flocked to England on the news of Henry's death. Already, in 1547, the Regency sanctioned a book of homilies and a set of injunctions to the clergy by which war was declared on images, the worship of the saints, and pilgrimages, while a new statute of confiscation handed over to the government the endowments of chantries, and also those of guild and other corporations so far as they had been appropriated to religious purposes. A Lutheran communion ritual, issued in 1548, proved but a halfway house to an English Book of Common Prayer in 1549; the universities were subjected to a drastic visitation, in consequence of which the adherents of the Henrician settlement were for the most part expelled to make room for Calvinist divines and teachers.

In religion the Protector, though moving fast and renouncing all pretence of compromise, was cordially supported by Cranmer, by a majority of the bishops, and by a large minority of laymen. The conservative majority were stunned by the suddenness of the attack, and the innovators found it unnecessary to apply the severer forms of persecution. Several members of the Regency, many of the rising class of gentry, amassed enormous fortunes by the new confiscations. But there was more difficulty when the Protector turned his attention to the social evils of the day. Here it was scarcely possible to suggest any remedies acceptable to the landowning interest, which ruled supreme in both houses of the legislature, and yet it seemed impossible to neglect complaints and protests which were only too well founded.

THE YOUNG KING EDWARD VI.
He was only nine years of age when his father, Henry VIII., died, and, succeeding to the throne, a Council of Regency was formed. Before his death, in 1552, he settled the crown on Lady Jane Grey

From the beginning of the Tudor period there had been signs of an impending social revolution. They were early made the subject of remedial legislation; they are vividly described in the preface to the Utopia of Sir Thomas More; they furnished Latimer with copious material for homilies against the self-seeking of the upper classes. The oldest and most extensive cause of suffering was the substitution of sheep-farming for tillage. To create extensive pastures the landlords appropriated common lands and did their best to destroy the old system of manorial husbandry to which the country owed the boasted yeoman class, the backbone of every English army. The great profits of sheep-farming naturally produced a rise of rents, which told heavily against the tenant farmer. The demand for agricultural labour decreased; and the government did everything in its power to prevent the rate of wages from rising above the standard which had been fixed by legislation at a time when prices were much lower than they had now become. The suppression of the monasteries intensified these evils by bringing in a new race of landlords who treated their lands as a commercial speculation, and presented, both in their methods of farming and in their relations with tenants, a sharp contrast to the conservative and easy-going policy of the evicted monks. It is no wonder that the sturdy vagrant became a familiar feature of the highways and a terror to substantial men, or that the problem of the aged and impotent poor caused the government profound perplexity.

Legislation of terrible severity was initiated against the former class by an act of 1531. The latter were at first, in 1531, ordered to beg their bread under protection of a royal licence, and afterwards, in 1536, made a charge upon the alms collected by the churchwardens of their respective parishes. But the causes producing both the one class and the other continued to operate with increasing force. Pauperism throve chiefly in the open country, but the towns also were suffering from the plague-sore. Changed conditions of trade and the restrictive policy of the guilds had reduced many once thriving communities to destitution. The debasement of the coinage, begun by Henry VIII. and continued under the Protectorate, contributed in some degree to the ruin of doubtful credit and precarious speculations. There was a vague but angry feeling that the economic depression was an outcome of the recent changes in religion. Of those who felt



THE BOY KING EDWARD VI. AND THE COUNCIL OF REGENCY

From the painting by John Pettie, R.A.

themselves aggrieved, some desired reaction, others preferred to demand that the rights of property should be revised no less summarily than the government and the doctrine of the Church.

Somerset failed to understand the complicated nature of the economic situation. He thought a few simple measures would suffice, and in 1548 appointed land commissioners with orders to enforce the old laws against enclosures. The commissioners reported that it would be well to legislate against large holdings, absentee landlords, and the practice of farming for commercial gain. These wild proposals were rejected by Parliament, to the intense disappointment of those who had expected that the land commission would bring back the Golden Age; and Somerset committed the mistake of encouraging the popular outcry against the landed classes, and of publicly condoning the destruction of enclosures.

An unsuccessful war with Scotland still further aggravated his unpopularity. The French connections of the queen-mother, Mary of Guise, sympathy for the Scottish reformers whom she had begun to reduce with the aid of French troops, and the hope of uniting the two crowns by a marriage between his nephew and Mary Stuart, all these were plausible reasons for interfering in the north. In conception the policy of the Protector had obvious merits, in execution it proved a humiliating failure. The English victory at Pinkie Cleugh, in 1547, had worse consequences than a defeat; they were realised in 1548 when Mary Stuart was sent to France to be educated in the Catholic faith and as the future bride of the dauphin Francis. The indignation of Scotland at English interference gave Mary of Guise increased facilities for the employment of French troops; the Protestant cause declined in Scotland, and there was a danger that the country might be used in future by the Catholic powers as a base for the reduction of England. Close on the Scottish failure followed the risings of the peasants in Devonshire and Cornwall against the new Prayer Book; in Norfolk, under Robert Ket, against enclosures, in 1549. The Council of Regency, though easily

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET

The Earl of Hertford, on the death of King Henry VIII., became the chief figure in the Council of Regency and was made Duke of Somerset; he was executed in 1552.

victorious over both rebellions, was thoroughly alarmed. In 1549 Somerset was removed from his office and imprisoned in the Tower. With his fall disappeared the title of Protector. The office of regent was put into commission, being vested in the Council as a whole. But the moving spirit, the protector in all but name, was Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, a coarse and self-seeking adventurer, who enriched himself and his colleagues with a total disregard of public interests. From purely selfish motives he threw in his lot with the more fanatical reformers, and carried to extremes the policy of Somerset. The immigration of foreign Protestants, chiefly refugees from Germany, was encouraged; and professional chairs were founded at Oxford and Cambridge for Peter Martyr and for Bucer. In 1552, a second Prayer Book, adopting the Zwinglian theory as to the Eucharist and other controversial questions, was substituted for the comparatively moderate book of 1549. Forty-two Articles, the first Anglican confession of faith, were issued in 1553, ostensibly with the approval of convocation, but in reality upon the sole authority of the Council, and subscription was required from all the clergy. Iconoclasm, the disuse of vestments, the denunciation of all forms and ceremonies, were warmly encouraged: under cover of the excitement produced by the official preachers the government proceeded with the confiscation of endowments and church plate.

A QUEEN FOR NINE DAYS

Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed Queen of England in London on July 10th, 1553, but occupied the throne for only nine days.

LADY JANE GREY BEING OFFERED THE CROWN OF ENGLAND

At the death of Edward VI., Lady Jane Grey's father-in-law, the Duke of Northumberland, and other nobles approached her with the offer of the crown. In this picture the artist, Mr. C. R. Leslie, R.A., represents that eventful moment in her life. Her husband is seen standing by her side; her mother, the Duchess of Suffolk, is seated at the table; while the Duke of Northumberland, with an unrolled document in his hand, is kneeling before her.

THE EXECUTION OF THE UNFORTUNATE LADY JANE GREY

Even while Lady Jane Grey was being hailed as Queen of England, Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII., was on her way to London to lay claim to the throne, and she was proclaimed queen in London on July 10th, 1553. The fate of Lady Jane Grey was thus sealed, and six months later she was beheaded at the Tower, meeting death with calm fortitude. While on the scaffold she made an affecting speech, telling the bystanders that her offence was not in having laid her hand to the crown, but in not rejecting it with sufficient firmness. Her husband also died at the scaffold.

From the painting by Paul Delaroche

Those whose opposition Northumberland had reason to fear stood in the greatest peril. Somerset was brought to the block on unsubstantiated charges in 1552; the Princess Mary, who obstinately refused to abjure her mother's faith, would have shared the same fate if the Council had not feared the effect of such a crime on public feeling. It was plain that her brother, a sickly and precocious youth, would not live to attain his majority; and Northumberland trembled for his head if Mary should succeed in accordance with the will of Henry VIII.

To avert the danger the duke pressed his ward to make a will altering the succession. This was done; and Edward designated as heiress of the crown the Lady Jane Grey, a granddaughter of Mary of Suffolk, the second sister of his father. Jane Grey had been already married to the son of Northumberland, who hoped in this way to secure the crown for his posterity. Immediately afterwards the king's death left it to be decided whether the new settlement was to prevail against the old; whether Protestantism was to hold the field over the Erastian Catholicism which the legislation of 1530-1540 had set up and that of 1547-1553 had overthrown.

The issue of the struggle was not long in doubt. Northumberland was detested; time had cast a halo over the memory of Henry VIII., whose opinions it was understood that his elder daughter represented. While Jane Grey was solemnly proclaimed in London, the Princess Mary fled to the eastern counties and appealed to her father's friends. They responded with enthusiasm; the supporters of Northumberland melted away; and before many days had passed, he, his son, and the Lady Jane were prisoners in the Tower. The Duke's execution followed as a matter of course, and excited no sympathy. But the other members of the dynastic conspiracy escaped lightly; public apprehensions as to a violent reaction were calmed by the Queen's assurance that she intended to put no force upon men's consciences. The promise was ill kept.

POLE, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

This English cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church distinguished himself in its service, and came to his native land while Mary occupied the throne with the object of winning it back to the old faith. In this mission, however, he failed.

The leading reformers—Ridley, Coverdale, Hooper, Cranmer—were soon committed to prison, though not till they had been allowed the opportunity of seeking exile; and although the foreign Protestants were allowed to depart unscathed, the queen's coronation was followed by a step which boded ill for the future of the new faith. She determined to marry Philip, the son and heir of Charles V., the greatest of Catholic sovereigns. This could only mean the restoration of the unreformed religion, which again could lead only to persecution. A Protestant conspiracy was accordingly framed with the object of setting up Elizabeth as queen. The leader was Sir Thomas Wyatt, who led an army of Kentish Protestants to London in the hope of seizing the queen and capital. But the rebels were ignominiously routed; and Mary could afford to treat all but the ringleaders with contemptuous lenity, though Lady Jane and her husband were now sent to the block.

Hooper

Ridley

Latimer

THE MEN WHO LIGHTED A CANDLE THAT HAS NEVER GONE OUT

Hooper was a Cistercian monk at Gloucester, but was won over to Protestantism by a study of the writings of Zwingli, and was eventually burned at the stake. Nicholas Ridley was arrested, and, along with Cranmer and Latimer, was, in 1554, tried and condemned for heresy, being burned at Oxford in 1555. As the lighted faggot was laid at Ridley's feet, the aged Latimer cheered him with the prophetic words that will never die: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as I trust shall never be put out"

Parliament, meeting a few weeks later—in April, 1554—was asked to sanction the Spanish marriage. It did so upon condition that England should not be expected to assist the Hapsburgs in their unceasing struggle with the house of Valois. Shortly afterwards Philip came to England and the marriage was celebrated. The terms of the marriage settlement had been so framed, by the wish of Parliament rather than of Mary, as to leave him no influence in the government, and he soon withdrew in disgust from a country in which he found himself both unpopular and insignificant. But the marriage had disastrous consequences. Disappointed in her hope of children, Mary sought consolation in a fanatical support of the true faith. It was against the wishes of her husband that she became a persecutor; so far as he was concerned the fears of the Protestants were unfounded. The advice of his father and his own common-sense showed him the

HOLBEIN'S PORTRAIT OF QUEEN MARY

The daughter of Henry VIII. by Catharine of Aragon, Mary came to the throne of England in 1553 and attempted to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion. Much of her reign was taken up with sanguinary persecutions of the reformers, many of whom perished at the stake. Her marriage to Philip II. of Spain had disastrous consequences. Calais, the last of England's Continental possessions, was lost in 1558, and the queen, grieved at this humiliation, declared that when she died the name of Calais would be found stamped upon her heart. Her death occurred in the same year, 1558

undesirability of persecuting a nation from the good will of which he might derive the most substantial aid. But Mary would not be restrained; the warnings of her husband were outweighed by the encouragement which she received from her cousin, Cardinal Pole. The cardinal was sent to England as a papal legate in 1554 to receive from Parliament the tokens of national repentance. He remained to direct the queen's policy, with the narrow zeal and the blind hopefulness of a repatriated exile. Parliament insisted that there should be no interference with the impropriators of ecclesiastical endowments. But for heretics the two houses showed less sympathy, and the persecuting statutes of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V. were re-enacted.

Early in 1555 the legate began to use against the reformed preachers the powers which had been thus conferred. Some of his victims recanted, but more were burned. The government struck at the leaders as a matter of course. Hooper, Ridley, Latimer, Cranmer were all brought to the stake as quickly as the formalities of legal procedure would allow; but the inquisitors were soon busy with obscurer victims. The number of those who suffered has been much exaggerated. There were rather less than three hundred in four years, and these were drawn from a comparatively narrow area, from London and the eastern counties. The sixteenth century witnessed many epochs of more destructive persecution. But the reaction which the burnings excited was all the greater because they left the great majority of Protestants untouched. The queen's severity was sufficient to exasperate, not enough to produce the apathy of despair.

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER ENTERING THE TOWER OF LONDON AS A PRISONER

Archbishop Cranmer was another of the Protestant leaders who suffered death for his convictions; and in this picture he is seen entering the Tower through the Traitors' Gate. He was induced by his enemies to recant some of the doctrines he had espoused, but before the end his old fortitude returned and he revoked his recantation. When he came to the stake on March 21st, 1556, he thrust his hand into the flames, saying, "That unworthy right hand!" thus carrying out the resolution he had made that the hand which, contrary to the heart, had penned the recantation should be first punished.

To all but the queen and Pole and a few kindred spirits it was soon evident that England could not be reclaimed for the old faith. Mary herself recognised this fact before her end, and the knowledge added bitterness to the disappointments of her private life. These were sufficiently grievous in themselves. To childlessness was added the early loss of any affection which her husband had ever felt for her. The Spanish connection brought upon herself and Pole the displeasure of the fiery Paul IV., who was at feud with Charles and Philip; and a French war, into which she allowed England to be drawn at the instance of her husband, led to the loss of Calais in 1558, the last of the Continental possessions. Of this humiliation she said that when she died the name of Calais would be found stamped upon her heart. For a month or two more she threw herself with increased zeal into the work of persecution; but at the end of 1558, prematurely aged by disease and grief, she died. The great majority of her subjects received the news with joy. It was the general hope and expectation that her successor, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, would sweep away the agents and the apparatus of Mary's propaganda. England was not yet Protestant; but four years of Pole and Mary had discredited for ever the militant and ultramontane Catholicism of the Counter-Reformation.

H. W. C. DAVIS

THE PLACE OF HENRY VIII IN HISTORY

BY MARTIN HUME M.A.

Under Henry VII. England had been slowly and unconsciously ripening for the vast social upheaval that was to transform it into a modern state. Feudalism was still the framework of English institutions, but its power was spent and its disappearance before the changing conditions of life was inevitable. The powerful ancient nobles had to a great extent perished in the long civil wars, and the towns had increased enormously in wealth and population. With the growth of commerce coin was becoming everywhere the principal standard of value, and the old form of tenantry by service was already nearly obsolete. Most of the land of England was held on copyhold tenures, giving to the tenants fixity of possession for long periods, usually on light rents and with various fines and forfeits on demise, and nearly a third of the soil of the country was owned by the ecclesiastical foundations.

Such a state of things was an ideal one for the tillers of the soil and for those who worked for wages. The frequent plagues had cleared off surplus labour, the statutes of labourers had all been inoperative, and the growth of town industry, especially cloth manufacture, rendered competition for workmen keen, while the commutation of feudal service for a small payment in money or kind as manorial rent, made the husbandmen prosperous and free as they had never been before.

THE KING'S HEAVY YOKE ON LABOUR

It is calculated that at this period ten or twelve weeks of labour in a year would enable a workman to provide for himself and family, for while the ordinary labourer's wage was fourpence per day, or that of an urban artisan sixpence or sevenpence, wheat fluctuated in price between four shillings and five shillings per quarter.

This happy state of things could of necessity be only transitory. The servile yoke of villeinage had been shaken from the neck of labour; but a still heavier one was being forged to replace it. Henry VII. depended for the support of his usurped throne upon Parliament and the commercial and industrial classes, for whom peace and stability were vitally necessary; he repaid their attachment by levying much of his heavy exactions upon the landowners and gentry. His foreign policy, moreover, tended greatly to benefit the mercantile classes. For the purpose of gaining the support of his upstart dynasty by the powerful combination on the Continent, headed by Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain, he entered into a series of foreign alliances which greatly extended the facilities and security for English oversea trade. By his prompt recognition of the new fact that thenceforward the possession of coin would mean wealth and power, and by his crafty diplomacy, he prepared England also to play a prominent part in the world drama that was to occupy the succeeding century. This was the condition of affairs in England when Henry VII. died, in April, 1509. Change was imminent, for the world was throbbing with new thoughts, and the old gods were dying.

CHARACTERISTICS OF HENRY VIII

The man who in England was to personify the national revolution was fair of seeming, debonnair, and bright of wit. But Harry Tudor's prime belied his gallant youth; for his was a nature that craves persuasion that all its deeds are good, whatever they may be. Concupiscent, passionate, and supremely vain, he was made to be a self-deceiving tool of greater men than himself. The vast changes he effected in social and religious life, and in the position of England politically, were not the result of far-seeing calculation on his part, but of circumstances over and beyond him, of which the effects were precipitated by Henry's opportunist action, at the bidding of his passions or at the instance of stronger minds.

His marriage with Anne Boleyn was the result of clever intrigues of the French party and the reformers; his repudiation of the papal supremacy was an ebullience of offended pride, urged by Cromwell for selfish political ends; his suppression of the monasteries and the confiscation of ecclesiastical wealth were the outcome of his lavish prodigality; and, perhaps, the most disastrous of all his acts, the successive debasements of the coinage, were an attempt to disguise the effects of the waste incurred by a vain, showy, but ineffective foreign policy. That the final result attained was in some cases good for England is incontestable. The atrophy of feudalism would have passed away in any case; but Henry's patronage of shipping, and his care for foreign commerce, hastened its disappearance, while his breaking up and distribution of the vast monastic estates, though entailing terrible hardship, enormously stimulated the production and circulation of wealth in the form of wool and cloth.

The new class of landowners created by Henry speedily ousted copyhold tenants where they could, and turned arable lands into sheep runs. The enclosures of commons and limitation of manorial rights by the same class of owners increased the dependence of the rural populations, and sent husbandmen flocking into the towns to become weavers and to fight, as they had never fought before, for a living wage. Deprived of the aid and succour in distress previously extended by the monasteries to their class, their wages paid in coin so base that at last the silver shilling contained 75 per cent. of copper, the labourers, when the change was complete, found that it was necessary for them to work the whole fifty-two weeks in the year for an amount insufficient for their maintenance.

CHANGING THE FACE OF ENGLAND

While wages had increased but 30 per cent., the price of wheat had been almost quadrupled, varying, as it did, from 15s. to 20s. per quarter; and meat in twenty years had become three times its former price. Then it became possible, as it had never been before, to enforce by law a maximum wage. The Quarter Sessions, consisting entirely of employers and landlords, fixed the rate of wages to be paid in each district, and the tradition was thus established that the standard of wage was the lowest cost of subsistence. The workers of England in the reign of Henry were freed from villeinage by the march of commerce, but their freedom only meant enslavement to their need to live.

In less than thirty years the face of England changed. Wool and cloth were England's staples, and the wealth made by traders established a new standard of living for the middle class. Henry's ostentatious extravagance had been copied by the court, and this had to be paid for by increase in land rents or the sale of estates. Now an enormously enriched middle class imitated their betters, and became luxurious and extravagant. This had to be paid for by keeping wages down and raising the prices of commodities.

WHAT HENRY DID FOR HIS COUNTRY

To say that Henry changed the religion of England would be untrue. He himself professed to be a Catholic in all but his political submission to the Pope.

But he did, consciously or unconsciously, unlock the gates that had imprisoned English thought for centuries. For the gross injustice and cruelty that accompanied the suppression of the conventual houses, and the plunder of the Church by Henry and Somerset, nothing but condemnation is possible now that we see the full iniquity of it; but to Henry, who needed for his extravagance the booty to be gained, the measure was excused as one demanded by the public morality and welfare.

The weak braggart who seemed so strong found England poor and backward, but ready for advance, and he laid the foundations of her future greatness; but in doing so he was prompted by no prophetic visions of national splendour, but by a vain despot's desire to have his own way, and by the passions that made him an easy tool without his suspecting it. His costly and unstable foreign policy was mainly the outcome of his imperious vanity, and brought him permanently neither honour nor profit; but in this respect, too, he builded better than he knew, for the tradition which grew up in his time that the balance of the great continental rivals depended upon one or the other of them gaining the support of England enabled Henry to appear as playing a great patriotic national part, and in the days of Henry's forceful daughter became the main factor of England's supremacy.

A SPANISH BANQUET IN THE DAYS OF THE NATION'S GRANDEUR

From the painting by Sir James Linton

SPAIN AND THE NETHERLANDS

THE BLIGHTING RULE OF PHILIP II.

THE rule of Charles V. had manifested the practical impossibility of combining under one sceptre elements so incongruous as the Burgundian dominion, or Netherlands, Spain with her fervid Romanism, and her transatlantic settlements, the Austrian inheritance, and the empire with its semi-independent principalities and its southern leanings. The Germans entirely declined to elect Philip, the future monarch of Spain, as his father's successor to the imperial crown. Before Charles died, the division of the Hapsburg power into Austrian and Spanish was formally carried out. Ferdinand, the brother of Charles, "King of the Romans," and already for thirty years ruler of the Austrian territories, retained that portion, and succeeded Charles as emperor; the Netherlands, Spain, and the Italian dominion passed to Philip II. For the time being, the Spanish colonies overshadowed Europe, while Germany fell into a secondary place. The prospect of the acquisition of England through Philip's marriage with Mary Tudor was indeed remote; but it was only by degrees that Philip was forced to relinquish the idea that England might be converted into a virtual Spanish province, either by his own marriage, or by that of a kinsman, with Mary's heir, Elizabeth.

The Vain Hope of Philip II.

The character of Charles V. was a compound of German and Romance-Iberian traits. In Philip II. the Spaniard was predominant. In Spain the Castilians of the highlands had already asserted their pre-eminence over all other branches of the Iberian stock. The peculiarities of the Castilian character, influenced partly by a harsh and unfavourable climate and partly by constant warfare against enemies at home and abroad, appear in Philip II. in their most emphatic form. His obstinacy, his unbounded pride, his cold reserve, and, above all, his religious fanaticism, were a legacy from his Castilian ancestors. In Philip II., Spain's evil genius ascended the throne. His stubborn pride was deaf to the demands of the age. The adversaries of Charles V. had been, at any rate, tangible; but Philip entered upon a Titanic struggle, with no chance of successful issue, against the intellectual and religious movements of his century, which were as resistless as they were invisible. The stubborn resistance of the small offshoot of the Germanic race living under Philip's rule in the Netherlands broke the power of him who seemed the greatest monarch in the world. His irresistible fleet was shattered upon the chalk cliffs of England. The only victim of this gigantic struggle was Spain, which poured forth its blood and treasure in the war against spiritual freedom until it was utterly exhausted.

Spain's Complete Overthrow

The complete overthrow of Spain was the special and particular work of Philip II. Charles V. carried on a foreign policy of immense scope; but, at the same time, he recognised the real foundations of his power, and when he increased the burdens which the people had to bear, he also did his best to increase their productive powers. But Philip's system of taxation was merely a wide system of extortion, which necessarily resulted in eating up both capital and interest.

The treasures of the New World could not satisfy his ever-increasing needs. The worst of all feudal institutions, immunity from taxation, was enjoyed by the nobility of Spain till a late period. Consequently, the enormous burden of taxation fell in all its weight upon the productive classes, the peasants and the artisans of the town. If we recollect that these classes had been already demoralised by the craze for emigration to America, that, as a result of the spirit of feudalism prevalent in the country, honest toil was despised and industry correspondingly

Spanish Craze for Emigration

hampered, we can understand the disastrous results of Philip's financial policy. Manufactures, trade and agriculture swept downhill with appalling rapidity.

At first, Philip certainly wielded a power which was at that time unequalled. Besides Spain itself, he held the Netherlands, the kingdom of Naples, and, in a certain sense, England also, as he had married Mary, the English queen. Besides his American possessions, he had also gained a part of the East Indies. The first undertakings of the young prince were crowned with success. As the irony of fate would have it, the most bigoted of all the monarchs of that age came into collision with the Pope, and sent his armies against Rome, to cure Paul IV. of his fondness for France and to bring him to reason. The French interfered, and war broke out. The Flemings and Spaniards, under Egmont, won a victory at Gravelines on July 13th, 1558, and the war was ended in 1559 by the Peace of Câteau Cambresis, which was equally welcome to both sides.

The Vast Realms of Philip II.

There were more urgent reasons for Philip's readiness to make peace than the lack of money, which he never allowed to mar his plans. He entered into a mutual alliance with the French monarch for the purpose of stamping out heresy, and attempted to strengthen the union by establishing ties of relationship. These facts show that he had at last perfected the idea which was to guide his future policy. War against Protestantism was henceforward the one thought of his cold and narrow mind, a thought which utterly blinded him to the evils which he was bringing upon himself and his people. Hereafter we see Philip feverishly active wherever there were heretics to be crushed.

He lost his influence in England after the death of his wife, Queen Mary; but he supported the claims of the orthodox Mary Stuart against the Protestant Elizabeth after French interest in Mary's cause had become identified with the Guise faction alone. In France he stirred Catholic hatred against the Huguenots. Everywhere Philip's agents and spies were actively doing their master's service, watching and checking the growth of Protestantism. But it was in his own dominions that Philip carried on the most cruel warfare against the heretics, and, above all, in Spain, where Protestantism was just beginning to take root among the most independent minds. The king's chief weapon was the Inquisition, which had been originally instituted to deal with backsliding Moors and Jews, but now found a prey more worthy of persecution.

Philip's Hatred of Protestantism

A large number of the noblest men of Spain, among them high religious and civil dignitaries, who had been in favour with Charles V., met death at the stake or in the dungeons of the Inquisition. Such unnatural selection necessarily degraded the spiritual and intellectual character of the Spanish people. At the moment when all over Europe there began the pursuit of knowledge and the unchecked striving after truth, the intellectual movement in Spain was choked up and poisoned at its source.

Philip's success in Spain could not be repeated in the Netherlands. The irony of fate had united this province to Spain, with which it was in the strongest imaginable contrast. The courtly and feudal character of the Spaniard could never harmonise with the blunt, democratic character of the Flemish and Dutch traders. They had lived in amity with the cheerful Charles V., but they deeply distrusted and disliked the cold and gloomy Philip. Perhaps the worst might have been avoided if Protestantism had not rapidly passed over the German frontier into the Netherlands, and stirred up Philip to most vigorous opposition. Upon the despatch of that inflexible fanatic, the Duke of Alva, to the Netherlands, in the year 1567, began that revolt which ended only in 1648, decades after Philip's death, in the complete loss of the northern provinces, and irretrievably weakened the body politic of Spain, like an incurable wound. In vain did the king recall the hated Alva after seven years of bloodshed; in vain did he endeavour to adopt a new policy; the evil system of repression bore its bitter fruit.

The Revolt of the Netherlands

While Philip II. thus weakened the Spanish power abroad, he brought ruin on the internal prosperity of the country by his persecution of the Moriscos of Granada. It seemed as if the Spanish people could never rest until they had driven out the last remnants of the foreign race. That the Moors had so long maintained their position in the different provinces, and in some places even survived

Philip's reign, was not due to the goodwill of princes, clergy, or people, but chiefly to the circumstance that the great nobles drew a large portion of their income from the lands cultivated by the Moors. Even in Granada the nobles did their best to prevent extreme measures. But the royal edicts ruthlessly broke all compacts made with the Moors, and the grinding conditions which these imposed concerning both their social and their economic life drove the wretched people to despair, and finally brought on the outbreak of that revolt which, in spite of all their bravery, could result only in the destruction of the Moors. The war which began in the year 1568 did not end until 1570, after Don John of Austria, the natural son of Charles V., had assumed the supreme command. The Inquisition completed the task with its usual zeal and thoroughness.

PHILIP II., "SPAIN'S EVIL GENIUS"

The influence of this monarch, who married Mary Tudor in 1554, was wholly bad. He stamped out Protestantism in Spain, but failed to carry out the same policy in the Netherlands. The overthrow of the Spanish Armada by England marked the beginning of Spain's decline.

Don John of Austria is the most brilliant and heroic figure of the reign of Philip II.; he is the incarnation of those bold and warlike traits of the Spanish character which Philip totally lacked. But the emptiness and indecision of Spanish policy appear perhaps nowhere so terribly clear as in the career of this prince, who was so highly endowed by nature. The mournful laurels he gained in the Moorish War were no real distinction. The greatest achievement of his life, the glorious victory he gained over the Turkish fleet at Lepanto on October 7th, 1571, remained without decisive result. At length, in the year 1576, he was appointed governor of the Netherlands, and wasted his best powers in a useless struggle against the Protestants of the northern provinces. The collapse of Philip II.'s policy is marked by the destruction of the Armada. The fanatic on the Spanish throne proposed to make a final and mighty attempt to overthrow Protestant England, to deprive the Netherlands of their best ally, and thus to put an end to Protestantism, at any rate in Western Europe. The execution of Mary Stuart in 1587 declared that England had definitely broken with the Catholic Church, and was a bold challenge to the power of Spain. Philip's reply to this act of defiance was what seemed an irresistible attack on the English kingdom. He claimed the crown as a descendant of John of Gaunt, on the pretext that, after Mary's death, all claimants with an otherwise superior title were barred as heretics. Actually the attempt resulted in the destruction of the Spanish sea power in 1588. The Armada, that giant navy, was shattered by the English fleet, and ultimately destroyed by tempests. With it sank the numberless millions which had been extorted from miserable Spain. Philip's resources were exhausted, and for the last ten years of his life he was reduced to the condition of acting only on the defensive. Spain was not the only country that had to bear the consequences of

Philip's political failures: fate had also brought Portugal, the last independent state in the peninsula, in an evil hour, under the sceptre of the ruler who had shattered the prosperity of Spain. It would indeed be false and unjust to make Philip alone responsible for the ruin of Portuguese prosperity, since that had been determined long before his interference by Portugal's erroneous colonial policy. Neither in Spain nor in Portugal had the great truth been realised that colonies can prove a benefit to the mother country only when they give a stimulus to home industry, and when colonial commodities can be exchanged for the produce of home manufactures; and that there could be no benefit when mountains of gold, extorted by the ruthless oppression of the new possessions, were recklessly squandered at home.

Unfortunately for Portugal, circumstances had become so unfavourable that even a far-sighted government could hardly have checked the internal corruption of a state which seemed so prosperous on the surface. If the boundless colonies were to be retained, it was necessary to send out unstinted reinforcements of troops and sailors from the little kingdom until the centres of manufacture and agriculture were made desolate, and prosperity declined on every hand. The luxuries demanded by the increasing wealth of the great towns had to be imported from the other industrial countries of the time. The prudent merchants and manufacturers of the Netherlands were able to divert to the enrichment of their own industries the stream of gold which Spain and Portugal poured forth like a devastating torrent.

The ancient hatred for the Moors, which had led Spain into various undertakings on the north coast of Africa, also roused the Portuguese to action. Petty wars were continually raging on the coast of Mauretania, where several fortresses were conquered and held by the Portuguese until their great successes in India withdrew their attention from Africa. Under King John III. (1521–1557), and during the regency of Queen Catharine, who ruled in behalf of her young grandson, Sebastian, affairs in North Africa fell into the background. Meanwhile, that spirit of fanatical intolerance which had risen to such portentous power in Spain had also become manifest in Portugal. The Inquisition and the Jesuits had made good their entrance. As fate would have it, side by side with Philip, the gloomy and fanatical king of Spain, ruled Sebastian of Portugal, a fiery, romantic, and visionary devotee, who was even more successful than Philip in destroying the political existence of his country. Sebastian's views became utterly distorted under the influence of his Jesuit advisers. In the year 1577 the king, who, in a spirit of asceticism, declined to marry, began a crusade against Morocco. The deficiency in men and money became painfully apparent in the course of his preparations. The adventure was made without foresight, and came to a miserable end. At Alcazar, not far from Tangier, the army of Sebastian was overthrown by the onset of the Moors on August 4th, 1578. The king himself disappeared in the confusion, and was never seen again.

KINGS OF PORTUGAL: JOHN III. AND SEBASTIAN
Portugal was at the zenith of its fame and prosperity when John III. ascended the throne in 1521, but the influence of the Jesuits and the Inquisition checked the country's development. Sebastian, a grandson of John III., was killed while fighting against the Moors in 1578.

The last male descendant of the Portuguese dynasty, the old Cardinal-Infant, Henry, now took the reins of government. When Henry died, in the year 1580, Philip asserted a questionable claim to the crown by inheritance through his mother; a Spanish army crossed the frontier, succeeded in establishing itself by treachery, bribery, and force of arms, and compelled Portugal to bow to the yoke of Spain whether it would or not. Portugal's immense colonial empire also fell into the hands of the Spanish king, whose power then reached its zenith, but from that great height it was soon to fall in utter ruin and to drag down the Portuguese nation into the abyss with itself.

During the religious dissensions in Germany the Emperor Charles had always been desirous that another council should be held. The session at Trent had at last begun on December 13th, 1545, but was interrupted several times by the changes in politics (1547–1551; 1552–1562), and was reopened for the last time on January 18th, 1562, and definitely concluded on December 4th, 1563. The course of the assembly had not been altogether a brilliant success. The object in view had been several times changed. Efforts indeed had first been made to win back the heretics, and for this reason, at the beginning of 1552, Protestants also had been from time to time admitted to the conferences. But the effect of the Council of Trent, taken all in all, was nevertheless much more permanent than that of any earlier council, because the organisation of the Church was firmly established, the ecclesiastical constitution reformed, and the contents of the articles of faith authoritatively fixed, so that the form assumed by the Catholic Church in the succeeding period was only the practical result of the resolutions taken at Trent. It had already been recognised that the unclerical life of so many professed servants of God did not harmonise with the requirements of the Church; but all attempts to remedy this had failed until the example of the Protestants, who for this very reason were so highly esteemed, made some energetic steps seem doubly urgent. Resolutions in this direction were adopted at Trent, which were intended to solve this problem. The scientific and religious education of the clergy was specially organised, and at the same time the plurality of benefices prohibited, so that a less expensive and luxurious mode of living should for this reason be adopted.

KING HENRY OF PORTUGAL
He was the last male descendant of the Portuguese dynasty, succeeding Sebastian, and when he died, in 1580, Philip of Spain laid claim to the crown, and seized the country.

WILLIAM THE SILENT
It was to William, Prince of Orange, that the Dutch republic owed its independence. He headed the Netherlands' opposition to Philip II., and was assassinated in 1584.

The solution of the first-mentioned problem would have been the most difficult task for the Church twenty years previously; but now it was comparatively easy, for in quite a different quarter the Church had found a new ally in the order of Jesuits, which, on a basis similar to that of Protestantism, used the teaching of the Humanists in order to train the intellects of the future clergy. The founder of the order was Inigo Lopez de Recalde de Loyola, better known as Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556), a Spaniard by birth, who at first had followed the profession of arms. Having been severely wounded in 1521 he tried to satisfy his religious cravings by asceticism, wandered over the world, diligently studied the theologians, and finally formed the resolve to become the protector and champion of the Catholic Church against the new doctrines. As early as 1528 he found in Paris a circle of enthusiastic followers—Laynez, Salmeron, Bobadilla, Rodriguez, Lefevre, and Xavier—who were ready to join him in work and in asceticism, and to throw themselves body and soul, in a way hitherto unknown, into the service of the mediæval Church.

An organisation was necessary in order to carry out these purposes. This was created by the papal Bull, which, on September 27th, 1540, instituted "the Company of Jesus," that is to say, a community of at most sixty members who promised to devote themselves to the dissemination of the true faith, under the strictest obedience to their superior and the Pope. Their chief duty was missionary work, and this they carried out by indefatigable wanderings through every land. But it was only after 1543, when the number of members had begun to grow, that the organisation and its efficiency expanded beyond the original sphere. Loyola himself became, in 1541, the first general, whose will was necessarily obeyed by every member of the order by virtue of the implicit yielding up of all individual will or opinion. The hierarchic system was here developed in the strictest conceivable manner, and the fruits corresponded thoroughly with the exertions of the members of the order. Their numbers and their influence increased with astonishing rapidity in every country; settlements were formed everywhere, which were geographically grouped into provinces, while many individual brothers were busily employed as teachers in grammar schools and universities. This task was doubly important in Germany, since the advanced teaching of the Protestants threatened to gain a complete victory; Jesuits appeared as teachers in the Bavarian university of Ingolstadt as early as 1549, and gradually made this academy entirely subservient to them; a Jesuit college was started at Munich in 1559.

Activity of the Jesuits

But even before this Loyola had induced the Pope to take a most important step for the counter-reformation in Germany, by founding the German College at Rome in 1552, an institution at which successive groups of German theologians were to be educated in the Jesuitic spirit. The students of this college were to form the flower of the troops in the war against Protestantism, to hold the foremost positions in the German Church, and gradually to lead back the lost Germany to the bosom of the Church.

While the Protestant theologians, after the Peace of Augsburg, began a violent dogmatic struggle with the Swiss Reformed Church, and while there was furious opposition in electoral Saxony to Crypto-Calvinism, German Catholicism gained in spiritual strength, and was able to aim a blow at Protestantism from Bavaria and Austria. It is remarkable that the papal policy met with approval from these two temporal princes almost alone, while of the numerous spiritual princes some were openly inclined to Protestantism, and some were regarded in Rome at least as untrustworthy and could only gradually be induced to acknowledge the Tridentine confession of faith. Now for the first time a closer and more regular bond was drawn between Germany and the Curia, in which a more earnest spiritual life began to be the rule, by the founding of so-called Nunciatures, beginning with Vienna and Cologne; a much stronger influence from Rome could thus be exercised on the Cathedral Chapters, especially at the election of bishops, than by the individual legates of the earlier system.

German Catholicism's New Life

Those who occupied the episcopal sees in Germany after the eighth decade of the sixteenth century were in fact far more zealous Catholics than their predecessors; being partly younger princes of the families of the Hapsburgs and Catholic Wittelsbachs, they were also politically connected with princely houses and prepared to carry out the decrees of Trent within their jurisdictions. In this way a uniformity was again brought into the policy of the many Catholic princes, while on the Protestant side the continual struggle between electoral Saxony and the Palatinate prevented any uniform action. The Catholics had always the majority in the diet both in the college of the electors and in that of the princes.

In one place only Protestantism gained temporarily a fresh success—on the Lower Rhine, where numerous Protestants, banished from the Netherlands, sought refuge. Protestants appeared in the town council of the imperial city of Aix la Chapelle in 1574, and a few years later they were in the majority. In the archbishopric of Cologne, the archbishop, who wanted to marry Countess Agnes of Mansfeld, tried to carry his province into the reform; but at the same time, while violating the conditions of the clerical state, he wished to rule as a temporal prince. He publicly adopted Calvinism in 1582, and married on February 2nd, 1583. But the states did not follow him, and since the Lutheran princes took little or no care for the Calvinist, the newly chosen Archbishop Ernest of Bavaria won a victory with Spanish help and was recognised as elector, in 1584, by the empire and even by the Protestant princes.

Calvinistic Archbishop of Cologne

This was a great success for Catholicism, and all the more so because now for the first time the attempt at establishing Protestantism had failed, and the feeble efforts of the Protestant princes had shown that the days of the Schmalcaldic League were past. On the north-west frontier of Germany a great change had been produced in the Netherlands, where the fanatics had already found a home, and Calvinism began to spread widely. Charles V. had taken vigorous measures against the heretics, but without distinct success, more especially since the local ruler was unpopular on political as well as religious grounds.

Philip, the son of Charles, had taken over the government in 1556 from his father; but it was inevitable that he should be personally hateful to the Netherlands, as being a thorough Spaniard, which could not be said of Charles. The presence of Spanish troops during the period after 1550 created intense ill-feeling among the people, while increasing financial difficulties, coupled with dwindling returns from trade, of which England now began to take a share, made themselves felt. All this fostered the thought of revolution among the people, and matured the plan of finally shaking off the Spanish yoke.

The Brave William of Orange

When Philip left the Netherlands in 1559 in order to visit Spain, he appointed his stepsister, Margaret of Parma, to the regency, a post she was well qualified to fill, especially since she was supported by a central government which Charles had splendidly organised. But the Council of State contained, besides the Spaniards and Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, a most loyal servant of his king, a large number of the nobility of the Netherlands who were not disposed to submit without demur to Spanish ideas, and adhered to the Protestant doctrines. Foremost among them was to be Prince William I., the Silent, of Orange-Nassau. In order to support the Catholic religion Philip formed new dioceses, and intended to interfere in the French religious struggles in the interests of the Catholic party, but he met with the keenest opposition from the leaders of the nobility.

Protestant Stand against the Inquisition

William of Orange, in the struggle with Philip, sought an alliance with the German Protestants—he was the son-in-law of Augustus, Elector of Saxony—and with the Huguenots of France. The crisis became more and more acute after 1563. The nobility demanded that the States-General should be summoned, but Granvelle would not entertain the idea. The destruction of the political and ecclesiastical supremacy of Spain would have been sealed by this step. Philip gave way once more to the urgency of the nobility, and recalled Granvelle in the spring of 1564. Nevertheless, the old spirit still prevailed both in the government and among the people; indeed, the Protestant movement became more and more violent, since the stadtholders in the provinces allowed themselves to be taken unprepared to carry out the strict orders of the government against the heretics. The Inquisition had begun its work, but the people and the nobles revolted against it, and Margaret was obliged to consent, in 1565, to the sending of an embassy to the king in order to lay before him the demands of the Netherlands. Count Egmont was chosen for this mission to the royal court; but he achieved no results.

The Inquisition was sustained, and the States-General were strictly forbidden to assemble until complete religious—that is to say, Catholic—order had been restored. This was more than the people could tolerate. The command of the king was ridiculed; the populace rose in Antwerp, and the provincial stadtholders refused to comply with the orders of the government. In November, 1565, by the so-called compromise of Breda, a secret league of the nobility was effected, which meant the paving of the way toward the revolution against Spain and the Inquisition.

Vandals Among the Calvinists

The first act of the members of the league was to send a petition, on April 5th, 1566, to Margaret, the regent, with the old demands. To this she returned an evasive answer, and the petition resulted in nothing. In the summer, therefore, a new petition was presented, in which the "Beggars" (the "Gueux")—the petitioners had thus styled themselves at the suggestion of Count Henry of Brederode—demanded the abdication of the regent and the appointment of a national government. Philip of Montmorency-Nivelle, Count of Horn, was for the future to guide the fortunes of the country in conjunction with Egmont and William of Orange, and to protect the country by levying troops. But in August, 1566, before Margaret had returned an answer, the Calvinists, who were now becoming very powerful, began their career of image-breaking, and then enlisted troops for the defence of the reformed faith. This riotous expression of religious life appealed but little to the nobility and the great merchants. The regency made some concessions to them, being alarmed at the rising of the masses, and thus the interests of the nobles and the people were divorced. Margaret was able, in 1566 and 1567, to repress the rebellion in the most important places, and, contrary to her former promises, to restore the Inquisition to full activity.

The Terrible Work of the Inquisition

She had won a complete victory, but she did not reap the fruits of her work, since King Philip, in August, 1567, sent the Duke of Alva, equally renowned as general and statesman, into the Netherlands in order once more to enforce the recognition of the absolute government. Such full powers were given to Alva that Margaret abdicated in December, and resigned her post to the duke. The complete restoration of the old faith was the chief aim of the king and of his stadtholder. A specially commissioned board of inquisitors began their bloody work that same winter. Counts Egmont and Horn were arrested on September 9th, 1567, and executed on June 5th, 1568, while William of Orange escaped to Germany. His attempts there to win help for the liberation of his country were unsuccessful. Alva not only executed with extreme severity all the king's measures, and insisted on the Catholic Church organisation, but also burdened the country with taxes, especially the "tenth penny," for the support of the army, while he gradually disregarded the States-General as a body on whose vote national taxation depended. He seemed to have brought the whole of the Netherlands under his heel.

A considerable number of Lutherans and Calvinists had escaped execution by flight. They had gone to the coasts and the sea in order to find in a wild, piratical life as "sea-beggars" some compensation for the loss of their former prosperity. These freebooters had already recorded a success on April 1st, 1572. They captured and held the town of Brielle, and took possession of other places while Alva was busy on the French frontier.

Protestants Become Freebooters

William of Orange had always exercised a cheering influence on the rebels from a distance, and had found means to levy troops in Germany. On July 18th, 1572, he was nominated by the Dutch provincial states, assembled at Dordrecht, as stadtholder of Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht—that is to say, as constitutional representative of the King of Spain. This action meant rebellion in Alva's eyes; but it was only after he had captured the town of Mons, in Hainault, that it was possible for him to advance towards the north. Haarlem held out for seven months, and was taken only on July 12th, 1573. Other places, especially Alkmaar, showed defiance. Alva, however, before the end of the year, left his post, being thoroughly convinced of the fruitlessness of his exertions.

His successor was the former governor of Milan, Luis de Requesens y Zuniga. The conduct of the Spaniards was changed on his appearance. Requesens would have willingly negotiated for peace; but it was now too late. The "beggars" were ready for all emergencies. The war continued, and not to the disadvantage of the Spaniards; they were victorious under d'Avila on April 14th, 1574, at Mooker Heath, and held the town of Leyden closely invested from May 25th to October 3rd.

But before his death, on March 4th, 1576, Requesens was fated to see that the rebels had accomplished a union of Holland and Zeeland, and had named William of Orange commander of the forces on sea and land. This was an important advance on the road towards national independence, for the idea of a French or English protectorate to take the place of Spain had already been mooted. There was now a long interval before a new stadtholder appeared. Even the partially victorious troops mutinied when their pay was not forthcoming. They began to roam through the land, plundering on their own account, and so roused the personal resistance of the population, which, organised into a national guard, took up arms against them at many points.

Rebel Troops in Mutiny

One thing more was required for the expulsion of the foreigners—the union of the northern and southern provinces. This was accomplished in the "Pacification of Ghent," on November 4th, 1576, by which thirteen provinces united for the common peace of the country, to be crowned by an equal toleration of the Reformed and the Catholic religions. The new stadtholder, Don John of Austria, the victor of Lepanto, half-brother to the king, was obliged to recognise the agreement on February 12th, 1577, and did not enter Brussels until May 1. William of Orange had been unwilling to negotiate with the governor, and soon noticed that John was not sincere in his professions. Indeed, Don John had in July occupied Namur in order once more to show the power of Spain. But his attempt was useless; all the provinces except Luxemburg rose again, William entered Brussels, and was nominated as Ruwaard, or Regent, of Brabant before Archduke Matthias of Austria—afterwards emperor—who had been summoned to the country from the southern provinces, could gain a footing. The States-General were now bold enough to depose Don John, and on December 10th, 1577, to form a new league of the seventeen provinces in the union of Brussels, in which the reformed religion was declared on a complete footing of equality with the Catholic.

King Philip had sent Prince Alexander Farnese of Parma with ample forces to the support of Don John, and a victory was won over the army of the federation at the beginning of the year 1578. But the reinforcements grew less, and Don John died on October 1st, 1578. Religious dissensions in the States-General between Calvinists and Catholics arose, and became more and more acute, so as to threaten the recently-acquired unity, especially since Alexander of Parma, with wise moderation, conceded to the Catholic southern provinces practically all their claims, which were political, not religious, and so drew them over to the Spanish side; the Spanish regent once more ruled over a people.

Foundation of the "United Netherlands"

The great Pacification of Ghent was dissolved by the founding of the Walloon Union of Utrecht, on January 6th, 1579. Orange, however, contrived to oppose a northern Protestant district to the southern Catholic district. In the union of Utrecht on January 23rd, 1579, the provinces of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Groningen, Overyssel, and Friesland, formed a combination which, supported by the patriotic citizens of the progressive northern towns, laid the foundation for the later "United Netherlands."

The steady progress of Parma, on the one hand, and, on the other, the diplomatic dissociation of the southern Catholic provinces from the northern Protestants, with whose demands for religious liberty the south did not sympathise, isolated the union of Hollanders. Without external support, it seemed impossible for Orange to maintain his resistance. Help might be looked for from two quarters: England, where the popular sympathy was strong; and the Huguenot section in France, who regarded Francis of Anjou, better known by his earlier title of Alençon, as their figurehead. Elizabeth, however, was resolute in rejecting the Dutch offer of an English protectorate. She was ready enough to permit such underhand help to be given as might keep the revolt from entire collapse; but she was not yet prepared for an open rupture with Spain. Orange, therefore, turned to Alençon, the more willingly because the Queen of England was doing her best to make him and everyone else believe that she was going to surrender her hand at last to that grotesque suitor.

Elizabeth and her Schemes

At the beginning of the year 1582, Francis, Duke of Anjou, was acknowledged as the future ruler of the Netherlands, except Holland and Zeeland, and allegiance to the Spanish king was renounced, while Archduke Matthias withdrew from the scene of his unsuccessful efforts. The French prince, however, did not enjoy his new position, for, contrary to the compact which he had formed, he attempted to undermine the freedom of the Union, and was therefore driven out with his French followers in June, 1583.

Even yet the country did not become tranquil, quite apart from the continuously threatening attitude of Parma, for on July 17th, 1584, Prince William of Orange fell by the bullet of an assassin, after the southern Walloon Catholic provinces had completely attached themselves to Spain. In the course of the year 1585 Brussels on March 10th and Antwerp on August 17th fell into the hands of the Spaniards. Thus only the provinces which were united in the Union of Utrecht remained to be conquered.

In the south, under Parma's rule Catholicism once more reigned supreme, and although in Antwerp there was no bloody persecution of the Protestants, still many wealthy families were forced to leave the city for ever. At this moment, however, Elizabeth found herself compelled to yield to the pressure of the anti-Spanish feeling, and at last to enter into open alliance with the United Provinces. Drake sailed on a destructive marauding expedition, and an English force was despatched to the Low Countries under Leicester. The earl found himself obliged to accept the

Drake on a Marauding Expedition

Protectorate on behalf of his mistress, who promptly repudiated his action, with obloquy. The English army effected nothing practical, and Leicester was soon recalled. But the situation was changed. The beheading of Mary Stuart determined Philip to devote his energies primarily to the destruction of England. Parma was kept short of supplies while an armada was being prepared, and postponed, owing to Drake's raid on Cadiz. Maurice of Nassau utilised the breathing space to reorganise resistance; when the Armada came, Dutch ships were able to prevent any attempt on Parma's part to put to sea.

Spain's Shattered Armada

On May 29th, 1588, the Armada, a mighty Spanish fleet of 160 ships, with 32,000 men and 2,600 guns, sailed from Lisbon, and left Corunna on July 22nd, in order to conquer England, only to be hopelessly shattered by the English fleet and finally annihilated by tempests. The power of Spain was hopelessly crippled by the disaster; nor did she improve her prospects by deliberately entangling herself in the French war of the succession.

After the death of the English queen, Elizabeth, in 1603, a truce was inevitable, since for Spain as for the Republic the cost of the war was almost crushing, and the trade of Spain was continually diminishing, while the improvement in the Dutch trading enterprises suggested the thought to the merchants who shared the government that it would be more advantageous for the country to follow these profitable occupations. After many negotiations, a peace was settled on April 9th, 1609, in the form of a twelve years' truce, in which Spain waived her sovereign rights, and acknowledged the Protestant republic as an independent state. The Peace of Westphalia confirmed this treaty with the republic from the German Empire, and at the same time recognised the severance which had come about in 1609.

After the Armada, the Anglo-Spanish naval war continued through the remaining decade of Philip's life. English ships waged unceasing war on Spanish commerce, a popular course encouraged by the queen, who had no desire to see the total destruction of Spain accomplished. Thrice the indomitable Philip attempted to despatch new armadas, but each one was dispersed and shattered by adverse winds. Spanish intervention in France enabled the astute Henry IV. to pose as the patriotic champion, while placing his opponents in the invidious attitude of servants of a foreign and hostile master. When Philip died, in 1598, the husk of Spain's grandeur still remained; its reality had gone for ever, though still for half a century the world hesitated to appreciate that the championship of militant reaction had passed from the Spanish to the German Hapsburgs.

The Lost Grandeur of Spain

HEINRICH SCHURTZ
ARMIN TILLE

IN THE DAYS OF THE INQUISITION: THE MEN OF JUSTICE
From the painting by Jean Paul Laurens in the Luxembourg

THE PLACE OF PHILIP II. OF SPAIN IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

A Note by Martin Hume, M.A.

Philip's Great Failure

PHILIP II. inherited an impossible task, which he was too conscientious to shirk. He was reared in a rigid system, which, in his lack of originality, he thought it impious to change, and he was faced at a critical period of the world's history by nimble adversaries and shifting conditions, with which he was the last man to cope successfully. He was dull, laborious and patient, profoundly impressed with the magnitude of his sacred mission, confident of ultimate victory, and ready to sacrifice himself and others without mercy to the cause for which alone he lived, the unity of Christendom under the hegemony of Spain. In this life-object he failed utterly, as was inevitable, for at the time that the world was awakening with new light he sought to perpetuate the darkness, and the only partial success that crowned the end of a long reign of constant carnage was that France was prevented from becoming a Protestant power.

From the unhappy day when, in 1516, the sovereign of Flanders and heir of the empire became king of Castile and Aragon, Spain was cursed with responsibilities in Central Europe that brought her into inimical contact with France at every point, and in 1521, at the period when all her resources were needed for her interior consolidation, and the development of the New World, the young emperor threw back the challenge of Luther and assumed in addition the championship of orthodoxy. Thus began the mighty contest between traditional authority, on the one hand, and freedom of judgment on the other, of which over-burdened Spain had to bear the cost on the losing side, and the tired emperor cast his load upon his son, Philip, in 1555; nothing but the sublimest faith could have inspired belief in the final victory of his cause. And yet Philip never wavered in his firm conviction. His treasury was empty; his Flemish subjects were full of distrust, Protestantism was daily growing stronger; but there was no thought of temporising or avoiding the issue, and the slow, wise, unwarlike man, Philip, gravely, prayerfully, and conscientiously took up the task where his father left it, ignoring difficulties, changed conditions, and the forces arranged against him. He was freed from the burden of the empire, but he still considered it his duty to defend it, and to combat Lutheranism in Germany. A slight concession to local prejudices and religious freedom in Holland and Flanders would have saved him the life-long struggle which ruined Spain; but for Philip surrender of principle, however small, was impossible. His cause was necessarily the cause of the Almighty, and might not be bought and sold.

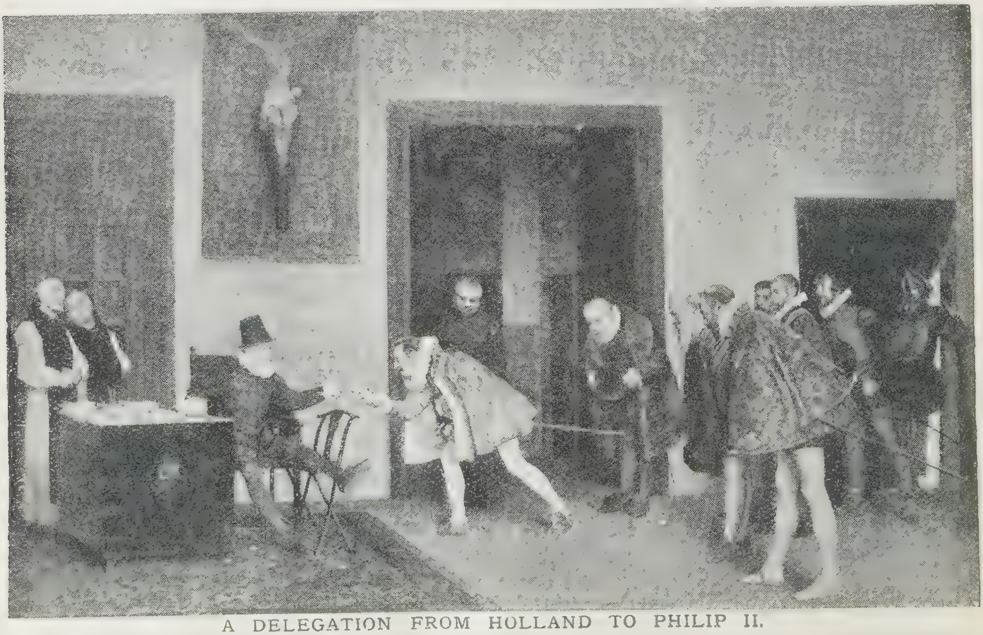
Elizabeth Refuses to Wed Philip

Philip's methods were those of his father's old age, though he lacked his father's celerity of thought and action. It was the diplomatist-emperor and not the soldier-emperor of whom Philip was the heir, and from the first Philip hoped to win by cunning what his father had failed to win by arms. The religious schism was dividing Europe by new lines of cleavage, and fresh national affinities were forming new groups of powers. It had always been the centre of Spanish-Flemish policy to maintain friendship with England at any cost in order to divert France on the north when necessary; but when Philip found that Elizabeth of England rejected his offers of marriage and the tutelage of Spain, he imagined a new combination, by which he could secure France to his side by an alliance and his marriage with a French princess, and become head of a league of Catholic nations to oppose advancing Protestantism. The plan promptly failed, because Catharine de Medici, the Queen-Regent of France, would not dance to

Philip's piping. She cared nothing for niceties of creed, and could change her tone at will. It did not suit her to have France pledged firmly to a Spanish Catholic policy, which would have given the Guises all the power, and she at once began smiling upon Elizabeth of England and the Huguenots to checkmate her son-in-law. The trio, France, England, and Spain, soon fell back into their old position of competing with each other to avoid isolation, and in the constant shuffling to this end Elizabeth and Catharine de Medici, with their rapid gyrations and absence of scruple, could, and nearly always did beat Philip, whose slow deliberation, immobile conscience, and invariable routine, rendered him easy to circumvent in spite of all his cunning.

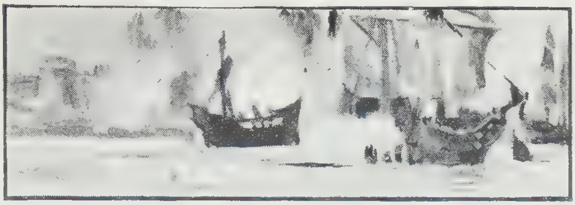
For many years Philip suffered with unexampled patience the plunder of his ships at sea, the support given to his rebellious subjects, the violation of his territory, and the scornful defiance of his remonstrances, because he hoped against hope to win the friendly neutrality of England, without which he could not dominate Holland or dictate a Catholic policy to France. He spared no effort to control England. Threats, cajolery, bribery, subornation of murder and rebellion, were tried in turn. Elizabeth met them all with deft evasion, sure that, when she pleased, a smile or a hint of marriage would bring France to her side, or that a note to the Huguenots, or a little more help given to the Prince of Orange, would redouble Philip's cares and make him harmless. Orange was as opportunist as the rest of the enemies of Philip.

When at last in desperation Philip decided to conquer England, an invasion which might have been easy thirty years before, his leaden routine and centralised administration paralysed his executive, and the great Armada of 1588 was a beaten fleet before it sailed to inevitable disaster. In his sad old age, bereaved, overworked, and ill, deep in debt he could never pay, and overwhelmed with personal grief and national failure, he never despaired, firmly convinced that the cause of God was linked with his own, and that final victory would repay the suffering and sacrifice of himself and Spain. He failed to dominate or win the friendship of England, he failed to impose Catholicism upon the Germans, or even upon his own rebellious Flemings, he failed to make his beloved daughter queen of England, or queen of France; but at least, as a result of his life, he forced Henry of Navarre to "go to Mass," thus keeping France Catholic, and by fire and rack he cleansed his country of all taint of heresy. In doing so, he doomed Spain, whose glory was his aim, to a long future of impotence and ignominy.



A DELEGATION FROM HOLLAND TO PHILIP II.

From the painting by Arcos



THE SPACIOUS DAYS OF ELIZABETH AND ENGLAND'S RISE AS A WORLD-POWER

ELIZABETH began her reign with a declaration of Anglican sympathies and an acknowledgment of the supremacy of Parliament by ordering that the English Liturgy should be used as the sole form of public service until Parliament should otherwise provide. This proclamation sounded the keynote of the reign, although it must be owned that, while her devotion to the religion of her father was sincere, her respect for Parliament was based upon a grudging perception of the fact that autocracy was a thing of the past.

The Devoted Ministers of Elizabeth

There were many occasions on which she would have quarrelled with the Commons had she dared; her views and theirs were rarely in complete accord. But in her most self-willed moments she remembered that her throne was supported solely by the goodwill of the nation, and in the last resort she invariably passed from threats and remonstrances to the language of conciliation. In this wise resolve she was confirmed by her Ministers. Seldom has any sovereign commanded the devotion of more able servants. Sir William Cecil (afterwards Lord Burleigh), at first her Secretary of State (1558–1572), afterwards Lord Treasurer (1572–1598), Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper (1558–1579), Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State (1573–1590), are the most famous of her advisers, and the flower of that official aristocracy which her father and grandfather had called into existence.

None of these men ever acquired a complete control of the queen's policy. She listened attentively to their views, selected, or refused to select, a plan according as the humour seized her, and not infrequently reduced them to despair through her own wilfulness or through attention to the instances of the favourites—Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Hatton, Essex, and others—who played upon her inordinate vanity to their own advantage.

Elizabeth's Strength and Weakness

Yet she was less capricious than she seemed; the suspense in which she kept the nation, Parliament, ambassadors, and her own council was often due to the profound caution with which she walked in the midst of complex and conflicting forces. She had her father's instinctive power of gauging popular feeling, her grandfather's art of analysing the international situation. Often she was wiser than her Ministers, and, although she seldom ventured on a decisive step, her inaction may be described as masterly. The desire of her friends and enemies alike was that she should commit herself to a settled course by marriage, by alliances, by statements of intentions. Her fixed resolve was to remain uncommitted as long as it was possible to do so; and for this end she was prepared to sacrifice veracity, consistency, and honour.

It was often a sordid policy, and she was sometimes reproached as timorous. In reality she was capable of the most reckless daring. If she balanced, it was in the manner of a rope-walker, for whom a false step means destruction. She showed a supreme faith in the security which an insular position and the conflicting ambitions of the continental powers conferred upon her kingdom; there were times when she staked her own head and the prosperity of England upon her confidence in this security.

The Queen's Tact amid Difficulties

Never was this dexterity more needed than at the beginning of her reign. She had to effect a religious settlement which would appease the Protestants without irritating the Marian reactionaries into rebellion; to hold fast by the friendship of Spain without committing herself to another war with France; to resist the rival pretensions of Mary Stuart, yet to leave it uncertain whether Mary might not ultimately inherit the English throne; to encourage foreign Protestants, yet to escape the stigma attaching to the heresiarch. Her religious settlement was adapted to these complex requirements. She settled the constitution and doctrine of the Church by parliamentary legislation, because the convocation of the clergy was imbued with the Marian system and hostile to all change.

But Elizabeth used her utmost efforts to prevent Parliament from heedless tampering with doctrine, and modified her claims of supremacy to avoid the reproach of despotism. The Supremacy Act of 1559 dropped the offensive title "Supreme Head of the Church," and declared the queen merely supreme governor of the realm, as well in all spiritual things or causes as in temporal; the oath of supremacy was to be demanded only from ecclesiastical persons, from laymen holding office, and from tenants in chief. All she required of private individuals was that they should not publicly dispute against the supremacy.

ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF ENGLAND

It was during the reign of "Good Queen Bess" that England rose to the position of a world-power. The daughter of Henry VIII. by his second wife, Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth ascended the throne on the death of Mary in 1558, and reigned till her death at Richmond in 1603. The execution of Mary Queen of Scots is the greatest blot on her name.

By a special proclamation the queen disclaimed any intention of interfering with the Church's doctrine or forms of worship. The Act of Uniformity was passed at the same time to settle the forms of public worship. It prescribed the use of Edward's second Prayer Book, with some alterations intended to gratify the moderates, who would have preferred that of 1549, and to avoid offending the extreme party, who desired a Prayer Pook more Protestant in tone than any which had yet appeared. It was made a criminal offence to use any other form of public worship, or to speak against the prescribed form; and non-attendance at church was to be punished by a fine of twelve-pence for each Sunday.

The first of these Acts also settled the question of royal jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters. The Crown received the rights of hearing all appeals, of visiting and correcting all heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, and enormities. These powers were to be exercised by royal delegates, who might be laymen. The odious heresy laws were repealed; heresy still remained a capital offence, but it was made more difficult to secure the conviction of any save the most flagrant heretics.

In the later years of the reign many legislative and administrative measures were framed to define points which had been left vague in the settlement, to provide more effectual machinery for enforcing it, and to sharpen the penalties against those who refused conformity. The spirit of the settlement, which in government followed the example of Henry VIII., in doctrine and ritual that of Cranmer, remained unaltered; we may therefore anticipate the course of political developments to sketch the outlines of the queen's ecclesiastical policy.

All the bishops, a large number of the cathedral clergy, and about two hundred parish priests, abandoned their preferments rather than accept the oath of supremacy. Their places, however, were soon filled, and in Archbishop Parker the queen found a capable and moderate primate to direct her future measures. Under his advice the Thirty-nine Articles —an amended version of the Forty-two

Articles of the last reign—were published in 1563. Studiously moderate in language, on disputed questions cautious to the point of ambiguity, the new confession was accepted by every section of the clergy, and it was made binding on the clergy alone. In 1563, and for some time to come, the ceremonies and vestments of the Prayer Book formed the only subject of serious dispute. Elizabeth stood firm against the cry of the growing party of Puritans for more simplicity in public worship.

Parker's Advertisements in 1566 fixed a standard of outward forms which gave much offence and led to many suspensions among the clergy. The minority fell back upon the plea that nothing should be made obligatory which was not demonstrably enjoined by Scripture; and, on the basis of the appeal to Scripture, Puritanism now began to assume a doctrinal form. Conventicles multiplied in London and some other places; and although the queen publicly announced that she desired to tamper with no man's conscience, but merely to enforce outward conformity, this principle did not mollify the "conventicle men," or prevent the government from imprisoning them.

QUEEN ELIZABETH IN A COSTUME OF THE PERIOD

The malcontents soon found a leader in Cartwright, a Cambridge professor of divinity, who began by denying that Scripture authorised the episcopate to exercise authority over their fellow clergy, and by pleading for a revival of diocesan synods. After his expulsion from Cambridge, Cartwright went further, and in his Admonition to Parliament in 1572 claimed autonomy for the Church and maintained that the ecclesiastical supremacy should be vested in general councils of the clergy. Princes, said Cartwright, are bound by the decrees of the Church; they ought, in the prophet's words, "to lick the dust off the feet of the Church."

There were many to whom this language was repugnant, and who yet were Puritans in the matter of ceremonies and doctrine. The spirit of these moderate Puritans was represented in Parliament, in which the Book of Common Prayer was challenged and the Articles were criticised from time to time. Elizabeth took her stand on the principle that the affairs of the Church were the exclusive concern of the Crown, not to be discussed without her licence; and in spite of angry protests she was able to prevent Puritanism from leaving its mark upon the statute book. In the country at large Puritanism presented a more difficult problem: "prophesyings," or unlicensed preachings, were frequent and popular; the printing press was called to the aid of the Puritans, and scattered broadcast libellous attacks upon episcopacy. In 1590 an attempt on the part of Cartwright and his friends to set up a system of unofficial diocesan synods was detected and caused considerable alarm; but in 1583 Whitgift had succeeded to the primacy, and with his aid Elizabeth entered on a campaign of vigorous repression.

The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Crown was now committed to a Court of High Commission, which assumed the right of interrogating all the clergy upon oath as to their beliefs and practices. An

Bacon

Cecil

Walsingham

THREE OF ELIZABETH'S FAITHFUL MINISTERS

The queen was fortunate in her Ministers, and seldom has any sovereign commanded the devotion of more able servants. The above three were the most famous of her advisers Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper; Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh, first her Secretary of State and later Lord Treasurer; and Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State.

Act was passed in 1593 which threatened with severe penalties all who neglected to attend at church or persisted in attending conventicles. The Star Chamber, which as early as 1566 had assumed a censorship of the Press, now became the coadjutor of the High Commission in repressing Nonconformists and their literature, with the result that severer penalties were made possible, while on the other hand the Tudor despotism in secular affairs, of which the Star Chamber was the symbol and expression, became hateful to every sectary.

It would be a mistake to regard Elizabeth and her Ministers as fanatical in their adhesion to episcopacy, or to a particular set of forms and ceremonies. Hooker, who may be regarded as the classical apologist for the Elizabethan settlement, maintained that in these matters each Church has a discretion. But he also regarded uniformity within each Church as essential; he thought that the lay power should both prescribe uniformity and enforce it by all the penalties that might be needful.

It is needless to say that real uniformity was not secured. Hundreds of the clergy, thousands of the laity, though restrained from opposition by patriotism and respect for the queen's person, waited with impatience for the advent of a new sovereign who should introduce a more liberal system.

Elizabeth opposed Puritanism, at first as something new-fangled and likely to offend the majority of her subjects; latterly because the victorious career of Calvinism gave her reasons for suspecting

Leicester

Hatton

Essex

FAMOUS FAVOURITES OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

Although Elizabeth's Ministers were men of outstanding ability, there was none of them who ever acquired a complete control over her policy, and when the mood seized her she even neglected their counsels in order to devote herself to favourites, such as Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Sir Christopher Hatton, and the Earl of Essex, whose portraits are here reproduced, who were always willing to pander to her vanity and to turn it to their own advantage.

that Puritanism spelled democracy in Church and State. Stronger, however, than either of these motives for persecution was the hope of keeping in touch with the moderate wing of the Catholic party. For a year or two she was so far successful that even Rome hoped for the speedy reunion of the Anglicans with the Mother Church. The Bull of 1562, which forbade the English Catholics to attend the Anglican service, made a breach with the devoted adherents of the papacy inevitable and destroyed the middle party. Hence the oath of supremacy was more stringently applied by an act of 1562. The rising of the Catholic earls in 1569, and the ill-judged pronouncement by which, in 1570, Pius V. absolved the subjects of Elizabeth from their allegiance, led to more drastic legislation against Catholics; and penal laws in their turn produced more conspiracies in favour of the imprisoned Mary Stuart. Even after Mary's execution and the repulse of the Armada had dissipated the fear of a rebellion assisted by the Catholic powers there was much persecution of the English Catholics. In this respect Elizabeth bequeathed to posterity an evil example. Her penal and disabling laws were not entirely swept away until the nineteenth century. Yet the Catholics as a body remained loyal throughout the great crises of her reign. None of the plots against her spread far or deep into the nation. The utmost efforts of the Jesuits whom Allen sent over from his seminary at Douay produced little result. Elizabeth's schemes of comprehension were therefore unsuccessful in so far that they left outside the pale of the state Church an increasing body of Protestants and a body of Catholics which, although diminishing, remained, and was to remain, considerable. None the less she succeeded in making Anglicanism the creed of the majority. The enormous influence which the Anglican clergy exercised in the politics of the seventeenth century is a sufficient proof of the thoroughness with which the work of Elizabeth had been done. It was the Church of her creation which undid the work of Cromwell in 1660 and expelled the Stuarts in 1688.

ARCHBISHOPS PARKER AND WHITGIFT

The second Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, was appointed to that high office by Elizabeth in 1559, and he proved himself a capable and moderate primate. He died in 1575. John Whitgift, whose portrait is also given, became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1583. He ministered to the queen in her last moments, and died in 1604.

A GREAT THEOLOGIAN

Richard Hooker was a brilliant theologian in the time of Elizabeth, and his "Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity" made his name famous.

From the marble statue by Alfred Drury, A.R.A., in the Cathedral Yard, Exeter

The queen's religious policy had, moreover, been adapted with great skill to the needs of the international situation. It remained ambiguous just as long as ambiguity was needed to prevent attacks from abroad; it became defiant when England could afford to despise the threats of the Catholic powers.

At the death of Mary Tudor the country was still engaged in war with France. Calais had been lost, and France was prepared to follow up the advantage thus obtained; Mary Stuart and her husband the dauphin had assumed the royal arms of England. The Guises, Mary's uncles, looked for the day when England would be a French dependency, and English resources would be brought into the field against Philip of Spain. Elizabeth saw the danger; she also saw the value of her friendship with Philip. With his aid she was able to secure favourable terms at Câteau-Cambrésis. She surrendered Calais, but the honour of England was saved by the empty promise that Calais should be restored in eight years' time.

AFTER ST. BARTHOLOMEW: QUEEN ELIZABETH RECEIVING THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR AT THE ENGLISH COURT

This picture, from the brush of Mr. W. F. Yeames, R.A., represents the English court in mourning after the terrible massacre of the Protestants in France on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, when 30,000 Huguenots, including women and children, are believed to have been sacrificed. Elizabeth is seen receiving the French ambassador in a formal and unfriendly manner.

The unpopularity of the peace in France brought the Guises, who had opposed it, once more into power; immediately afterwards the accession of their nephew the dauphin, as Francis II., made them doubly dangerous. The obvious means of checking the Guises was to form an alliance with the Protestants of Scotland; the great obstacle to this course was the necessity of preserving Philip's friendship. To form the Scottish alliance without breaking the Spanish alliance was the first of Elizabeth's great exploits in diplomacy; and it was the more remarkable because she contrived to forward the political designs of the Scottish Protestants without in any way committing herself to the support of their religious tenets. With Philip's secret consent an army was sent to assist the party of Knox in expelling the French troops of Mary of Guise. This was effected; the Scottish Reformation was saved; and it became certain that Scotland would not supply the Guises with a base from which to menace England.

TWO BRAVE SEAMEN: HAWKINS AND FROBISHER
A native of Plymouth, Sir John Hawkins took a prominent part in the repulse of the Spanish Armada; he set the example of American voyages, and, with Drake, commanded expeditions to the Spanish Main. Sir Martin Frobisher, another of the hardy type of seamen of Elizabeth's time, led Polar expeditions, and fought against the Armada.

Mary Stuart a Rival to Elizabeth

The Woes of the Queen of Scots

In 1561 Mary Stuart, left a widow by the early death of Francis II., returned to Scotland to turn the tide of Protestantism and to watch for an opportunity of making good her English claims, either as the opponent or as the heiress-designate of Elizabeth. Mary would not cease to quarter the English royal arms; Elizabeth would not recognise her as successor to the throne. Hence their relations were strained, and it became Elizabeth's supreme object to prevent her rival from forming a close union with the English Catholics or with a foreign Catholic power. Philip's jealousy of France was still the chief safeguard for England. But the marriage of Mary with her cousin Darnley in 1565 seemed for a time as though it would make the Scottish queen independent of external help. The marriage united the Scottish Catholics around the throne; the Protestant Ministers, whom Mary had hitherto been obliged to accept, were dismissed from power and chased out of Scotland. Then, however, the murder of Rizzio in 1566, contrived by the Protestant lords, but assisted by the conjugal jealousy of Darnley, produced a schism in the ranks of Mary's following. The queen sacrificed the Catholic cause and her English hopes to the desire of vengeance. She sought allies among the Protestants, even among the assassins of Rizzio; and Darnley's murder in 1567 atoned for that of Rizzio. The queen's part in the crime was suspected from the first; her marriage with Bothwell, the chief agent in the murder, turned suspicion to certainty, alienated from her the hearts of all respectable Catholics, and gave the Protestant leaders the opportunity of returning and recovering power. The queen was imprisoned at Lochleven Castle; her half-brother, Murray, became regent for the infant James VI.; and the only result of a last effort on the part of Mary and her few remaining supporters was a defeat at Langside in 1568, which necessitated her flight to England.

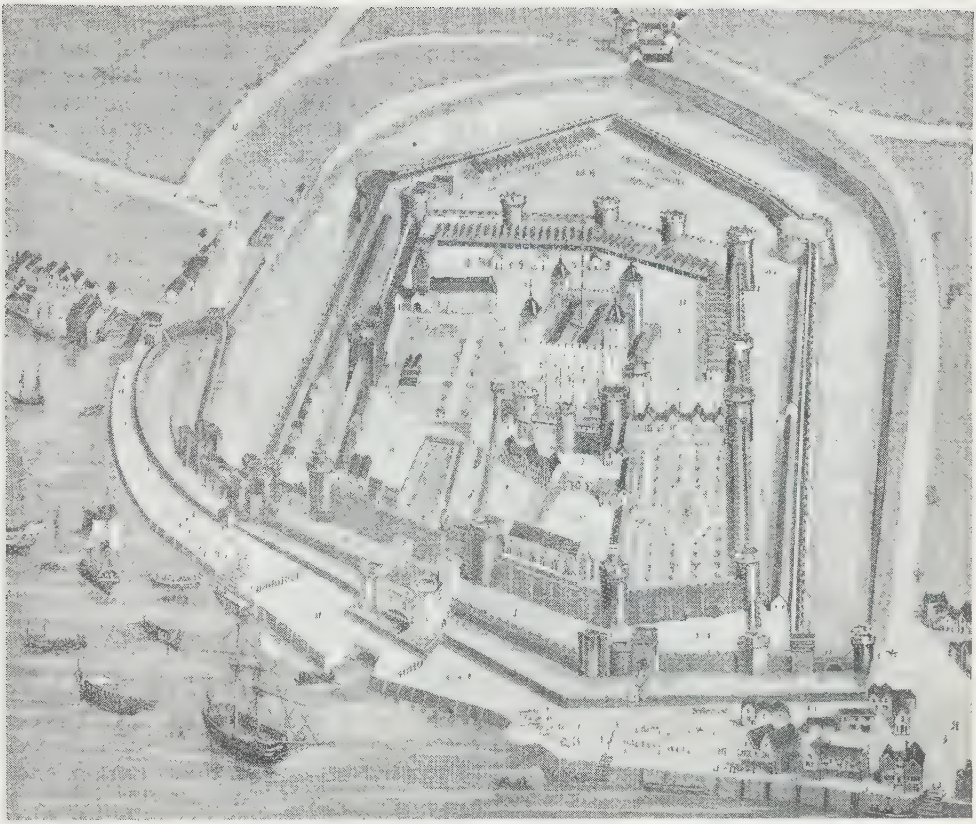
She threw herself upon the mercy of Elizabeth; it was a desperate step, but it caused untold embarrassment to the English government. Elizabeth could not afford, even if she had been willing, to restore her cousin and destroy the Protestant ascendancy in Scotland. She had not the right to try Mary for the murder of Darnley; nor was she anxious to deprive the English Catholics of the hopes which they based upon Mary's claim to the succession. She therefore resolved to discredit without formally condemning Mary, and to keep her as a prisoner without treating her as a criminal. Mary's request that the complaints against Murray and the Scottish Protestants might have a hearing was made the excuse for appointing a committee to sift the charges against Mary herself; the Scots were persuaded to produce the Casket Letters purporting to be written by Mary to Bothwell, and when Mary's fame had been irreparably blasted by this evidence, the proceedings of the committee were suspended without hearing the defence. Mary was kept a prisoner; but Elizabeth would gladly have restored her as the nominal queen of Scotland if Mary would have abandoned her claim to the English throne, and if Murray would have consented to give his sister the shadow without the substance of power. Since both remained obdurate there were two alternatives for Elizabeth.

Queen Mary a Prisoner in England

She might execute Mary as a murderess; this was the course which the English Ministers desired, but Elizabeth shrank from the danger of foreign intervention and Catholic rebellion. The other possible course was to detain Mary, keeping a strict watch against the intrigues with foreign enemies and English malcontents; this Elizabeth took. She had in consequence to face a number of conspiracies: that of the northern earls in 1569, that of Ridolfi in 1571–1572, the intrigues initiated by the Jesuits Campion and Parsons in 1580–1581, the Throgmorton Plot in 1583, and the Babington Plot in 1586. But the queen had counted the cost of her forbearance, and relied with justice upon the ability of Burleigh and Walsingham to frustrate all conspirators. In the meantime she asserted herself in the field of international diplomacy; she revived the policy which Henry VII. and Wolsey had so successfully pursued of acting as a make-weight between the evenly balanced factions of the Continent. But she effected her object by new methods skilfully adapted to her own situation and the circumstances of the Counter-Reformation. It is doubtful whether she ever had the intention of taking a husband; but her hand was offered as a bait at one time or another to nearly all the eligible

SIR WALTER RALEIGH AS A BOY LISTENING TO A SAILOR'S STORIES

This suggestive picture by Sir J. E. Millais depicts the youthful Raleigh, who subsequently became a great explorer, sitting with a companion listening to the stories of a sailor as he describes the wonderful lands across the seas.



THE TOWER OF LONDON AS IT WAS IN THE TIME OF ELIZABETH

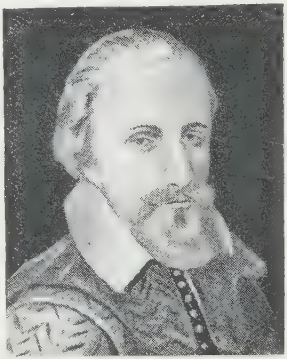
princes of the Catholic party. It is true that she declined, without much hesitation, an offer from Philip of Spain, who was inseparably, though unjustly, associated in the minds of her people with the religious persecutions of her sister's reign. But the idea of an Austrian or French marriage was continually mooted; and the courtship of Francis, Duke of Anjou, more familiarly known under his earlier title of Alençon, went far enough to form the basis of important changes in the foreign relations of the two countries most concerned.

Such projects were allowed to remain open so long as they proved useful; but Elizabeth had no intention of tying herself to the Valois and so offending Spain irrevocably, or of provoking Mary's adherents to desperation by a Hapsburg marriage. She was often pressed by her Ministers and Parliament to solve the problem of the succession by marrying some one, no matter whom. But she read the needs of her situation more accurately than her advisers. The uncertainty of the succession was a source of strength as well as of danger. After marriage projects her main weapons were found in intrigues with the Protestants of the Netherlands and France. The Bull of Pius V. in 1570 caused her to be regarded as the natural head of the Protestant interest; and she used this position to inspire her co-religionists with courage for the struggle against her actual and potential enemies. She gave but small assistance, and she drove hard bargains with her allies. The Huguenots were compelled to bribe her with the town of Havre in 1563, but received in return no substantial help, and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572 provoked from Elizabeth the mildest of remonstrances. Until 1585 she allowed the heroic Netherlands to conduct their resistance against Philip single-handed, except for the support which her diplomacy occasionally afforded, and the diversions effected by the spontaneous depredations of English privateers upon Spanish colonies and shipping,

The Age of English Privateering

and by English volunteers in the Dutch armies. Leicester's expedition of 1585–1586 was a mere source of expense and embarrassment to the Seven Provinces, and a bitter mortification to English Protestants jealous for the honour of their country.

It was the force of circumstances which lay beyond her control that made Elizabeth at length the armed defender of Protestantism and the mistress of the seas. As the true drift of her home policy became apparent, as English buccaneering and trade rivalry became more formidable, Philip of Spain drifted from friendship to a cold neutrality, and thence to active enmity. His agents fomented the plots of English Catholics and encouraged the growth of a Catholic reaction in Scotland; at length, in 1580, a small body of Spanish troops went to the aid of the Irish Catholics and Nationalists in Munster. It became clear that the reduction of the Netherlands would be followed by an invasion of England. By 1585 Elizabeth found herself committed to war with Spain, and the formation of the Catholic League in France in 1584 made it probable that the two great powers of the Counter-Reformation would unite against her. Reluctantly she threw down the gage by the execution of Mary Stuart, who was condemned, nominally for her share in the Babington plot, but in fact to ensure that the imminent foreign peril should not be complicated by dynastic conspiracies at home. Immediately afterwards Philip set up a claim to the throne of England and began to prepare the mighty Armada.


SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE
A great commander, Grenville distinguished himself on land and sea; off the Azores, in 1591, he made a heroic but unsuccessful defence against the whole fleet of Spain.

THE GREATEST ELIZABETHAN SEAMAN
The life and exploits of Sir Francis Drake read like a romance. Taking to the sea early in life, he was soon fighting against the Spaniards. He won fresh glory in the great struggle with the Spanish Armada, and died, off Porto Bello, in 1596.

On more than one critical occasion England had learned the importance of maritime supremacy. One naval victory had saved the crown to the infant Henry III.; another had enabled Edward III. to use the Channel without fear or hindrance as a highway for the invasion of France; a third, fought with disastrous issue in 1372, had left Aquitaine at the mercy of Charles V. and Du Guesclin. In the reign of Henry V. the "dominion of the narrow seas" had been asserted, and the value of naval power both for military and for commercial purposes had been fully recognised. Yet the Tudors, in other respects so quick to feel and to promote the tendencies of their age, had been remiss in building up a navy and a mercantile marine. Henry VII. is recorded to have built a royal ship of war, larger than any which the Crown had hitherto possessed. Henry VIII. founded the Woolwich and Deptford dockyards, and collected a fleet which at his death numbered seventy sail; if his policy had been continued, England would have been well prepared for defence. But in the reign of Edward VI. the old ships decayed without being replaced; at the death of Mary Tudor the royal ships were but forty-six in number.

The naval expenditure of Elizabeth was, before 1588, surprisingly small; her captains and seamen, though unrivalled for skill and daring, were wretchedly paid, and her effective navy included only some thirty vessels, of which less than half were of the first rank for fighting purposes. But the defects of the navy were made good by the spontaneous growth of the merchant marine. The largest private ships were built to carry guns, since piracy and smuggling at the expense of the Spanish and other hostile governments had long been recognised as legitimate and lucrative forms of enterprise. The Levant and Guinea trades, the voyages of exploration which began with the expedition of Chancellor and Willoughby to the White Sea in 1553, the opening of the Newfoundland fisheries about 1548, the American voyages of which Hawkins set the example from 1562 to 1567, the Polar voyages of Frobisher and Davis, all contributed to form a hardy race of navigators. A census of seamen, taken shortly before the coming of the Armada in 1583, enumerates over 1,400 master mariners and 11,500 common sailors in the ports of England and Wales. England was still far from being a maritime nation, but no other European power could show so large a proportion of seamen to population.

THE GREAT SIR WALTER RALEIGH

Sir Walter Raleigh was another of the distinguished figures of the Elizabethan period, and won fame by his expeditions. He introduced potatoes and tobacco to this country. His later years were clouded with trouble, and he was beheaded at Whitehall in 1618.

Religion and commercial interest had combined to make the English seaman the enemy of Spain. The Spaniard claimed a monopoly of trade with his colonies in the New World, and treated as pirates the English adventurers who persisted in providing the West Indies and the Main with negro slaves and other necessaries. The captives of the Spaniard were perhaps no worse treated than the recognised usages of warfare permitted; but every adventurer hanged or detained for illicit trading beyond the line was represented in England as a victim of the Inquisition. The sailors of the two nations had been long at open feud before their governments decided on a formal rupture. The war virtually began in 1568, when Hawkins was attacked by the Spanish fleet in the harbour of Vera Cruz, and Elizabeth had done more than lend a passive countenance to the reprisals of her subjects. To avenge Hawkins she seized, in 1569, certain Spanish treasure-ships which had imprudently ventured into the ports of the south coast of England. Drake, who in 1572 captured the Panama treasure-train, and in 1578 began his circumnavigation of the globe by a bold raid upon the west coast of Spanish America, was knighted by the queen, and she became a partner in his spoils of plunder.

HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM

He became Lord High Admiral in 1585, and three years later was given the command against the Spanish Armada. In 1596 he was created Earl of Nottingham.

When, in consequence of the Spanish ambassador's complicity in the Throgmorton Plot in 1584, diplomatic relations were suspended, it was only necessary for Elizabeth to give the signal and Drake with his fellow adventurers were in a moment converted from buccaneers to champions of Protestantism and national independence. A joint-stock expedition (1585–1586) carried fire and sword through the Spanish Main; in 1587 Drake entered Cadiz harbour and "singed the beard" of Philip by destroying the better part of the vessels which had been collected for the purpose of invading England.

English superiority at sea was even more strikingly demonstrated in 1588. A fleet of seventy vessels, collected chiefly from the seaport towns, and directed by Drake under the nominal command of Lord Howard of Effingham, chased the Armada through the narrow seas from Plymouth to Gravelines. Medina Sidonia, the Spanish admiral, commanded 130 ships, of which the largest were superior in size and complement to any which Drake could produce. But a large number of these were mere transports; and ship for ship the Spaniard was inferior both in guns and in seamanship. The greatest naval victories of Spain had been won in the Mediterranean; neither the ships nor the men of Medina Sidonia were fitted for oceanic warfare. Their one

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE ON BOARD THE "REVENGE": AN INCIDENT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA

Sir Francis Drake was an intrepid voyager and made the name of England famous over-seas. The Spaniards had good cause to fear him, for no man had done more to break their naval power. An incident of the Spanish Armada is represented in this picture, which shows Pedro de Valdez yielding up his sword in token of submission to the English naval leader.

From the painting by J. Seymour Lucas, A.R.A.

hope lay in grappling; but the English, getting the weather gauge from the first and holding it throughout, fought at long range, and the issue was decided before the storms by which the ruin of the Spanish fleet was completed had begun.

The last hope of Medina Sidonia failed when he found, upon anchoring at Calais, that the land army which Parma had been instructed to collect in the Netherlands was not yet collected and that the commander was unwilling to risk a descent on England. About one half of the Spanish fleet never returned to Spain. The prestige of Philip II. had sustained a fatal blow, his resources were inadequate to the preparation of a new force, and for the remainder of her reign, Elizabeth, though haunted by the nightmare of a Spanish invasion, had no real cause for fear. Her attempts to continue the naval war were less successful than might have been expected from this brilliant opening. A disastrous attack on Lisbon in 1591 was hardly balanced by the heroic but unsuccessful defence which Sir Richard Grenville of the Revenge offered, off the Azores, to a whole Spanish fleet; the death of Drake, in the course of a raid upon the Main in 1596, left England without an admiral of genius. But to such a point had the Spanish power sunk that Howard of Effingham, Raleigh, and the incompetent Essex were able to enter the harbour and sack the town of Cadiz without encountering serious resistance. Though England lived under continual apprehension of attack, there was not in fact the slightest danger from Spain after 1588.

QUEEN ELIZABETH ENCOURAGING HER ARMY TO FIGHT THE SPANIARDS

News reached England in 1588 of the vast preparations being made in Spain for the invasion and conquest of our country, and preparations for resistance were speedily made. A considerable portion of England's land forces was stationed at Tilbury, under the command of Leicester, and there Queen Elizabeth appeared in person, by her presence and words reminding the soldiers of their duty to their country and religion, and exhorting them to fight well. She would lead them against the enemy herself, she said, rather than survive the ruin and slavery of her people.

From the picture by Huck

The last years of Elizabeth are disappointing enough if we regard simply their political events. The queen persisted blindly in the persecution of Catholics and Puritans, although in the year of the Armada both had given signal proofs of loyalty. The death of Walsingham, in 1590, and the old age of Lord Burleigh left the supreme direction of affairs in the hands of the latter's son, Sir Robert Cecil, an astute and active politician, but ill-fitted to fill the place which the older counsellors had vacated. Old age did not make the queen less indifferent to the flatteries of personal

THE MEN WHO ROUTED THE SPANIARDS AND SAVED ENGLAND

It is said that when Spain's great fleet, whose aim was to conquer England, was sighted off the English shores, Sir Francis Drake and his officers, as represented in this picture, were playing bowls on the Hoe at Plymouth. Drake received the news quietly, remarking that there was plenty of time to finish the game and to beat the Spaniards too.

From the painting by Seymour Lucas, R.A., by permission of Messrs. Henry Graves & Co.

THE INGLORIOUS FATE OF SPAIN'S "INVINCIBLE ARMADA"

Extending over a length of seven miles, the "Invincible Armada," as it was proudly termed, advanced up the Channel on its ambitious mission. But with all their commanding appearance, the ships were ill-built and unmanageable, and were quite unable to stand up against the vigorous assault of the English fleet. Finally shattered off Gravelines, the Armada endeavoured to return to Spain, but this purpose was frustrated by the furious storms which arose. The elements completed the destruction of the mighty Armada, and in this painting the broken hulks and wreckage of some of the Spanish ships are seen lying on the rocky coast of Scotland

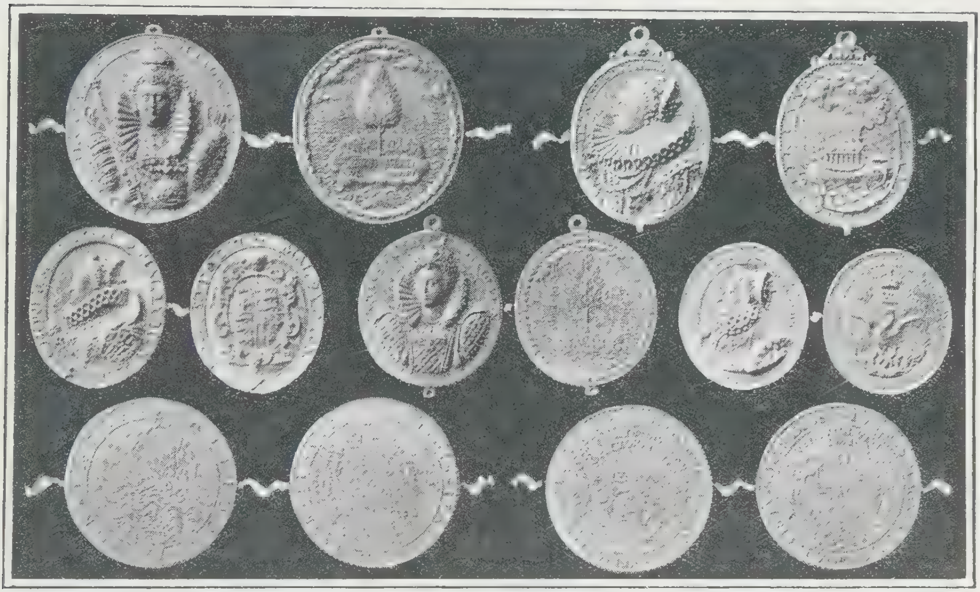
From the painting by Albert Goodwin, R.W.S., in the Manchester Art Gallery favourites; and although among these the brilliant Raleigh found a place, he was eclipsed by Essex, who aspired to the chief share both in the direction of the Spanish war and in the home administration, but proved himself as incompetent in Ireland as at the sack of Cadiz

From Essex the queen at length freed herself when the proofs of a treasonable correspondence with the court of Scotland were laid before her. Smarting under a well-merited recall from Ireland. the earl had proposed that James VI. should enter England at the head of an army, and insist upon being recognised as Elizabeth's successor; on the detection of the plot he strove to raise London in rebellion. For these offences Essex paid with his head in 1601; but other flatterers, not less unworthy, remained about the queen, and national aspirations for civil and religious liberty found advocates who could not be despised. The House of Commons showed themselves, in the year of Essex's death, outspoken and insistent critics of one flagrant abuse, that of monopolies; the queen was compelled to satisfy them by the withdrawal of the obnoxious patents. The Martin Mar-Prelate controversy proved that the censorship was only half capable of dealing with the critics of ecclesiastical institutions; and the agitation against episcopacy, after seven years of governmental persecution, was scotched rather than suppressed by the execution of Penry the arch-pamphleteer.

The economic situation of England also left much to be desired. Some flagrant evils had been diminished by the measures of the queen's early years. With the help of Sir Thomas Gresham, the founder of the Royal Exchange, she effected the reformation of the coinage, which had been debased in an ever-increasing degree to relieve the financial exigencies of her three immediate predecessors. The Statute of Apprentices in 1563, though continuing the policy of regulating wages which the Parliament of the fourteenth century had inaugurated by the Statute of Labourers, vested the power of fixing the local standard in the justices of the peace for each county, and thus substituted a more elastic rule for the cast-iron maximum of former legislators.

The clauses relating to apprentices, from which the statute took its name, were an attempt to exercise through the central government those duties of supervision and regulation, as regarded technical education and admission to practise the several industries, which the mediæval trade guilds had performed for their own localities.

Foreign trade was promoted by the grant of privileges to merchant companies, each of which received the monopoly of a



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EXAMPLES OF MEDALS STRUCK IN COMMEMORATION OF THE OVERTHROW OF THE ARMADA

THE LAST HOURS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH AT RICHMOND

From the picture by Delaroche in the Louvre

particular foreign market. The Russian, Eastland or Baltic, and Levant companies rose into importance through the queen's protection; and the incorporation of the East India Company in 1600 at the close of the reign was a step of momentous importance for England's future in the East. But of India, as of the New World, we may say that the Elizabethans indicated to posterity the possibilities of commercial greatness without using them for the advantage of their own generation. Raleigh, who grasped the fundamental principles of colonisation and expounded them in masterly fashion, failed to make his colony of Virginia a success.

In commerce the developments of the Elizabethan period were more significant than profitable. The question of pauperism was a pressing one until the end of the queen's reign. The prosperity of the middle classes was outbalanced by the hardships of the labourers, whose wages, though increasing in their nominal amount, by no means kept pace with the general rise of prices. The great Poor Law of Elizabeth (1598) is a monument of sound statesmanship, but illustrates the magnitude of the social evil against which it was directed. The wise principles which it embodied were the fruit of long and bitter experience.

When we turn to literature, there is a brighter story to be told. Three countries of Europe were, in the sixteenth century, inspired by the models of the Italian Renaissance to the production of new masterpieces. In France the poets of the Pléiade, with Ronsard and Du Bellay at their head, proved that classical elegance of style could be attained in the vernacular languages of Europe; while Brantôme and Montaigne continued in prose the work of Rabelais, and demonstrated that as a vehicle for wit, fancy, and philosophic reflection French could hold its own with Latin. In Spain, Calderon, with his high seriousness of purpose, and Cervantes, with his humorous melancholy, illuminated the decaying ideals of the Middle Ages. In England, Spenser, Marlowe, and Shakespeare gave expression to the spirit of the new era through a poetry coloured with the imagery and the sentiments of the past, but at the same time instinct with the speculative audacity, the profound confidence in the possibilities of human nature, the love of country, and the joy of living which the great discoveries of the fifteenth, the great conflicts and the great victories of the sixteenth, centuries had inspired in the free Protestant peoples of Northern Europe.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

First among the writers who added lustre to the reign of Elizabeth, William Shakespeare remains not only the greatest English poet, but the supreme poet of the modern world. He was born in 1564 at Stratford-on-Avon, and died at his native place in 1616.

No careers could well be more different than those of the three Elizabethan poets; but the three types of life which they represent are alike characteristic of the age. Spenser was an ardent Protestant, with an intellectual leaning towards Puritan doctrine; he linked his fortunes with those of the Elizabethan conquerors of Ireland, and made his great epic, the "Faërie Queene," a manifesto against the unreformed religion. Marlowe embodied in his life as in his plays the revolt of the age against measure and convention. He lived at the centre of a knot of eager, wrangling wits; he died the victim of a tavern brawl. Shakespeare, whose genius, equally great in tragedy and comedy, rises above the conditions of his age, was in active life a prosperous man of business, anxious to found a position and a family, using his highest ideals and profound meditations for the accumulation of a competence; truly typical in the versatility of his intellect and in the utilitarianism of his temperament.

All three reached the climax of their poetic development about the same time. The first instalment of Spenser's "Faërie Queene" was published in 1589, the last in 1596. The great tragedies of Marlowe, Faustus, the Jew of Malta, and Edward II., appeared in the years 1588–1593. Shakespeare's dramatic career began shortly before 1592 and was finished in 1611. Their common theme is human nature. With Spenser, spiritual aspirations, the significance of human affections, and the relation of man to the unseen powers are the leading themes; faith in the moral potentialities of man is the keynote of his verse. To Marlowe the study of passion and ambition had an irresistible attraction. Shakespeare, while he inherits Marlowe's interest in the heights and depths of passions, is more impressed by the rich and complex variety of every individual nature, by the subtle action and reaction of will on will and mind on mind, by the irony of fate and the paradoxical union of opposing traits in the same character. There have been literatures more fertile in abstract ideas, of a more chastened fancy, of greater precision and clarity in expression, than the Elizabethan; there is none which deals in a spirit so penetrating and imaginative with the mysteries of individual passion.

H. W. C. DAVIS

WHAT WE OWE TO QUEEN ELIZABETH

BY MARTIN HUME M.A.

THE period covered by the reign of Elizabeth coincides with the development of a new spirit in the English people. Sturdy and independent they had always been, esteeming themselves personally above the Scots and the French, with whom alone they had been brought into inimical contact. But the sentiment which began to manifest itself under Henry VIII., and grew to maturity under his younger daughter, did not consist so much of a conviction of superior individual prowess as of the certainty that England, as a nation, was destined to attain for herself a proud and powerful position, free from the aid or patronage of other countries. The birth of this feeling was probably owing to the clever diplomacy of Henry VII., who, mainly in order to strengthen his own dynasty, made the most of the ability of England to turn the balance in favour of one or the other of the rival Continental powers, and greatly magnified the international importance of his country, especially after his masterstroke of policy in marrying his elder daughter to the King of Scots.

The aggressive personality of Henry VIII. and his active patronage of English shipping, giving rise, as it did, to privateering and piracy on a large scale on French and Spanish vessels, also fostered the growing sentiment of national potency against foreigners. But it was not until after the accession of Elizabeth that this new sense of imperial dignity and future world-power became an article of faith with all Englishmen.

THE STATECRAFT OF ELIZABETH

The peculiar position of the queen, her personal character, and the march of events on the Continent all contributed to this result. If Elizabeth had succumbed to the flattering advances of the King of Spain to take her and her country under his protection in the early days of her reign, her position would have been rendered precarious, if not impossible. The recognition by her of the papal power would have invalidated her own right to the throne, by destroying the legitimacy of her birth, and, though she managed for years to avert danger from a Catholic league against her by frequent professions of her sympathy for the old religion, she never dared openly to embrace it. The blustering assertion of her independence and power, with which she met anything in the nature of a threat from abroad, her constant appeals in extremity to the chivalry of her opponents, and her dexterous use of her charms to influence men towards her ends, her ostentatious regard for the loyalty of her people, and the readiness with which she condoned acts of aggression by her subjects, apparently against her wish, if large profits came from them, all inflamed the sentiment of national power and solidarity of Englishmen, while at the same time testifying to Elizabeth's consummate statecraft.

SECRET OF THE QUEEN'S SUCCESS

Her success was as much owing to her weakness as to her strength. In the long marriage juggle, her supreme vanity, her imperiousness, and her insatiable thirst for admiration, always stepped in to prevent her from finally surrendering her liberty to any man. If she had allowed herself to be captured in marriage, as she seemed perilously near doing more than once, the great instrument of her policy would have disappeared, and she could no longer have whistled France to her side as she did whenever the Catholic powers were getting too intimate. She was fortunate, too, in having for a contemporary sovereign a woman of conscience so elastic as Catharine de Medici, whose position between the rival factions of Huguenots and Catholics in France also rendered necessary a policy of constantly playing one against the other if she was to retain her ruling influence.

Catharine, for her own ends, was ever ready at a critical point to support Elizabeth in embarrassing King Philip II., because when he was free from trouble there was always the danger of his so aiding the Catholic Guisan party in France as to give them the preponderance of power in the state, to Catharine's detriment. Philip, on the other hand, dared not go to war openly with England while his own Netherlands were blazing in revolt, though they were undisguisedly helped by English money and men. Any attack upon England by Spain in such circumstances would have brought the strong Huguenot party in France into the field against him, both in Flanders and on the Channel.

Elizabeth knew exactly how far she could go with safety, though her nice calculations were constantly being hampered by the Puritan party in her court, whose religious and political principles were stronger than their diplomacy. Burleigh, her wisest Minister, headed a moderate conservative party, desirous of avoiding war and holding through thick and thin to the traditional policy of a good understanding with Spain; while Leicester in his later years, Walsingham, and afterwards Essex, and their friends, were ever clamouring for open hostilities with Spain and a close community with the Huguenots and Protestants on the Continent. Her anger when this party forced her into a dangerous position passed all bounds, and wise Burleigh and her own clever sophistry often with difficulty conjured away the peril.

So long as Elizabeth had the means to win the friendship of France at will, she was fairly safe. She could keep prisoner Mary Stuart against all international usage, she could support the Dutch Protestants against Philip, and she could smile at the violation of his territory and the profitable plunder of his shipping by her subjects. Her immunity depended mainly upon the French religious divisions. She ostentatiously respected the legitimate government of France, but she never lost her hold upon the Huguenot party, which kept the Catholic majority powerless against her.

ELIZABETH IN A GREAT CRISIS

But events at length upset this delicate equilibrium of forces. The house of Valois was expiring with childless Henry III., and the king, who hated the Guises, recognised Henry of Navarre, the Huguenot, as his heir. This made a great civil war inevitable in France, and paralysed the Huguenots as possible factors in favour of Elizabeth, while the Catholic majority in the country would prevent Henry III. from shielding her from the vengeance of Philip. Thus, in 1585, Elizabeth stood alone and met the crisis bravely. The plots engineered from Spain in favour of Mary Queen of Scots were answered by the execution of Mary and by a more hostile attitude in Holland, where Orange was openly aided by a strong English army. Elizabeth herself refused the sovereignty of the states offered to her by the Dutch; but, to her fury, again her hand was forced by Leicester, her commander in Holland, who accepted the sovereignty, by implication, in her name.

ENGLAND'S TRIUMPH OVER SPAIN

Nothing could now prevent the long-delayed attack upon England by Spain, for France was impotent to interfere, and it was at this crisis that the new national feeling in England rose to its full height of heroism and valour. The queen, hoping against hope, almost to the last, stinted the arming and victualling of the defensive forces that her country raised so bounteously until its efficiency was gravely impaired. But a new school of seamanship had been evolved by the ocean rovers. For the first time sailors controlled ships as fighting entities. The Spaniards were outsailed and outmanœuvred by this new plan of pitting sailors against soldiers at sea, and disaster, utter and complete, to the Armada secured England's safety from Spanish attack in future. Elizabeth's diplomacy and Philip's difficulties had avoided war for thirty years; but when it came, Elizabeth's patriotic appeals to her people, and the new spirit of confidence in the nation, justified her long cultivation of popularity and her ceaseless assertion of England's ability to hold her own.

Elizabeth's methods in home politics displayed the same qualities as her foreign diplomacy. She would hector and bluster to those of her subjects who crossed her; but she always had recourse to blandishments to win to her side those who were strong enough really to injure her. She pretended to sympathise with Catholics and Protestants in turn, and persecuted both as political need dictated. While pretending to disapprove of a policy of expansion of England across the sea at the expense of Spain, she was always ready to acknowledge accomplished facts, however outrageous, if success and profit justified them. Success, indeed, must be the sole justification of her own wonderful career. She was vain, boastful, coarse, insincere, and immodest; but she found England poor, weak and divided, and she left it gloriously strong and conscious of illimitable possibilities. No merely good woman could have attained that result.

PROTESTANTS AND ROMAN CATHOLICS IN CONFERENCE: A FAMOUS GATHERING IN THE ABBEY AT POISSY IN 1561

With the view of adjusting their religious differences, a conference of Protestants and Roman Catholics was held in the Abbey at Poissy in 1561, but it had no decisive result. The picture shows the youthful Charles IX. seated upon the throne; his mother, Catharine de Medici, is sitting on his left, while behind and around them are the Catholic nobles and prelates. Theodore Beza the leader of the Protestant pastors, is seen addressing the conference, and his words are drawing forth a clamour of protest from his opponents.

FRANCE UNDER CATHARINE DE MEDICI

AND THE DAYS OF THE HUGUENOT WARS

Schemes to Dislodge the Guises

FRANCIS II. was only fifteen years old on the death of his father on July 10th, 1559, and had married Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, daughter of James V., in 1558. The reins of government were not held by him, but by his mother, the intriguing Catharine de Medici, who associated herself with the two most powerful men in the kingdom, Francis, Duke of Guise, and his brother Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, by giving the first the control of the army, and promoting the latter to be chief Minister. These two were the leaders of the Catholic party, while the Calvinists, henceforth known as "Huguenots," found a head in Louis of Bourbon, Prince of Condé, a relation of the royal house. Political scheming, among the foremost men at least, was, however, so engrossing that opposition in matters of religion was only outwardly combined with it, in order to have a wider foundation for powerful enterprises. The followers of Condé, and of the Bourbons generally, had agreed that the Guises must be dislodged from their foremost positions. Opinions were divided only as to the best way of doing this. The attempt to win over the queen-mother to the plan failed.

The Sudden Death of Francis II.

The idea now suggested itself of forming, in accordance with the advice of Gaspard de Châtillon, lord of Coligny, an alliance with the reformed party, which, notwithstanding all persecutions, comprised more than two thousand congregations. This political side of the religious movement was bound to rouse the ruling party to more cruel persecutions. An edict was issued in autumn, 1559, which prohibited the Huguenots from holding public worship under pain of death. This edict cost the lives of many honourable men. A conspiracy, with which the Bourbons were indirectly connected, tried to deprive the Guises and the queen mother of the government by force; but the enterprise was a failure, and the leaders of the plot paid the penalty with their lives. It was only too well known at court in what connection the action of the Huguenots stood with the policy of Condé; but the Guises did not immediately contemplate his punishment, especially as he had retired to his estates. But the prince feared the vengeance of those in power, and preferred, therefore, not to appear at a meeting of the notables which was summoned to Fontainebleau, and may in this way have disconcerted the ruling party at first. A petition for toleration, addressed by the Huguenots to the king, met with no favourable response; indeed, at a meeting of the States-General at Orleans, Condé was arrested on October 30th, 1560, and was condemned to death for high treason by a specially appointed commission, of which he emphatically challenged the competence. However, before the sentence could be carried out King Francis II. died suddenly, on December 5th, 1560, and the two persons who would have gladly overthrown the Guises—namely, King Anthony of Navarre and Admiral Coligny—escaped without trial.

Catharine with the Reins of Government

As Francis left no children, his brother, Charles IX., a boy aged ten years, succeeded to the throne. Under him, Queen Catharine held the reins of government more firmly than ever, and now sought to overthrow the inconvenient supremacy of the Guises. To attain this object it was necessary for her to secure the support of the Bourbons, and after some vain attempts she won their confidence. The prince was acquitted of his crime, and King Anthony nominated governor-general for the king, while Catharine claimed for herself the title of regent, and also assigned to the cardinal the administration of the finances. But this was contrary to the promises which the queen-regent had given to King

Anthony, for they had stipulated the complete retirement of the Guises and claimed full religious liberty for the Huguenots.

FRANCIS II. OF FRANCE
Married to Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, in 1558, when he was only fourteen years of age, Francis came to the throne of France in 1559, but his mother was the real ruler.

Catharine had in all probability never contemplated fulfilling her promise, since by so doing she would have put herself too completely in the power of the Bourbons. All that King Anthony obtained was an edict which substituted exile for death as the punishment for holding heretical public worship, and forbade searches in the interiors of the houses. A religious conference, which was held at Catharine's proposal, naturally did nothing to clear up the situation, especially since the Catholics now noticed with alarm an inclination of the queen toward the Protestant side, and the chancellor, Michel de l'Hôpital, zealously advocated toleration. The result was a decree promulgated in January, 1562, which allowed the Huguenots to hold public worship outside the towns, while it also excused them from the restitution of churches and church property to the Catholics. This was distinctly a victory for the cause of the "Reformed" party which was unprecedented, and justified the most sanguine expectations.

THE PATRIOT COLIGNY
Gaspard de Coligny has been described as the "noblest Frenchman of his time." Fired with religious zeal, he aimed at making the Huguenots a national party, and was one of the victims of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

King Anthony, then, trusting to the easily won favour of King Philip of Spain, went over to the side of the Catholics, who were now engaged in civil war, and so forced the queen into the closest alliance with Condé and Coligny. A few weeks after the issue of the Edict, the interruption of a Huguenot service by Duke Francis of Guise, terminating in what is known as the Massacre of Amboise, gave the signal for a sanguinary riot, in the course of which the king and his mother fell into the power of the Catholic party, which held Paris. Condé and Coligny, encouraged by the queen, made preparations at Orleans to liberate the king, while throughout the country the same feud put weapons into the hands of the peasants. A great part of the nobility and the towns stood by the Huguenots, while almost the whole peasantry, excepting that of Normandy, espoused the Catholic cause. Both parties committed equal excesses, ravaging the country with fire and sword; both courted and obtained help from foreign powers, the Catholics from Spain and Italy, the Huguenots from Germany and England. Francis of Guise was shot by a fanatical Calvinist during the siege of Orleans, in February, 1563, and the Catholic party, much shaken by the loss of its leader, consented to a peace at Amboise on March 15th, 1563. By this all feudal tenants of the crown acquired for themselves and their subjects the right to exercise their religion without hindrance; the other members of the nobility might do so in their houses, while a similar privilege was conceded to the towns. The English were now driven from the land, and Prince Condé was promised influence in the government; but, owing to Catharine's faithlessness, there could be no confidence that the arrangement would be kept.

After this first religious civil war the feeling of the two parties among themselves was unfortunately the same as ever; even the terrible sight of a ravaged country did not deter them from new outrages. The young king, who showed no pleasing traits of character, had been proclaimed of age at fourteen, but in reality his mother still ruled; she travelled through the country with him, and took this opportunity of sounding the feeling of the people. Insurrection could only with difficulty be repressed during the four years subsequent to the unsatisfactory conclusion of peace. Even if Coligny appeared outwardly reconciled with the brother of the murdered Duke of Guise, both parties had made up their minds that hostilities would be renewed. On September 27th, 1567, the Huguenots rose under Condé and Coligny in great force; Condé besieged the king and the queen-mother in Paris, which was feebly defended. The Huguenots were obliged, indeed, to withdraw without accomplishing their purpose, and suffered a defeat in November, notwithstanding their gallant resistance. In Lorraine they received support from the Palatinate, but the royalists were reinforced on their side by papal troops. Condé had won a distinct advantage when the queen reopened negotiations, and the treaty of 1563 was confirmed on March 23rd, 1568, by the Treaty of Longjumeau.

CHARLES IX., KING OF FRANCE

Charles was only ten years of age when the death of his brother, Francis II., left him the throne of France. He was king in name only. He authorised the terrible Massacre of St. Bartholomew in August, 1572, and died in 1574.

The Varying Fortunes of the Huguenots

But this time also the mistrust continued. After the chancellor, L'Hôpital, had been deprived of his office, the edict of peace was revoked by the court, and all non-Catholic divine worship was forbidden on pain of death. This order was to be carried out by force, and the Huguenots were prepared to resist. But they were completely defeated on March 13th, 1569, at Jarnac, and Condé fell. Coligny now rallied all the followers of the reformed teaching, although he had lost almost all his comrades in arms, and was condemned to death by the Parlement of Paris as guilty of high treason. Once more the Huguenots conquered in the field, but they were again totally beaten at Moncontour on October 3rd, and Coligny was forced to retreat. The resources of the court were again exhausted, and the king wished for peace, because dissensions had long prevailed in the Catholic party. The treaty of 1563 was therefore confirmed for the second time on August 8th, 1570, at St. Germain-en-Laye, and the validity of all other decrees was annulled; the Huguenots were, in addition, allowed this time to occupy four fortresses as a guarantee for the fulfilment of the agreement.

Concessions to the Huguenots

It can hardly be assumed that there was any wish at court to make permanent concessions to the Huguenots, but at any rate this was done. The most important event in this connection was brought about by the marriage, on the 18th of August, 1572, of Margaret, the king's sister, with Henry of Navarre, son of Queen Jeanne and King Anthony, who had just fought on the side of the Huguenots. Coligny was also cordially received by King Charles and appointed to the council of state; but his advice that the king was now old enough to rule alone proved his ruin. A certain excitement was caused among the Huguenots by the death of Queen Jeanne of Navarre, since there were rumours of poisoning. The queen-mother, in fear lest Coligny might drive the king to independent action, which might lead to her own expulsion, desired nothing more fervently than the death of the admiral. She hired an assassin, but his shot only slightly wounded his victim; and the excuse of the king that he knew nothing about it lulled the suspicions of the Huguenot chiefs so that they remained—to their destruction—in the city.

Catharine was so infuriated at the failure of her plan that she devised a new scheme; not Coligny alone but all the leaders of the Huguenots and as many as possible of their followers were to be

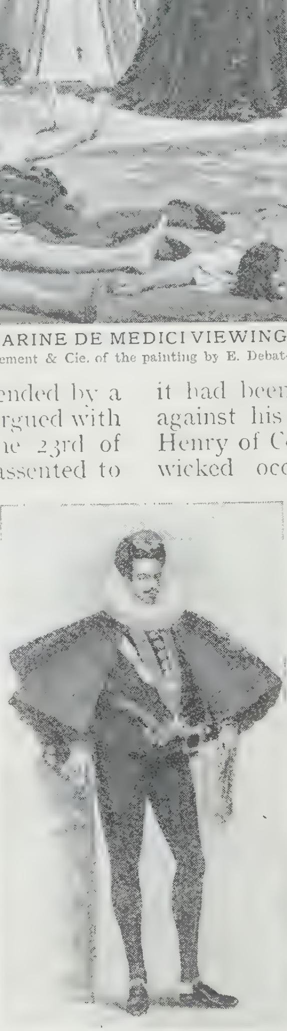
AFTER ST. BARTHOLOMEW: CATHARINE DE MEDICI VIEWING THE VICTIMS OF THE MASSACRE

From a photograph by Braun, Clement & Cie. of the painting by E. Debat-Ponsan, by the artist's permission

sacrificed to her revenge. Attended by a small body of loyal Guises, she argued with the king on the evening of the 23rd of August, 1572, until he at last assented to the wholesale slaughter of the Huguenots—for which the preparations had already been completely organised—on that night. In the morning the streets were running with the blood of the victims of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Coligny with all the other leaders and thousands of citizens fell victims to the murderers. But not merely Huguenots were slain: many other motives besides religious zeal, such as revenge, greed, personal hatred, and mere lust of slaughter, caused the death of numerous good Catholics on that night. The massacre can only be set down in the long list of crimes perpetrated under the cloak of religious zeal.

The king was uncertain whether he had commanded this hideous crime or whether it had been perpetrated without or even against his will. Henry of Navarre and Henry of Condé, who were spared on this wicked occasion, submitted themselves to the king and renounced their opinions.

The greater part of the Huguenots fled the country after the terrible catastrophe and sought shelter abroad, since the four places which had been given them as pledges no longer afforded any security; royal troops now began to besiege La Rochelle, the strongest of the places of refuge. But since they failed to take it, the Edict of Boulogne, of June 30th, 1573, secured liberty of conscience and the right of public worship to the Huguenots in three of the already privileged towns. The royal court was exposed to further disturbances even before the death of Charles IX. on May 30th, 1574. The ambitious Queen Catharine had succeeded in



THE LAST OF THE VALOIS

Cruel and tyrannical by nature, Henry III., who succeeded his brother Charles, was entirely influenced by his mother, Catharine. Civil war darkened his reign.

placing her favourite son Henry on the throne of Poland, and he had gone to his new kingdom in 1573. Now, however, the question of the succession was being discussed at home, since Charles's death seemed rapidly approaching. A distinct party, which sympathised with the Huguenots, hoped to be able to raise Catharine's fourth son, the Duke of Alençon, to the throne.

A rising was already planned, which was to put the government into the hands of the conspirators; but the attempt failed. The queen, who had noticed the threatening danger, recalled Henry from Poland immediately after Charles's death. He delayed on the way, but owing to his mother's solicitude, the throne was secure for him upon his arrival in the country.

The character of Henry III. (1574–1589) had been moulded by his mother; he was cruel and tyrannical, and indulged in extravagances and pleasures so long as his excesses did not sap his strength. The king's brother, as well as Prince Condé and Henry of Navarre, very soon left the court, and the three placed themselves at the head of the Huguenots. When Condé, in the spring of 1576, supported by the Palsgrave John Casimir, advanced with an army, the Huguenots brought forward all their grievances and demanded their right. The court had certainly not the strength to venture on a war, and in the Treaty of Beaulieu on May 8th, 1576, not only conceded the free exercise of religion everywhere, with the

KING HENRY III. PLACING HIMSELF AT THE HEAD OF THE "HOLY LEAGUE"

Led by Henry of Guise, the "Holy League," which aimed at the destruction of the Huguenots, spread rapidly throughout France. Becoming bolder with its increasing strength, the league secretly planned the overthrow of the royal house and the elevation of Henry of Guise to the throne. Fearing the power of this combination, Henry III., who at first had doubted its strength, placed himself at its head, thus obviating the possibility of dethronement.

single exception of the town of Paris, but also admission to the offices and judicial posts. The Duke of Alençon, by the bestowal of a governorship, was removed to a district which sided with him, and was therefore withdrawn from the reformed party. The Catholic court had, however, made these concessions reluctantly. The Catholics found a leader in Henry of Guise, the youthful son of Duke Francis, who became the head of the "Holy League." This confederation spread throughout France, and aimed at the annihilation of the Huguenots. Its secret plans extended still farther, to the overthrow of the royal family, and the elevation of the young Henry of Guise to the throne.

The Secret Plans of the Holy League

The king at first attached no credit to this secret league, but when he saw that it was useless to oppose it, he joined it and proclaimed himself its head. The danger of being dethroned was thus obviated. The oppression of the Huguenots was renewed and led to the sixth war, which ended with a treaty at Bergerac in October, 1577. It was due more to the laxity of the government than to any submission to the prevailing conditions that tranquillity reigned for some years after the Peace of Fleix, negotiated in November, 1580. The League, meanwhile, was on permanently good terms with Philip of Spain and watched for a favourable opportunity. This came when, on June 10th, 1584, the youngest brother of the king, the Duke of Alençon, and now also of Anjou, died. And thus, after the death of Henry, who was childless, the house of Valois threatened to become extinct and to give way to that of the protestant Bourbon, for Henry of Navarre, after he had quitted the court, had once more entirely identified himself with the Huguenots and their creed. In order to avoid this possibility, the League, in combination with King Philip, took the opportunity to designate as successor to the crown another member of the Bourbon family, the old cardinal Charles of Bourbon, who at once issued a proclamation against the king.

THE DUKE OF SULLY
Finance Minister under Henry IV., the Duke of Sully displayed great ability; he reorganised the finances of the country and greatly reduced its national debt.

Swords were already drawn, and serious results threatened to ensue; the king then betook himself to negotiations, and was obliged, at Nemours on July 7th, 1585, to promise the powerful League that he would consent to the withdrawal of all decrees friendly to the Huguenots. This roused the Huguenots to action. The eighth war produced, however, no decisive results; the king continued to allow the reins of government to slip from his grasp while the reputation of Guise increased. The victory of the Huguenots at Coutras, on October 20th, 1587, was without further consequences; the defeat of Auneau soon followed, and in the spring of 1588, young Condé died. The strained relations between the king and Guise, whom the Parisians chiefly favoured, became more and more marked; the king was worsted in a fight between the royal Swiss guard and Guise's followers in the streets of the city on May 12th, 1588—the first street warfare in Paris. As a plot was being hatched against his life, he escaped just in time from the capital. Guise acted as ruler there until, in the Treaty of Rouen on July 15th, 1588, he exacted from the humiliated king the remaining rights as ruler of the realm under the name of governor-general. But he did not long enjoy his power; the daggers of the assassins whom the king himself had hired struck him on December 23rd, 1588.

The old queen, Catharine, soon followed. She died at the beginning of 1589. Her weak son now stood quite alone, and had not the power to avail himself fully of the favourable position which the murder of his rival had produced. He avoided appearing at once in Paris, where meanwhile the League roused the wildest excitement against the king, and openly called for his assassination. But before the Dominican, Jacques Clement, treacherously stabbed the king while handing him petitions at Saint Cloud on August 1st, 1589, the dethroned monarch had come to terms with the Huguenots, had become reconciled with Henry of Navarre, and in conjunction

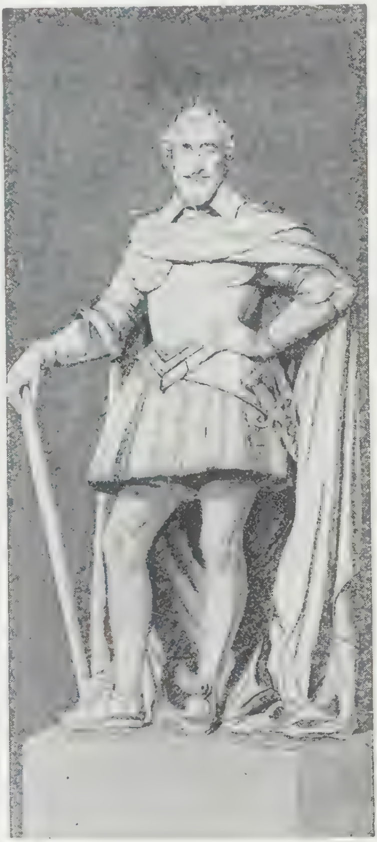
France's Dethroned King

THE ENTRY OF HENRY IV. KING OF FRANCE, INTO PARIS IN THE YEAR 1594

From the painting by Baron Gerard

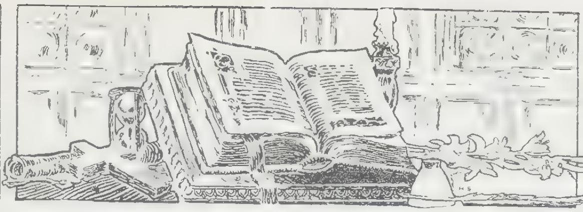
with him had begun war on the League. Now, on his death-bed, the last of the Valois called the Bourbon to him, declaring him his successor. Henry of Navarre had to fight for the crown which lawfully came to him, especially since the League was in possession of Paris and shunned the Calvinistic Bourbon as a heretic.

After the death of Henry of Guise, his brother, the Duke of Mayenne, had assumed the leadership of the League and had made himself governor-general. Henry IV. (1589–1610), promised that he would for the future support the Catholic confession, and would submit himself to a national council. A part of the Catholics, on the strength of these promises, actually stood by him; but the Huguenots naturally feared his defection. The war between the League and the king remained undecided, until the latter gained a brilliant victory on March 14th, 1590, at Ivry. But the League still held Paris. Henry began the siege, but was forced to relinquish it after some time, since Spain supported the League. Philip did not recognise the Bourbon Henry as king, but the old cardinal who was called Charles X. After the latter's death he counted on the throne of France as the portion of his daughter, who might be considered a scion of the Valois on the female side.


HENRY IV. OF FRANCE
France was involved during his reign, from 1589 till 1610, in the religious wars between Protestants and Catholics, to both of which the king in turn professed allegiance.

The war continued. England and Germany sent reinforcements for the king; the members of the League were divided into two camps, since Duke Charles of Guise appeared by the side of Mayenne, and the confusion in the country increased. At the beginning of the year 1593 the League wished to choose a new orthodox king, but no conclusion was reached. But Henry soon saw that without a change of faith he could not look for a quiet reign, and he therefore abjured his religion on July 25th at Saint Denis. A considerable part of the Catholics now went over to the side of the king, while another part declared the conversion to be hypocrisy, and with that notion continued to instigate the people against the monarch. The murderous attempt of a fanatic fortunately failed. The League, to which Philip now lent only slight aid, offered trifling opposition, and Henry's coronation took place in January, 1594. In March the surrender of the capital was arranged by an agreement with the military commander. Henry made his entry as king, while he cherished nothing but vengeance in his heart against the hostile behaviour of the mob. The war had still to be prosecuted against Mayenne. A second attempt on the life of the king failed. Finally, Mayenne recognised the Bourbon as king, after the Pope had received him into the bosom of the Church. The war with Spain lasted a considerable time longer. Henry then began his work of reform, and issued, on April 25th, 1598, the Edict of Nantes, which secured, however, a certain degree of religious peace. This first gave France a legal basis for the organisation of religious matters, just as the Religious Peace of Augsburg had granted it to the German Empire.

The country had suffered much under the continuous civil wars. Henry's second task was to promote material welfare. He solved the problem admirably with the help of Maximilian de Bethune, created in 1606 Duke of Sully, a most able financier. The budget, which had been neglected for years, was once more settled in 1597; and notwithstanding enormous debts, which still had to be liquidated, the exchequer gradually grew fuller. The king fell by the dagger of the fanatic, François Ravaillac, just as he was proposing to interfere in the German dispute about Cleves, on May 14th, 1610.



THE EMPIRE AFTER CHARLES V.

THE RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS OF THE STATES

WHEN the Emperor Charles abdicated the sovereignty of Germany in 1554, his brother, Ferdinand I., assumed the government, which he conducted with moderation until 1564. The policy of the empire at this period was influenced by the religious strife between Catholics and Protestants. In the ranks of the Protestants, who indeed had never been really united, a new dispute arose, since Electoral Saxony represented quite different views, both in religious polity and in dogma, from those of the Palatinate, and both had supporters among the princes. A conservative spirit prevailed on the whole in the native country of Lutheranism, which was eager to identify itself closely with the emperor in politics, and in dogma held firmly to Luther.

First Prince to Introduce Calvinism

The Electors Palatine, however, were not only zealous advocates of war against Catholicism, whereby they offended the emperor, the guardian of the religious peace, but also in dogma leaned towards the more radical Calvinism, and in 1563 actually went over to that doctrine. The Elector Palatine, Frederic III., was the first imperial prince who introduced Calvinism into his territory; until then it had found adherents only on the borders and at isolated points inside the empire. After that the empire had to face the new sect, which was equally opposed to the Catholic and the Lutheran confessions, and besides that had not been recognised in the Religious Peace as possessing equal privileges.

Maximilian's Support of Protestantism

The Emperor Ferdinand had been forced into a peaceful policy by the necessity of claiming the support of the princes against the Turks in almost every diet. A proof of his clemency was his demand that the Pope should allow communion in both kinds and the marriage of the clergy—a request which naturally was not granted. In every possible way he wished to maintain peace. He had secured the crown of Bohemia for his son Maximilian in 1562, had obtained his election in 1563 as king of the Romans, and bequeathed to him the empire at his death on July 25th, 1564. Out of the crown lands Maximilian II. (1564-1576) governed only Austria proper, while his brothers, Ferdinand and Charles, ruled in the other dominions of the Austrian house. The new emperor was unusually broad-minded in religious matters. Before his accession to power he had inclined towards the reformed doctrines, and would perhaps have adopted them entirely had not the petty squabbles among the Protestants disgusted him. As sovereign he showed toleration towards the nobles, who were mostly Protestants. In spite of papal opposition, he gave a special constitutional representation and power known as "religious deputation" to the Protestant states. In Bohemia, finally, the Compacts of Prague were set aside in 1567, and a great part of the people professed the "Confession of Augsburg."

Eight Years' Truce With the Sultan

External relations under Ferdinand and Maximilian were, on the whole, peaceful. The Turkish-Hungarian frontier war still continued, but without any considerable successes on either side. Suleiman died on September 5th, 1566, and two days afterwards his army captured the fortress of Szigetvar, when Nicholas, Count of Zrinyi, met a hero's death. But in 1568 an eight years' truce was concluded between Maximilian and the Sultan, Selim II., in return, however, for a large yearly tribute. In the diets the interpretation of the Religious Peace formed the constantly recurring subject of debate, especially with reference to the "ecclesiastical reservation," which was intended to secure the spiritual principalities permanently to the Catholic faith. The Elector Palatine was always the first to provoke a conflict.

The Elector of Saxony usually opposed him, and strongly advocated the peace; but, finally, in 1557, all the Protestant princes declared that they could no longer regard the reservation as legally existing. This point seemed to be absolutely the most important for the further dissemination of Protestantism. With the exception of Austria, Bavaria, and Juliers, all the secular territories were Protestant, so that the Protestant district could be increased and rounded off only by the acquisition of spiritual territories. Besides this, many members of the cathedral chapters were friendly to the Protestants, and not a few Lutheran bishops were elected.

Split in the Ranks of the Protestants

The princes took further steps at the diet of Regensburg in 1575 with reference to Ecclesiastical Reservation, since they wished to see established as a law of the empire the promise which Ferdinand had given in 1558, to the effect that in the spiritual principalities the Protestants should enjoy toleration as subjects. The emperor did not comply with the request; and in the diet of the next year, with the approval of the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, rejected the demand which was put forward by the Elector Palatine. This attitude adopted by the two electors led to a division among the Protestants which lasted for decades, and distinctly favoured the progress of the Counter-Reformation.

In addition to this, Rudolph II. (1576–1612), the son and successor of Maximilian, held loyally to the Catholic faith, and the papal policy of proselytising found a warm supporter in him, for he had been educated in Spain at the court of Philip II. Under him the exercise of the reformed worship was strictly forbidden in Vienna; some of the preachers were forced to leave the country, and the citizens of the towns were in many cases compulsorily brought back to the Catholic faith, while the Protestant nobles had to live far from the court and its offices. Rudolph exercised the same policy in the empire at large as in his hereditary dominions. The archbishopric of Cologne was secured for the Catholic faith, and Strassburg was brought back to it. Rudolph, by suspending the ban of the empire over the Protestants rendered decisive assistance in the restoration of the Catholic council in Aix-la-Chapelle in 1598, which was connected with the expulsion of the Evangelical council and preachers. The Protestant princes allowed all this to be done without interference. The Electors Palatine alone troubled themselves on behalf of their brethren in the faith both within and without the empire. Electoral Saxony now, as previously, made no use of its political influence, but persecuted the Cryptocalvinists—that is, the Lutherans who inclined to Calvinistic doctrine. The last Lutheran confession of faith, the "Formula Concordiæ," which was formally published in Electoral Saxony in 1580, owed its origin to the effort to obtain clear points of differentiation from Calvinism.

Rudolph's Support of Catholicism

The last twenty years of the sixteenth century saw a great advance in Catholicism. It was soon clear that a political union of all Protestants was becoming necessary if a general concession to their opponents was not to be made. England had espoused the cause of the French Huguenots, while Philip of Spain had been equally energetic for the Catholic League. Religion became the leading feature of the politics of Western Europe. If the German princes wished to have a voice in these international questions, they must take one side or the other. When, therefore, Henry IV. of France went to the German Protestants for help, they did not refuse to give it; but in order to be able to take a vigorous part, the old feud between the Palatinate and Saxony had to be laid aside. This was done in the course of the year 1590, and at the beginning of the following year a union of the foremost Protestant princes among themselves and with France was agreed upon. But this time the consummation of a real alliance was prevented by the deaths within a short period of the chief contracting parties.

Religion in European Politics

A Protestant Union at this particular time seemed of the highest value. The question of the succession or the regency in Juliers with Cleves and Berg compendiously included matters vital to the future of the contending parties. The old Duke William had, besides his imbecile and childless son, John William, daughters only, and they were married to Protestant princes. Whoever obtained the regency for John William would naturally have the best prospect of some day becoming his successor. In order to postpone a decision, the emperor entrusted the government to the states; by this the Protestants were temporarily excluded. The hope of eventual success was not indeed yet abandoned, but it could be accomplished only on the basis of a Protestant league.

Other events rendered this course urgent. The Palatinate party in the diets had repeatedly coupled the grant of "Turk-taxes" with the condition that religious grievances should be remedied, but they had never carried their point, since the party of Electoral Saxony regularly held to the emperor. The situation was changed when the energetic measures taken by the Hapsburgs against the Lutherans in their hereditary dominions embittered the Saxon elector. Christian II., in 1604, had achieved no success in Vienna with his earnest representations, and, indignant at this, had threatened to withhold the taxes. When the diet met in Regensburg at the beginning of 1608, the Protestants combined, and finally, since the emperor would not consent to any concessions, left the diet in a body, thus sapping its further efficiency.

Matthias Compensated with a Crown

The Protestants were now united for the first time in many years. The hopes which they rested on this union were the greater since a Protestant movement against the emperor had just been formed in the Hapsburg dominions, which found a leader in his brother Matthias. At the very beginning of 1608 the latter had advanced with hostile intent towards the imperial capital of Prague, and on June 25th, 1608, had received the crown of Hungary, as well as the hereditary dominions in Austria and Moravia, as compensation from the emperor. It was natural that the Protestant princes should seek for an alliance with Matthias and with those states in the Hapsburg dominions which held to the Protestant faith.

Matthias, notwithstanding his opposition to the catholicising policy of his brother Rudolph, and notwithstanding his support of the Protestant nobility, was no sincere adherent of the Evangelical doctrine. He was little pleased when the Austrian states, before doing homage, demanded binding promises as to the practice of religion, and he only reluctantly gave them assurances in an ambiguous "Resolution" on March 19th, 1609. A political union of the Protestant princes with Matthias seemed under such circumstances very hopeless, especially since the Calvinists, under the leadership of the Palatinate, now had the upper hand, and on May 14th, 1608, formed a union at Anhausen. This included all Protestant territories, with the exception of Electoral Saxony, represented a defensive alliance, and maintained a separate military organisation. The Catholic counter-alliance of the League was formed on July 10th, 1609, under the leadership of Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, then thirty-six years old; for the moment it reckoned, with the exception of Bavaria, only petty spiritual princes among its members, and created for itself a military system modelled after that of their opponents. The Hapsburgs, for the time being, kept aloof from this alliance.

Military League of the Catholics

The Union had the earliest opportunity of political action. Duke John William of Juliers died on March 25th, 1609. The princes, John Sigismund of Brandenburg—as husband of Anne, a niece of the deceased John William—and Philip Louis of Neuburg in the Palatinate—as husband of Anne, John William's sister—both members of the Union, were immediately on the spot as candidates for the succession to the duchy, while the emperor regarded the land as an escheated imperial fief, and intended to have it administered by the Archduke Leopold. The latter took the fortress of Juliers in May, 1609, while Brandenburg and Neuburg, in virtue of a special treaty of June 10th, took joint possession of the district and capital, Düsseldorf, and governed jointly with the declared consent of the Protestants united in the Union.

How a War Was Averted

This would have been in itself quite sufficient to drive the League to the side of the emperor; but no other choice was left them by consideration for one of their own members, the Archbishop of Cologne, to whom the proximity of the Protestant princes could not be a matter of indifference. The States-General had shortly before made a treaty with France and England for protection against Spain; this was again reason enough to draw the former to the side of the Union, and Spain to that of the League. There was thus plenty of material for a war involving the whole of Western Europe, and only the murder of the French king, Henry IV., on May 14th, 1610, prevented it from breaking out. With him disappeared the moving spirit for political actions on a large scale. Instead of the great war, a mere feud developed between Brandenburg and Neuburg, whose mutual relations became more and more unsatisfactory. The new quarrel was confirmed in 1613 by the conversion of Wolfgang William of Neuburg—son of Philip Louis—to the Catholic religion; his marriage with the Bavarian princess, Magdalene, followed at the end of 1615. By this, Neuburg had won the support of the League, while Brandenburg adopted the Calvinistic creed on December 25th, 1613, and might now look for a still more powerful furtherance of his interests by the Union.

Brandenburg's Adoption of Calvin's Creed

Dutch troops came to the help of Brandenburg, and Spanish troops under Ambrosio Spinola occupied Wesel. But before the close of the year 1614 the two parties formed a truce on November 12th at Xanten, on the terms that Neuburg should have the territories of Juliers and Berg, and Brandenburg should take Cleves, Mark, Ravensberg, and Ravenstein. The Dutch, indeed, as well as the Spaniards occupied some places in the country—partly up to 1672—and at the same time the alliances which the Union had made with England and Sweden, and the League with Lorraine, Savoy, and the Pope, gave cause to fear a new outbreak of hostilities.

The Emperor Rudolph had found no time in his latter years to trouble himself about the affairs on the Lower Rhine; his hereditary dominions demanded his attention, and he had to provide for the future. He could not repose any sincere confidence in his brother Matthias, who had opposed him at the head of the states, and he wished, therefore, to help Archduke Leopold to the succession in Bohemia, although Matthias had already, with Rudolph's consent, been accepted by the states as king designate. An attempt by force of arms, in February, 1611, to bring Prague into the power of Rudolph, and to make the states dependent on him, was unsuccessful; the emperor was compelled, in the assembly of the states, to make over the crown of Bohemia to Matthias, who was crowned on May 23rd, 1611, and granted a mere annual payment to his imperial brother in return for his resignation of all claim on Bohemia, Silesia, and Lusatia. Rudolph in his straits turned to the electors and asked their financial aid; but they held the view that such questions could be discussed only in an imperial diet. Rudolph felt no disposition to call one, and yet, considering the age of the emperor, it seemed time to settle the succession. The electors, therefore, on their own motion, called an electoral meeting at Frankfort for April. But Rudolph II. died on January 20th.

Another Crown For Matthias

Matthias was now chosen as his brother's successor in the empire (1612—1619), as he already was in Bohemia and Austria. On all sides, even among the Protestants, great hopes had been formed of the new monarch, but it was soon seen, on the occasion of the first diet, in August, 1613, at Regensburg, how little foundation there was for these expectations. The states were again called upon to grant a high "Turks-tax"; the Protestants again demanded in the first place the redress of their grievances, but the emperor, who showed not the slightest trace of his earlier Protestant proclivities, finally, under the pressure of a Turkish attack, merely gave permission for the discussion of the grievances outside the diet. The deliberations had, as might be expected, no results. The Protestants, dissatisfied, left the assembly, and the Catholics alone granted the Turks-tax, although they professed to act in the name of the whole assembly, naturally under protest from the Unionists.

The Protestants Disappointed in the New Emperor

All the other hopes which the chancellor, Melchior Khlesl (1552—1630), had placed on this session—in particular a reform of the imperial judicial system was to have been discussed—were thus destroyed; and the position was worse than in 1608, since the Turks had actually attacked Hungary, and had made Gabriel Bethlen, of Iktar, lord of Transylvania in 1613. A reconciliation between the two religious parties, such as Khlesl wished, had been made infinitely more difficult by the entry of the emperor into the League, for Matthias now no longer stood above the parties. The chancellor, it is true, busied himself even yet with the meeting of a "diet" for composition and settlement, which the Union again demanded in their meeting at Nüremberg in 1615, and all the more so as the Union increased its power by closer alliance with the States-General and Denmark, as well as by the formation of a league of the towns. These efforts led to no result, for a quite different question now occupied the imperial policy—the succession in the empire and in the hereditary dominions. Matthias, and with him the chancellor, preferred to leave the matter unsettled, since the emperor-elect would have acquired influence on the government. Archduke Maximilian, on the other hand, was straining every nerve to have the strict Catholic, Ferdinand of Styria, elected emperor.

Struggle For Religious Liberty

By his efforts, which at the same time were aimed at the overthrow of Khlesl, Ferdinand succeeded in concluding a treaty with Spain in June, 1617, in which he secretly promised concessions of territory in the event of his becoming emperor, and was also accepted, although not formally elected, as king by the Catholic states of Bohemia. The Catholic and Protestant states stood confronting each other in this constitutional struggle ; the Catholics were decided in regarding Bohemia as the hereditary right of the Hapsburgs, while the Protestants equally distinctly declared the crown to be elective. The claim of the elector was the better founded, as Matthias in 1608 and 1611 had distinctly acknowledged that he had been elected King of Bohemia by free choice, while the Catholic states could adduce in support of their view only the fact that for nearly a century a Hapsburg had always worn the crown.

The nomination of Ferdinand to the throne of Bohemia was certain to lead to war, since the rights of the Protestant states were far from being firmly established. The greatest difficulties had arisen under Rudolph, who had conceded the demands of the Protestants by a "Letter of Majesty" in 1609, and promised religious liberty only under coercion. Matthias had confirmed the Letter of Majesty among the Bohemian privileges, but with regard to other demands of the states he only held out hopes for the future, especially in reference to a union of the states of all the imperial dominions, and the creation of a common military system.

Emperor's Unfulfilled Promises

In Bohemia ideas of a subordinate government were openly entertained by the Protestant states. The emperor, however, tried to use this idea for his war with the Turks when he summoned, in August, 1614, a committee from his dominions to Linz. But the session had no results. The representatives had not received full authorisation from their districts, and had, besides, no inclination for the Turkish war ; there could therefore be no idea of that for the present, and in the summer of 1615 a comparatively favourable treaty was arranged with Gabriel Bethlen as well as with the Sultan, Achmed I. The questions of internal policy were to be discussed afresh at a general assembly of the states in June, 1615. But besides Upper and Lower Austria, only Bohemia was represented, while Hungary sent no representative ; once more the debates were fruitless.

Constant friction between the Catholic and Protestant states, and disputes with the imperial government, were, under these circumstances, inevitable in Austria and Bohemia, and led to lasting disturbances. The promises made by the emperor in 1609 were still unfulfilled in Austria. In particular the towns were constrained, by the influence brought to bear on the election of counsellors, in favour of the Catholics, while the Protestant nobles were almost excluded from office.

In Bohemia, it is true, there were some Protestants in the higher posts, but the Catholics were in the majority, and used their position to crush Protestantism in the crown lands and in the ecclesiastical fiefs, although the Letter of Majesty gave permission for the building of churches there.

Protestant Churches Suppressed

Matthias in 1612 entrusted the exercise of his rights of patronage to the Archbishop of Prague ; the result naturally was that the benefices were once more filled by Catholics. Since the ecclesiastical domains were considered as royal fiefs, the Protestants, in virtue of the Letter of Majesty, had begun to build churches as well, although in 1611 Matthias had rejected, in the case of Braunau, this interpretation of the Letter of Majesty ; the building of churches was undauntedly continued. The archbishop ordered the church of Klostergrab to be closed, and the emperor approved of the decree. The Protestant states raised vigorous remonstrances against such a conception of religious liberty. Being met in no friendly spirit, they openly talked of the election of another king, who should be a German ; in 1614 some party leaders had already treated with the Elector of Saxony as a candidate. After the populace at

Braunau had prevented the closing of their church by force, and the archbishop had ordered the church of Klostergrab to be pulled down at the end of 1617, an insurrection finally broke out. The Protestant nobles united under the leadership of Henry Matthias, Count of Thurn, and went with a renewed petition first to the stadtholders, and then to the emperor; being everywhere repulsed, they proceeded to assert their rights by force. The emperor, besides his uncompromisingly unfavourable decree in reference to Braunau and Klostergrab, had, above all, strictly forbidden the assembly of the Protestants arranged for May 21st, 1618. But the states, confident in their privileges, did not allow themselves to be intimidated, and assembled on the appointed day.

Protestant Rights Asserted by Force of Arms

An imperial decree which repealed the prohibition was read to the assembled body; and when the states communicated their answer to the stadtholders, such excited altercations followed that finally two of the stadtholders, William Slavata—subsequently Count of Chlum and Koschumberg—and Jaroslav Borita of Martinitz, who were universally held to be the guilty parties, and the unoffending secretary were thrown by the leaders from the window into the castle moat. This gross insult to the foremost imperial officials meant a complete breach with the emperor.

In the western part of the empire, meanwhile, the crisis had become still more acute. Apart from the fact that the Treaty of Xanten, which had divided the territories of Juliers, Cleves, and Berg between Neuburg and Brandenburg, offered sufficient incentive to further disputes, the electoral house of Saxony had since the summer of 1610 been invested with these very territories, in conformity with an earlier promise of the emperor, which rejected the succession of the female line. The States-General were also anxious to maintain the position which they had once won, and Archduke Albert, as the Hapsburg representative, made the same effort. The petty war on the Lower Rhine therefore continued. The States-General, in order to execute further plans, formed an alliance with the Hanse towns.

War on the Lower Rhine

And thus, before the end of the year 1615, it was clear that the controversies which were pending in the north would have an influence on German politics. In Sweden the confession of Augsburg had been taken in 1593 as the basis of the national Church in opposition to the Catholic Sigismund (1592–1599). The assumption of the title of king by the Protestant Charles IX. in 1604 signified also a serious war against Poland, with which the struggle for the Baltic provinces still continued.

Since Sigismund, a son of King John III. of Sweden, who had been deposed from the throne of Sweden in 1599, but had been King of Poland also since 1587, entered into closer relations with Austria, Sweden was forced to seek support from the Protestant princes of Germany, for Denmark, which was equally Protestant, and, under the energetic Christian IV. (1588–1648), the most important power of the North, was excluded as being a dangerous rival in the Baltic. A war accordingly broke out between the two countries in 1611, on the question of the tolls in the Sound. The States-General and the Hanse towns, which had both suffered grievously under the Danish tolls, took the side of Sweden. However, nothing came of it but a treaty in 1613 between the States-General and Lübeck, while the alliance of December, 1615, already mentioned, was brought about only by the desperate position of the Hanse town, Brunswick, which the Duke of Brunswick was besieging with the help of Denmark.

The Siege of Brunswick

The common feature of all political operations in the decade preceding the outbreak of the great war is the tendency towards alliances, which, increasingly closer and on a wider scale as regards members, objects, and duration, at last divided all Europe into the two hostile camps of the Union and the League.

The Union had received considerable additions since the imperial diet of 1613. The military system and its foundation stone, the finances of the allies, had been organised to some extent. In the year 1614 the league with the States-General, such as had been contemplated by the agreement with England as early as 1612, was really arranged for twelve years. Negotiations were opened with the Protestants of Lower Saxony, especially Lüneburg and Pomerania, as well as with the administrators of the dioceses, who foresaw an uncertain future. Attempts were, indeed, made to win the important Electoral Saxony, which still kept aloof. In 1615 the important alliance of the Union with the province of Lower Saxony was brought about. In the next year a renewal of the confederation, which would expire in 1618, was discussed. The necessity of the continuance of the Union was universally acknowledged, but Electoral Brandenburg withdrew, since the Unionists, and especially the towns, were not disposed to regard the claims on Juliers as their own. Besides nine princes, the Union now included seventeen towns, which would hear nothing of a warlike policy, and bound themselves to the alliance only up to the year 1621.

The League meanwhile had been considerably strengthened by the admission of the emperor and of Wolfgang William of Neuburg in the Palatinate. But the participation of Austria had at the same time destroyed the hitherto uncontested position of Maximilian of Bavaria, for the emperor must now have a voice in the management. The Archbishop of Mainz was able to overcome the difficulties and to effect a reorganisation in 1613, according to which the Hapsburg Maximilian received, in addition to Mainz and Bavaria, a third federal district of Tyrol, and since the Catholic interests were slightly less emphasised, the Protestant princes had the option of joining. This outcome was by no means satisfactory to the Bavarian. After various attempts to find a solution he left the League in January, 1616, and the rest could do nothing without him. In May, 1617, however, he entered into new alliance with four spiritual princes for four years.

Candidates For the Empire's Crown

Meantime, the negotiations as to the succession in the empire had been carried on unceasingly. It was universally admitted that the future emperor must also be ruler of Austria; and Ferdinand of Styria seemed, as the youngest Hapsburg, to be the most suitable. But since 1613 the King of Spain also had raised claims, although at once with the suggestion that he wou'd be satisfied with a concession of territory. Since, however, there could be no thought of winning over the electors of the Palatinate and Brandenburg after the course of the imperial diet of 1613, the spiritual electors and the Elector of Saxony had proposed the summoning of an electoral diet by the emperor, without any statement of the particular object. Khlesl did not wish for that, since his heart was set on an agreement between the religious parties, and he hoped to bring about their reconciliation by the very necessity of some understanding as to the succession. Both parties, indeed, made in 1615 a statement as to the points on which they must insist, but no meeting for reconciliation was held. Archduke Maximilian attempted to force the emperor to action, and advised, at any rate according to the ideas of the Protestant side, that an election should be held, and, if necessary, enforced by arms. On the other hand, the electors of the Palatinate, Brandenburg, and Saxony deliberated over a choice in the summer of 1616, and came to the decision that they would defer the business of election until after the death of the emperor, and would then perhaps elect Duke Maximilian of Bavaria.

The Claims of Duke Maximilian

By this, it is true, the succession of Ferdinand in the Austrian dominions seemed secured at the beginning of the year 1617; but his prospects in the empire were all the more unfavourable, and "recognition" in Bohemia as well as his "election" in Hungary, finally arrived at by the states, offered only poor encouragement. Now at least the Saxon elector had been induced to consent to a personal electoral diet for February, 1618, in order to discuss the election, in which Ferdinand's reversion was regarded as obvious.

The Elector Palatine, on the other hand, was in treaty at the same time with the Protestant states of Bohemia, which, priding themselves on their right of election, did not acknowledge Ferdinand as lawful king; but there had been no talk of his acquiring the crown of Bohemia before the autumn of 1618. During the whole of this year the most various plans for the election of an emperor were devised. The candidature of Maximilian of Bavaria again came up. There was also talk of parcelling out the Hapsburg territories under an agreement with Savoy. But no results had been arrived at when the Emperor Matthias died, on March 20th, 1619. It rested now with Ferdinand to prove whether his statesmanship could secure him the crown.

Death of the Emperor Matthias

THE LAST FIGHT OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS: SWEDEN'S KING ASKING GOD'S BLESSING BEFORE THE BATTLE OF LUTZEN IN 1632

THE THIRTY YEARS WAR

AND SWEDEN'S PART IN THE GREAT STRUGGLE

EVEN in Austria, immediately after the death of Matthias, Ferdinand had difficulties in obtaining possession of the sovereignty; the states considered his brother Albert their lawful sovereign, and the Protestants among them formed an alliance with the Bohemian insurgents. Ferdinand well understood that the possession of the imperial title would greatly strengthen his position in his hereditary dominions, and went in July to the electoral diet at Frankfort in order to represent the Bohemian vote.

But the Elector Palatine and Brandenburg had already agreed not to choose him. Saxony finally joined the spiritual electors; even Brandenburg changed round, so that the Palatinate at last stood quite alone. Ferdinand's election was now secured, especially since he consented that conciliatory measures should be discussed among the electors in November. The election was duly held on August 21st. The empire now once more had an emperor. As Ferdinand II. (1619–1637) he brought great disasters upon Germany and Europe, since he transferred into the empire the struggle with the states in his hereditary dominions, and laid the ban of the empire on the Elector Palatine, Frederic V., after his expulsion from Bohemia.

Protestant Insurrection in Bohemia

The insurrection had begun in Bohemia after the window episode. The Protestant nobles had become masters of the government and appointed thirty directors. An army under Count Thurn had defeated the Imperialists at Budweis, and the mercenary leader, Peter Ernest of Mansfeld, had taken Pilsen. While Thurn was trying to advance into Austria through Moravia, Matthias died; and a little later the prospects of King Ferdinand seemed somewhat more favourable. Nevertheless, about the same time that he was elected emperor at Frankfort, Frederic V. of the Palatinate, leader of the Union, was chosen king at Prague, in virtue of the elective rights of the states, on August 27th, 1619. At the instance of Christian of Anhalt, and in spite of the dissuasion of his father-in-law, King James I. of England, he accepted the election, which was destined to bring on him the loss of his territory, and especially of his splendid castle, and received the crown on November 3rd.

Frederic V. Elected King at Prague

Gabriel Bethlen had hitherto, in combination with the Bohemians, attacked the emperor from the side of Transylvania, and had stirred up the Protestant Hungarians to revolt, while the Imperialists were withdrawing to Vienna. Thurn also appeared there, but had not sufficient force to begin a siege. Bethlen, too, retreated, and an opposing Catholic party arose in Hungary. The Bohemians maintained their position in the winter of 1619–1620, and even received support from Lower Austria. But the emperor induced Spain to invade the Palatinate from the side of the Netherlands, revived the League once more, and concluded a treaty with its head, his friend, Maximilian of Bavaria, in which he promised him the electoral dignity in the event of a successful war.

Maximilian, on his side, obtained the support of the Saxon elector, while the Union did not support their head, but also negotiated with the Bavarian. The latter marched into Austria in August, 1620, and into Bohemia in September, found the greatest confusion at Prague, and, thanks to Tilly, in combination with the Imperialists under Buquoy, won a decisive victory over Christian of Anhalt at the "White Mountain" near Prague, on November 8th.

The Lost Cause of Protestantism

Frederic's "winter kingdom" was now at an end; he fled to Silesia, and the cause of Protestantism was lost. A strict counter-reformation began at once in Bohemia and Austria. Ferdinand with his own hands tore up the Letter of Majesty, the chief nobles were executed, and many thousands who remained loyal to their faith were driven from the land. Frederic did not realise his position. He wished at first only to concede Bohemia to the conqueror in return for compensation; he perceived too late that the emperor believed that he would have to fight him in any case in the Palatinate and as elector. The Spaniards under Spinola had been in the Palatinate since the summer of 1620; in 1621 the Union withdrew, and soon, being leaderless and powerless, broke up completely. Nevertheless, Frederic did not follow the advice of his father-in-law, who was busily negotiating with Ferdinand, but offered further resistance. Mansfeld and the Margrave George Frederic of Baden-Durlach won a victory, it is true, over Tilly at Wiesloch, on April 27th, 1622, but that was neutralised by defeats of the electoral armies at Wimpfen on May 6th and at Höchst on June 20th 1622. And when Tilly had taken the capital of the Palatinate, the beautiful town of Heidelberg, and had won a decisive battle at Stadtlohn on August 5th and 6th, 1623, the electoral dignity, together with the Upper Palatinate was transferred to Maximilian of Bavaria. The Protestants indeed, and Saxony also this time, vigorously protested at the diet of deputies at Regensburg, but could not alter the fact. Henceforth the Protestants under all circumstances formed the minority in the electoral college.

THE EMPEROR FERDINAND II REFUSING HIS SIGNATURE TO PROTESTANT LIBERTIES

Born in 1578, and trained in the school of the Jesuits, Ferdinand II. became Emperor of Germany in 1619, and played a leading part in the terrible Thirty Years War. Bitterly opposed to the German Protestants, to whose plea for toleration he turned a deaf ear, he issued an edict, taking from them the rights and liberties won after long struggles.

From the painting by Karl Wurzinger

The measure which was intended to strengthen the Catholic party in the empire aroused, on the contrary, new opposition, and that among the Protestant princes of Lower Germany, who, until now, had kept in the background. George William of Brandenburg (1620–1640) earnestly strove to rouse the Saxon elector against the emperor, but as the latter refused, the circle of Lower Saxony could not take the side of the Elector Palatine, otherwise known as the Pfalsgrave. On the other hand, the prospect, not at all attractive to Germany, of the revival of the power of the Austrian and Spanish Hapsburgs, brought the King of England to the side of his son-in-law, and the latter found support from the States-General and King Christian of Denmark. The King of Sweden was also ready to take part in a war against the Hapsburgs. Towards the close of 1625 a league was formed between England—where Charles I. now was king—Holland, and Denmark for the restoration of the Pfalsgrave to his hereditary dominions. France supported the undertaking with money; the states of Lower Saxony prepared on their side to expel the army of the League under Tilly, and placed Christian of Denmark at their head. The Danish king, supported by Mansfeld and the Duke of Brunswick, advanced into Lower Saxony without waiting for the conclusion of the negotiations, and succeeded even in strategy in being a match for his opponent.

FREDERIC V. OF BOHEMIA
Succeeding his father as Elector Palatine in 1610, he married Elizabeth, daughter of James I. of England. He received the crown of Bohemia in 1619, and died in 1632.

The emperor had no means of meeting this unexpected danger. Since, on the other hand, he did not dare to allow the League and the Bavarian elector to become too powerful, he was glad when the Bohemian nobleman, Waldstein, commonly called Wallenstein, forced Mansfeld to disband his mercenaries. He started out to reach Venice, but died in Rakowitza in Bosnia on the 29th of November, 1626.

LEADERS IN THE THIRTY YEARS WAR
Count Ernest von Mansfeld was a soldier of fortune in the Thirty Years War; he defeated Tilly in 1622, and afterwards served with the United Netherlands. Count Tilly commanded the Catholic army when the war began, and rose to be commander-in-chief of the imperial forces. He was routed by Gustavus Adolphus at Breitenfeld in 1631.

Tilly meanwhile—on August 27th, 1626—had won a victory over Christian at Lutter on the Barenberg, and thereby gained control of all Lower Germany. Now Wallenstein also advanced and compelled the Danes to retreat to the islands. He drove the Dukes of Mecklenburg from their territory, and his plan firmly to establish the power of the emperor on the Baltic failed only through the resistance of Stralsund from May 23rd to August 4th, 1628. Since Sweden also was threatening war, a peace with Denmark seemed necessary to the imperial commander; he therefore concluded a treaty at Lübeck on May 12th, 1629, by which the king received back all his possessions in exchange for a promise to observe neutrality for the future.

The great commander was now at the zenith of his fortunes. But the princes of the League and the imperial court had long been dissatisfied with him; his mysterious power seemed dangerous to them. After the Minister, Hans Ulrich, Prince of Eggenberg, had himself entered into communications with the general, in November, 1626, the complaints were quieted for some time. But they broke out again the more loudly among the members of the League, since it was seen that Wallenstein's conduct of the war was guided more by political than by military considerations, and that his army formed a support for the empire against the princes. A statement of grievances was drawn up at the meeting of the League at Würzburg in 1627, and presented to the emperor, but he could not concede the wishes of the princes. A meeting of the electors towards the end of the same year aimed at the same object; a new and exhaustive bill of complaint as to the oppression of various districts by the army of Wallenstein was forwarded to the emperor, and once more no result followed. Wallenstein's pride increased with his military successes. After the proscription of the Dukes of

Mecklenburg, he with some difficulty obtained from the emperor the investiture of their territory in January, 1628, and became hereditary sovereign there in 1629. In other respects, also, his already ample powers were still further enlarged. The "generalissimo field-marshal"—this was now his title—was a loyal servant of his emperor, and had no end in view but to further his imperialistic plans. The question, however, arose whether he might not become dangerous to Ferdinand should a difference of opinion occur. Maximilian of Bavaria, as well as the Spanish Hapsburg Philip IV., worked on the emperor from this point of view, while the most varied rumours were current as to Wallenstein's intentions and schemes. The electors, even before the siege of Stralsund, repeatedly demanded the dismissal of Wallenstein, saying that, should occasion arise, they were ready also to use their arms against him.

After the treaty with Denmark, the first difference of opinion between Ferdinand and Wallenstein at last showed itself. The emperor, conformably to an agreement with the princes of the League, issued in the spring of 1629 the so-called Edict of Restitution, which deprived the princes of all ecclesiastical property acquired since the Treaty of Passau in 1552, and thus at one stroke took large districts away from the Protestants. A new arrangement on this basis would have given back to the Catholic Church the two archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen and twelve bishoprics, to say nothing of the extensive property of the religious houses. But the edict was a flagrant breach of the Religious Peace, since the "ecclesiastical reservation," it is true, was to be carried out, but always subject to the condition that there should be absolute religious freedom for all the inhabitants or subjects of the ecclesiastical foundations. Now, however, all the Calvinists and Zwinglians were expressly to be excluded, and none but the adherents of the Confession of Augsburg recognised.

The whole existing organisation of the empire would have been upset. It was also clear that this attack would call the whole Protestant world to arms. It was Wallenstein's object to prevent this; he therefore was, and continued to be, an opponent of the Edict of Restitution, and did not use his power to carry it out. The emperor, once more urged by the League, would now gladly have dismissed Wallenstein; but that would have been to leave himself once more without an army. An attack by the Swedish king was threatening, since the war between Sweden and Poland had been ended for the time being by a truce concluded at Altmark, near Stuhm, on September 26th, 1629. Moreover, the war with France for the possession of Mantua had already broken out, and part of Wallenstein's army was engaged in it. Nevertheless, the complaints against him were repeated in the electoral diet of Regensburg in July, 1630. The emperor at last, chiefly through the advice of the Pope, resolved to deprive his generalissimo of his command, and Wallenstein voluntarily withdrew to Gitschin.

ALBERTUS D.G. DUX FRIDLANDIÆ SA CÆS MA CONSILIARI
CAMERARI SUPREM COLONELL PRAGÆ ET EIUSDE MILITIÆ GENERALIS
A D CIↃ IↃ CXXV

THE FAMOUS GENERAL WALLENSTEIN

Like Ferdinand II., the Bohemian nobleman Wallenstein was brought up under the Jesuits. His military successes on behalf of the empire raised up enemies who plotted for his downfall. He was deposed from his command, branded as a traitor, and murdered.

When Wallenstein's dismissal was decided upon at Regensburg, the King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, had already landed in the north. On July 6th, 1630, he had disembarked at the mouth of the Peene, with 13,000 men, not mercenaries, but Swedish levies, had occupied Stettin, and forced the Duke of Pomerania to conclude an alliance. Although his army was strengthened to 40,000 men by reinforcements from home, grave mistrust prevailed among the Protestant princes, with the exception of those of Hesse-Cassel and Saxe-Weimar. They united in an armed neutrality. On the other hand, the Dukes of Mecklenburg, the cousins of the Swedish

THE LAST BANQUET OF WALLENSTEIN'S GENERALS AT EGER IN 1634

Proclaimed a traitor by the Emperor Ferdinand, Wallenstein fled to Eger, where he took up his quarters in the house of the burgomaster in the market place. Several of the officers who accompanied him in his flight proceeded to the citadel to sup with the commandant, and while the banquet was in progress a body of dragoons, at the instigation of Wallenstein's enemies, burst into the hall and fell upon their victims. The murderers afterwards proceeded to the house where Wallenstein was passing the night, and, slaying him, completed the sanguinary plot.

king, returned to their country, and France promised her aid in a treaty with Sweden in January, 1631. While Gustavus Adolphus in the north took place after place and secured a strong position for himself, Tilly marched with the army of the League to Magdeburg in order to force the town to accept the Edict of Restitution. The Swedes, through the attitude of Brandenburg and the Saxon elector, could neither hasten to its assistance nor effect any change in Tilly's plan of campaign by the capture of Frankfort-on-Oder. The town thus fell into the hands of the besiegers on May 20th, 1631. A terrible sack began, during which fire broke out and reduced almost all the houses to ashes. The Catholics were triumphant at Tilly's success. The Protestants, however, saw too late that the Swedish king alone could stem the flood of disaster. The fate of Magdeburg might soon befall the other episcopal cities.

The Terrible Sack of Magdeburg

Hesse and Weimar on their part now made overtures to Sweden. But Gustavus Adolphus, since the Saxon elector and Brandenburg held back, was at first compelled to decline an alliance. An agreement, however, was eventually concluded with Brandenburg on June 21st, by which Gustavus Adolphus was allowed to occupy Spandau and Küstrin, in order always to have a secured retreat to the coast. Success attended his cause, for, on July 18th, Tilly was defeated for the first time at Burgstall, in the vicinity of Wolmirstedt. Fresh reinforcements from Sweden and England placed the king in a still more favourable position.

This induced Saxony also, on September 15th, to join his cause, for Tilly was already invading the elector's territories, with the object of depriving him of the secularised bishoprics by virtue of the Edict of Restitution. A decisive blow was soon struck, since the elector wished above all to see the enemy driven far from his territory. The armies met at Breitenfeld, near Leipzig, which Tilly had just occupied. The forces of the League were completely routed, and their leader himself was wounded. The emperor was left without an army, and feared for his hereditary dominions, while Protestant Germany began to hail Gustavus Adolphus as a saviour. While, then, the Saxons, under John George of Arnim, marched into Bohemia and seized Prague, Gustavus, passing through Thuringia, reached the Main. On October 18th he captured Würzburg, whither the bishop, a member of the League, had fled, and took Mainz in December.

Sweden's King Joyfully Hailed in Germany

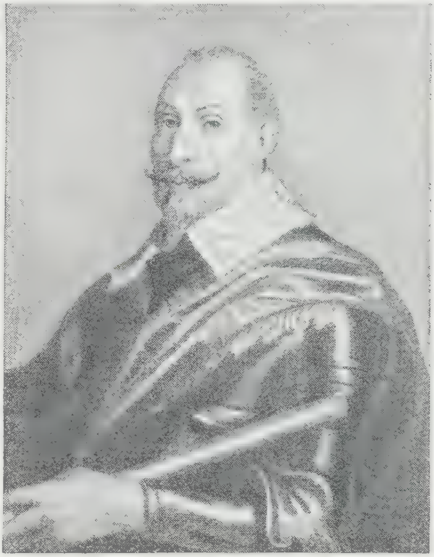
Here he spent the winter, received the unfortunate Pfalsgrave Frederic, and, with Richelieu as mediator, began negotiations for peace with the League, from which he demanded neutrality during the continuance of the war against the emperor. These transactions led to no results. Gustavus Adolphus, therefore, in March, while securing the Rhine, advanced against Bavaria; on April 15th, 1632, at Rain on the Lech, he once more defeated Tilly, who was mortally wounded, and made his entry into Munich in the middle of May. The League was shattered, and the emperor would have been lost if Wallenstein had not for the second time freed him from his difficulties.

The emperor had offered him a new command soon after the battle of Breitenfeld, and again since Arnim's advance into Bohemia; but it was only in December, 1631, that Count Eggenberg had persuaded him, and received the assurance that within three months 40,000 men would be in the field. Wallenstein actually took over the chief command in April, 1632, after the right to conclude treaties had been granted him at Znaim. The first thing to be aimed at was the separation of Saxony from the Swedish cause. The powers of the general were now so wide that he had the command of the army and the control of politics entirely in his own hands.

Wallenstein Stands by the Emperor

The Saxon elector, John George, had at the beginning of the year entertained the thought of concluding peace with the emperor independently of Sweden, but Brandenburg's attitude prevented him, and Wallenstein's appearance in Bohemia completely prevented the conclusion of a peace which might have secured to Saxony the possession of the ecclesiastical property. The negotiations were, however, continued. When Wallenstein had cleared Bohemia of the Saxons, he sought to unite himself with Maximilian of Bavaria, while Gustavus marched northward in order to hasten to the help of the Saxon elector. The Swedes collected in Nüremberg; but Wallenstein appeared before the town and entrenched himself in a camp near Fürth without engaging in a battle. At last, on September 3rd, Gustavus attacked the enemy's camp unsuccessfully, and after vain attempts to bring about a peace he retreated on September 18th.

The Swedes next turned southward in order to attack Austria; but when they heard that Wallenstein was pressing Saxony still harder and massing his army at Leipzig, they advanced thither rapidly, joined the Landgrave William of Hesse in Erfurt, and by the middle of November were facing the hostile army. Wallenstein even now wished to avoid a battle. But on November 16th, 1632, Gustavus Adolphus attacked the enemy at Lützen in order to facilitate a junction with the Saxons. He himself fell in the stubborn fight, while the Imperialists lost the brave cavalry general, Gottfried Henry, Count of Pappenheim. Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar took over the command after the death of the king and occupied the battlefield while Wallenstein withdrew. The joy of the Catholics over this battle sprang less from the supposed "victory" than from the feeling of emancipation which they experienced at the death of the great leader of the Protestants.



GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS OF SWEDEN

This Protestant King of Sweden heroically sided with his fellow-religionists in Germany in their struggle against the Catholic League and the Empire. At the head of 16,000 men, in 1630, he crossed to Pomerania, and for two years, till he fell at Lutzen in 1632, fought for Protestant liberties.

Bernard of Saxe-Weimar retained the military command of the orphaned army. The Swedish Council of State entrusted the political representation of Sweden in Germany to the chancellor Oxenstierna, for whom a hard task was in store. The army especially was no longer the old force of true-born Swedes which had landed; the greater part of it had been levied in Germany, and even the king had been able to maintain discipline only with difficulty. Henceforth the Swedish army did not differ in the least from the Imperialists in the robberies and murders it committed: it became, like them, the terrible scourge and dread of every district through which it passed. Politically the prosecution of the war was still influenced by France, which contributed subsidies. Richelieu's aims were especially directed towards the acquisition of German soil. But the most important point still was to secure the adhesion of the German confederates to the Swedes. John George of Saxony, in the negotiations conducted with him before the close of the year 1632, had demanded first of all a greater influence in the management of affairs. It was first resolved to raise two armies, a Swedish under Oxenstierna and a Saxon under John George, only it was doubtful to which of these two the remaining German Protestants would attach themselves. The Upper German and Rhenish princes held to the Swedes, but under French influence an advisory council was set up by the side of the Swedish chancellor. This was done in March, 1633, in the Treaty of Heilbronn. At the same time the emperor resumed negotiations with Saxony. Wallenstein entered into relations with Arnim, the general of the Saxon army, and was prepared for further concessions in religious matters, contrary to the will of his emperor; but Saxony and Brandenburg did not entertain his proposals. On the other side, Oxenstierna was treating with the commander-in-chief, and asked him, in accordance with the wishes of the Bohemian emigrants, to let himself be elected king; but again there were no results. Bernard of Saxe-Weimar had driven the Imperialists completely out of Saxony after the day of Lützen, and then, on July 10th, 1633, by the favour of Oxenstierna, had become Duke of Franconia, the new duchy formed out of the bishoprics of Bamberg and Würzburg.

The Outrages of the Swedish Army

Conflicting Elements in the Great War

Wallenstein had defeated Arnim at Steinau on October 23rd, 1633, and freed Silesia from the enemy. Since, however, he did not relieve Regensburg, which Bernard of Weimar had taken on November

4th, 1633, by a brilliant feat of arms, but withdrew to Bohemia, the emperor conceived great mistrust of his general, who renewed his overtures to Saxony, France, and Sweden, and made a secret agreement with Sweden, which was to effect a union of the armies at Eger. Wallenstein was not unaware of this distrust of him in Vienna. He sent in his resignation on January 12th, 1634. It was not accepted, although his dismissal had already been pronounced in a secret document, and was made public on January 24th. Wallenstein was publicly declared guilty of treason by the emperor, on February 18th, and was murdered on February 25th, 1634, at Eger, while even his army was deserting him.

Wallenstein Deposed and Murdered

The son of the emperor, afterwards Ferdinand III., and Count Matthias of Gallas were now placed at the head of the army. With Wallenstein there went to the grave not merely the man of most marked intellectual ability, the splendid general and diplomatist, but also the only one of all the leaders who stood superior to the religious controversy.

His death placed the emperor, and consequently Catholicism, in a more favourable position than had ever been reached before. Now for the first time Ferdinand had an army of his own at his disposal, and he immediately ordered it to advance to Regensburg. The town fell into the hands of what had been Wallenstein's army in July, and on September 6th, Gallas won at Nördlingen a complete victory over Bernard of Weimar and Gustavus Horn. Now that the Swedes were defeated, it was an easy task for the emperor to conduct to a successful close the negotiations with Saxony, for which Wallenstein had already paved the way.

The preliminary conditions were settled by November, 1634, and were confirmed in the Treaty of Prague on May 30th, 1635. By this convention Saxony obtained as hereditary dominions the two provinces of Lusatia which had been pledged to John George I. after the dissolution of the "winter kingdom," and was exempted for the future from enforcing the Edict of Restitution; in return, all claims for the further representation of Protestant interests were to be renounced, and a promise given of help in case of need against the Swedes and French. The majority of the states of North Germany soon gave their adhesion to this treaty, which at once deposed the Swedes from their commanding position and threatened to cut off their connection with their home.

Pledges of the Treaty of Prague

Since the dispute as to religious politics between the Catholic and Protestant princes had been accommodated by the most important representatives, henceforth secular interests determined the conduct of the war more distinctly than before. From this time it signified essentially a struggle between Austria and Spain on the one side, and France and Sweden on the other; for Ferdinand III., who had followed his father upon the throne in 1637 as emperor and heir to Austria, always maintained the most intimate relations with the Hapsburg dynasty of Spain.

The only course left open to those Protestants who had not acceded to the Treaty of Prague, after the overthrow of the Swedish power, was to form closer relations with France, which, under Richelieu's brilliant statesmanship, aimed at depriving both lines of the Hapsburgs of their supremacy in Western Europe. The French had fought against Spain in Italy and, since the appearance of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany, had operated against the emperor with his support, had made conquests in Lorraine, and had established themselves firmly in the electorate of Trèves. In the spring of 1635 an imperial army had fought with success on the right bank of the Rhine, and thereby forced France to an open declaration of war. Richelieu protected himself on two sides, since he bound over the States-General to a common attack on Spain, and the Swedes to a conflict with the emperor which should be terminated only by a joint peace. The emperor thus had henceforth to reckon with a double opposition, both in the battlefield and in any negotiations for peace.

Richelieu Doubly Protected

The military events of 1635 were unimportant on the French side; the troops, being inexperienced in warfare, did not wish to enter Central Germany, and were with difficulty brought as far as the Rhine, while the Imperialists were masters of the situation there in the autumn. In the north, it is true, the Swedes, John Banér and Lennart Torstenson, had won repeated successes and drove out the imperial army, united with the Saxons, from Mecklenburg and Pomerania. Richelieu in this emergency, on October 27th, at St. Germain-en-Laye, concluded a special treaty with Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, the most competent Protestant commander; by its terms an army of 12,000 foot soldiers and 6,000 horsemen was to be raised in Germany with French money—four million livres yearly—and opposed to the emperor in the war for the liberation of Germany. A rich reward was held out to the victor in the possession of Alsace, which still belonged to the Hapsburgs.

END OF THE THIRTY YEARS WAR: THE SIGNING OF THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA

In the town hall of the Prussian town of Münster, on October 24th, 1648, was signed the Peace of Westphalia, which brought to an end the long and bitter war which for thirty years had waged between Protestants and Catholics.

From the painting by Terbourg in the National Gallery, London

The year 1636 was, however, disastrous for the French. The Imperialists advanced into the heart of the country, menaced Franche-Comté, and, led by the cavalry general, John von Werth, threatened even Paris itself, while Bernard merely held his own in Alsace. It was only when the French people, recognising the national danger, took up arms that Gallas was forced to retire in November. Shortly before—on October 4th, 1636—Banér had again gained a victory at Wittstock over Saxony and the Imperialists, and acquired a commanding position in the north. Saxony and Brandenburg in particular had now to pay dearly for their defection from the Protestant cause, by the devastation of their country.

One party in the councils of Brandenburg already inclined to the side of the Swedes, and tried to induce the elector once more to change his party, especially with a view to Pomerania, where the Duke Bogislaus XIV. was likely to die childless, and give Brandenburg a claim to the succession. The elector, however, continued loyal to the emperor; imperial subsidies appeared finally in December. The claims to Pomerania, it is true, when the duke died, on March 20th, 1637, had first to be contested by arms, and so brought distress into the Mark. Banér in the north had a difficult task in facing the army of Brandenburg and the emperor; he was for a long time separated from Hermann Wrangel, and was forced at length to withdraw to Stettin. The French, it is true, had won advantages over the Spaniards at widely separated points, but in Germany the Imperialists during the year 1637 had again been victorious in every respect.

Victory Cheers the German Protestants

On March 6th, 1638, France and Sweden considered it necessary to renew their treaty and to promise that neither party should open negotiations for peace without the consent of the other. Bernard's campaign was this year attended with success. He surprised the imperial general Frederic, Duke of Savello, and John von Werth, before Rheinfelden, took both prisoners, together with other generals, on March 3rd, 1638, captured Rheinfelden on March 23rd, and began the investment of the fortress of Breisach. The siege lasted six months. At last, on December 17th, he entered as conqueror, after the check of the imperial armies had opened the road for Banér in the north to advance into Bohemia and Austria. The success of Bernard filled Protestant Germany with fresh spirit. Banér now wished to join forces with the victor in Alsace and attacked the hereditary dominions of the emperor. On the other hand, the emperor tried to enlist the services of the famous Bernard; ungrateful France alone was endeavouring to deprive the victor of his promised reward. But Bernard died on July 18th, 1639, before, as a second Gustavus Adolphus, he could achieve further successes, and thus the emperor was freed from his most dangerous enemy.

The Military Supremacy of the Swedes

Richelieu, without a moment's delay, availed himself of the favourable opportunity to take over the well-disciplined troops of Bernard, and to form his plans, in concert with Banér, for continuing the war against the emperor, especially since, by skilful use of internal dissensions in Spain, he might count on favourable results there without any great expenditure of force. Although the French henceforth remained in the closest sympathy with the Swedes, and produced the brilliant commanders Turenne and the "Great Condé," yet the military supremacy rested with the Swedes. After the death of Banér, on May 10th, 1641, Torstenson obtained decisive successes in Silesia in 1642, and in combination with two other Swedish armies, won a complete victory at the second battle of Breitenfeld, near Leipzig, on November 2nd, over the Imperialists under Archduke Leopold William and Octavio Piccolomini. But the emperor's prospects were again improved by the death in France, first of Richelieu, on December 4th, 1642, and soon afterwards—May 14th, 1643—of King Louis XIII., who left his son Louis XIV., not yet five years old; and, moreover, Denmark was once more involved in a war with the Swedes.

Denmark's Truce with Sweden

Cardinal Mazarin now managed the state affairs of France and followed out the policy of his predecessor with skill and success. In the war against the Danes, Torstenson was completely victorious in 1643 and 1644. In October, 1644, he annihilated the imperial army under Gallas in two battles at Jüterbogk and Magdeburg, attacked Austria, supported by the Prince of Transylvania, George I. Rakoczy (1630–1648), and advanced almost to the walls of Vienna. The French, however, had fought with much less success. Just at the time Vienna was being threatened, Turenne was defeated on May 5th, 1645, at Mergentheim, by the Imperialists under Baron Francis of Mercy. The victorious army could now advance to the relief of the hereditary domains. Torstenson, therefore, in spite of a splendid victory, won on March 6th, at Jankau, over Melchior of Hatzfeldt, abandoned the siege of Brünn and withdrew to Bohemia. But Condé and Turenne advanced in conjunction into Bavaria, and on August 3rd won a victory at Allersheim over Mercy, who was slain. At the same time—on August 25th—Denmark made a truce with Sweden at Brömsebro, and Saxony, completely in the possession of the Swedes under Hans Christopher of Königsmark, accepted an armistice for six months, in which Brandenburg was included. The Swedes now had a free hand in North Germany.

Charles Gustavus Wrangel, who, since Torstenson's retirement, on December 25th, 1645, had the supreme command, joined forces with Turenne in order to make a combined advance on South Germany; the whole of Bavaria soon fell into their hands, and the road to the hereditary domains of the emperor lay open to the allied army in September, 1646. Maximilian of Bavaria now found himself in a critical position, which determined him, in March, 1647, to form a treaty of neutrality with Sweden; Cologne, Mainz, and Hesse joined in it. Wrangel marched into Bohemia, but he found opposition from the Imperialists, who had once more been joined by Maximilian of Bavaria at Pilsen, in September. The Swedes were forced to withdraw to the north, especially since Turenne was recalled to France.

Fortune, however, only momentarily smiled on the emperor. Turenne recrossed the Rhine in the spring of 1648, advanced with Wrangel into Bavaria, and gained a victory on May 7th at Zusmarshausen over the imperial and Bavarian army under Peter Melander, Count of Holzappel. The elector fled, and the country was devastated. The Swedes under Königsmark went to Bohemia and captured, on July 26th, the lower town of Prague. The French and Swedish arms met with good fortune in other places also; the position of the emperor was hopeless. The bombardment of the Old Town at Prague was about to begin, when the news spread through the country that peace had been signed at Münster on October 24th.

The Four Heroes of the Great War

The vicissitudes of the great war, for the theatre of which Germany had been marked out by the law of geographical position as being the heart of Europe, present a dismal picture. It was a perpetual ebb and flow, not a consistent struggle undertaken with great objects in view. The great personalities, the generals and statesmen, are thus the more conspicuous. However different they may have been, one from the other, one feature is common to almost all of them, and especially to the four chief heroes—Tilly, Wallenstein, Gustavus Adolphus, and Bernard of Weimar; they were masters of the art of war, men of the modern world, too, and in spite of repulsive acts, not devoid of high ideals.

The arrangement between France and Sweden, which forbade either to enter alone into negotiations for peace with the emperor, had been the outcome of the fine diplomacy of a Richelieu. All attempts of the emperor to obtain a separate peace had failed. He was therefore compelled to consent that an imperial diet should assemble in 1640 at Ratisbon in order to discuss the steps which might lead to peace. The negotiations of the imperial diet were fruitless. But the fervent desire for peace which found expression in them was such that the path once trodden could not again be abandoned. In the year 1641 it was resolved at Hamburg that the imperial envoys should negotiate with the French at Münster, and with the Swedes and German Protestants at Osnabrück; the congresses were to begin in the summer of 1643, and both towns were from that date to be regarded as neutral. The negotiations really began in April, 1644, but only on August 8th, 1648, were the terms of peace drawn up at Osnabrück; those at Münster followed on September 17th. Both documents were jointly ratified at Münster on October 24th, 1648. The Peace of Westphalia was of the highest importance in a twofold sense. It not only concluded the era of war and finally settled the ecclesiastical and political disputes which had arisen since 1555, but it also created a basis for further political development, since it confirmed by constitutional law the actual disintegration of the German Empire and recognised the territory as the modern and normal structure of the states which were joined in a federation called the "Roman empire of the German nation."

War Ended by the Peace of Westphalia

The peace negotiations at Münster and Osnabrück first of all laid down provisions with respect to the religious question which went considerably further than earlier agreements. The Treaty of Passau and the religious Peace of Augsburg were not only completely confirmed, but extended to the Reformed party. The relations between State and Church were considerably modified in the direction of denominational equality. The Christian Church was actually conceived by its followers as not only the "universal," but the only religious community which could lay claim to this name. No less splendid ideal hovered before the reformers, and especially before the mighty Luther, than a complete transformation of Christianity according to his view; his doctrine was indeed, in his own conception of it, as he declared, nothing more than the reversion to Augustine. The instruments of the peace itself did not indeed proclaim absolute toleration, but limited the power of the territorial lord to determine the community to which his subjects should belong, in so far that the year 1624 was selected as the "Normal Year," and anyone who, in that year, had actually exercised one or the other religion was to be permitted to exercise it on all future occasions. And creed was not to be prejudicial to anyone in his "occupation as a citizen."

What the Peace Provided

The co-existence side by side of several confessions in the same territory was thus rendered possible. On the other hand, the incidental change of faith by a prince was no longer to force the whole people to take the same step. It is obvious that this new regulation must have introduced a practical toleration, and have finally led to its constitutional and universal acceptance in the popular consciousness. This happened in the eighteenth century, and no less a man than Lessing tried to find the philosophical basis for toleration.

Difficulties in the Way of Peace

Nothing final and conclusive was arranged by the peace instruments. Innumerable disputes arose, both as to the actual conditions in the Normal Year, and as to the interpretation of all other points, and many of them were ended only by the complete destruction of the old empire. But it is clearly recognisable, from the very fact that the interpretation is disputed, that the peace-document really became a "Fundamental Law of the Holy Roman Empire," such as was demanded by the so-called "Last Imperial Recess" of 1654, which embodied the full text of the two instruments.

More important than those provisions, which only legally confirmed existing conditions, were the answers to the international questions. France obtained considerable portions of the Hapsburg possessions in Alsace—with the express reservation of Strassburg—and the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which had been occupied since 1552. Sweden established a firm footing on the mainland, and became a state of the German Empire, for, together with a war indemnity of five million thalers (£750,000), it received Upper Pomerania and Rügen, the smaller portion of Lower Pomerania, with Stettin and the mouth of the Oder, the town of Wismar, and the bishopric of Bremen, excluding the town, as well as the bishopric of Verdun. Electoral Brandenburg, which had claims on the whole of Pomerania in virtue of hereditary rights, had to be content with the larger portion of Lower Pomerania, but was compensated by the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden, and the reversion to Magdeburg. On the borders of the empire two independent republics, which had previously been part of the empire, were separated from it.

The Compensations of Electoral Brandenburg

For Switzerland this merely implied the recognition of the conditions prevailing since 1499. The States-General, which now were entering on great economic prosperity—the East India Company had been founded in 1602—had acquired the right to political independence in a still higher degree. Their favourable position on the coast urged the towns to rule the seas by means of a trading fleet, and the fall of Spain offered at the same time the opportunity of entering on the inheritance of their former persecutors.

The peace ended the most gloomy section of German history. The mere attempt to picture the sufferings which the German country endured must be abandoned. It must suffice to compare the condition of the districts before the beginning of the struggle with that at the close of the war if a credible picture of the effect of the fury of the combatants is to be drawn. The price of food-stuffs was often ten times the ordinary price. The number of the inhabitants was terribly diminished; in the case of Bohemia calculations have led to the result, which may be considered as correct, that instead of four millions in 1618, only 800,000 inhabitants were still living at the end of the war. In this connection we must reflect that all districts were equally ravaged and equally exhausted by friend and foe. The conclusion of peace did not immediately end all scenes of violence; armies were still stationed everywhere, and individual claims had to be proved and sustained by the interested parties. The task was, on the whole, discharged at Nüremberg, in the course of the year 1649; "the Principal Recess for the execution of the Peace" was finally issued in June, 1650. Even if all the hopes were not at once fulfilled which inspired German hearts on the news of the conclusion of peace, even if Germany still suffered from its wounds for centuries, yet, on the other hand, it must not be forgotten that only through such hard trials has it been possible for the empire to shatter the old forms of the constitution, and thus to open the road for the modern development of the state which finally in the nineteenth century led to the new German Empire.

Germany's Stern Path to Development

ARMIN TILLE

THE FRANCE OF RICHELIEU AND THE GREAT DAYS OF MAZARIN

THE Peace of Westphalia marked the victory of the policy which the great French statesmen had been pursuing for half a century. Louis XIII. (1610—1643), eldest son of Henry IV., was only nine years old when his father was murdered. His mother, Marie de Medici, therefore became regent for him, and took the opportunity to introduce a system of government widely divergent from the existing one. Sully, who had been reluctantly tolerated as one of the Reformed, was dismissed, and Jesuitical influences began to rule the queen. Universal discontent at this filled not only the land but also the magnates of the realm and the members of the royal family, who were excluded from any share in the government.

The King's Mother, Ruler of France

The "declaration of the king's majority," pronounced by Parliament in October, 1614, conformably to a family law, made no alteration in this, for the king begged his mother to continue to direct the government. In accordance with the general wish, the queen summoned the States-General, but their deliberations had not the least result, so that the last general diet of the French "Estates" before the revolution of 1789 was dismissed without any results having been accomplished. After that time it was reserved for the regular courts of justice—Parlements, of which there were twelve, one for each district—to safeguard the rights of the people against the absolute monarchy, but seldom indeed with success.

Owing to the suppression of the Huguenots planned by Marie, it was not long before new hostilities broke out between the religious parties. Prince Henry of Condé allied himself, in July, 1615, with the Protestants, who took up arms, but a peace—in May, 1616—temporarily quieted men's minds, after the prince had been drawn over to the royalist party. The trusted agent of Marie in all her action was the Italian Concino Concini, Maréchal d'Ancre. The fury of the people was especially directed against him; voices were raised loudly against the all-powerful Minister, so that the king ordered his arrest and murder, on April 24th, 1617, and immediately himself took over the government. The queen was forced to retire. Louis, under the advice of incompetent Ministers—the Duke Charles of Luynes, Brullart de Sillery and La Vieuville—sought to mitigate the distress.

Louis in the Hands of His Ministers

But Louis also aroused the discontent of the nobles, who were excluded from the government, and in this way fostered the ambitious schemes of his mother, who allied herself with the nobility and threatened a civil war. Before the actual outbreak of the war an arrangement was effected on August 10th, 1620, at Pont-de-Cé, through the efforts of a man who was destined later to lead the fortunes of France—namely, Jean Armand du Plessis de Richelieu; the queen-mother was permitted to return to court.

New complications arose owing to the Church question. The Catholic Church had made considerable conquests and began once more the campaign against the heretics, since it endeavoured to recover secularised ecclesiastical property and in part carried out its purpose by force. In the year 1621 it came to an open war against the Huguenots: in the north they were soon subdued, but in the south the struggle lasted until October, 1622, when the Edict of Nantes was once more ratified in essential points. The queen-mother, however, used her newly-acquired influence less in her own private interests than in support of Cardinal Richelieu, whose admission into the Council of State was due to her. After 1624 Richelieu alone guided the affairs of the state.

Richelieu at the Helm of State

With this began the prosperity of the French policy, which henceforth influenced and finally governed European diplomacy. Richelieu's goal was that of Henry IV., the weakening of the power of the Hapsburgs in Austria and Spain. The Dutch Republic, the German Protestants and the Swedes were supported by France; the War of Succession in Mantua ended on April 6th, 1631, to the advantage of France, and Spain thus lost a strong support to her influence in Italy. The government at home was, under Richelieu, inspired wholly by state considerations; the representation of private interests ceased, and therefore the cardinal found intense opposition at court. In order to prevent further disturbances, which for the last century had always been caused with the help of the Huguenots, the cardinal, in 1626, resolved on their subjection and conquest. Even the aid of Spain was welcomed for this end, while England supported the Reformed party. The strongest place of the Huguenots, La Rochelle, was besieged in 1627 under Richelieu's personal command. It was not until October 28th, 1628, when the expected English relief did not appear, that the town surrendered. Famine had made terrible ravages among the inhabitants. Richelieu promised the survivors security of life and property as well as free exercise of their religion; the fortifications were, however, dismantled, and the privileges of the town declared void. By the treaty of the summer of 1629 the fortifications of all the Huguenot places of refuge were destroyed; but religious liberty was retained, although the political representation of the Huguenots was abolished.

Richelieu at the Siege of La Rochelle

LOUIS XIII. OF FRANCE

The son of Henry IV., Louis was only nine years old when, in 1610, he succeeded to the throne on the assassination of his father. He was a weak ruler, and died in 1643.

The respect formerly entertained by the queen-mother for Richelieu was meantime changed into dislike. She had long intrigued against the Minister, but in vain; she had herself been forced to leave the court. The king's brother, Duke Gaston of Orleans, began in her stead to agitate against the Minister, and in 1632 ventured with the support of Henry de Montmorency to risk a war, but was compelled to surrender after the defeat of Castelnaudary, on September 1st, which brought Montmorency to prison and finally to the scaffold. The attack of the Duke of Orleans was connected with that of Duke Charles of Lorraine, his father-in-law, who supported the emperor and was therefore forced to open Nancy to the French until the conclusion of peace; in fact, the whole country remained occupied by them for almost three decades—until 1659—while Duke Charles vainly fought on the side of the emperor for the recovery of his country.

The Duke of Orleans, taken into favour again in 1634, attempted nevertheless a new plot against Richelieu. This time also the plan failed. His hope of succession to the throne was shortly afterwards—in 1638—destroyed by the birth of an heir to the crown, the subsequent Louis XIV. He attempted, however, once more to overthrow Richelieu in conjunction with Cinq-Mars, whom Louis XIII. had made Grand Master of the Horse, and in concert with Spain. Once more all was useless. But Richelieu's end was near; he died on December 4th, 1642, and on May 14th, 1643, the king followed him. Although the cardinal had not been fated to co-operate in the conclusion of peace at Münster, still the weight which France was able there to put into the balance was incontestably the result of his unresting activity.

The guardianship of the infant prince was, contrary to the wish of the father, undertaken by the queen, Anne of Austria, with whom Louis had spent an unhappy married life. The supporters of Richelieu feared an immediate reversal in the system of government. The queen then chose for her trusted servant the Italian Guilio Mazarini, who had been in the French service as Jules Mazarin since 1639—a man who, lacking Richelieu's spirit and energy, was yet, like him, anxious to work for the greatness of France. At home the discontent at the burden of taxation, which was always increasing through the continuous war, led to the serious riots of the Fronde at Paris in the summer of 1648; and they ended with a victory of the Parlement, since it compelled the queen to acknowledge its influence on the most important business of government.

Mazarin in a Position of Power

THE CORONATION OF MARIE DE MEDICI IN THE YEAR 1610

The widow of Henry IV., King of France, who was assassinated in 1610, Marie de Medici became regent on behalf of her son, who was only nine years old when he succeeded to the throne.

From the painting by Rubens

Any attempts of the queen to annul her concessions were frustrated. She had to give way in the Peace of Rueil, on April 1st, 1649; but Mazarin retained provisionally his commanding position. But when, in concert with the queen, he arrested, on January 18th, 1650, Prince Louis of Condé, the leader of the opposition, and his kinsmen, Armand of Condé and Henry of Longueville, he brought down on his head a storm which banished him for a time from France, although he supported his queen with counsel from Liège and Brühl. When he wished to return, Condé rose again; and it was only when the latter had been defeated by Turenne in 1652 that Mazarin was able to come home as victor on February 3rd, 1653. Two years before, Louis XIV. had technically come of age, and had formally entered on the government; in reality his mother still remained the sovereign. The picture of the home affairs in France during the great war could not be called attractive. Yet French policy had turned the scale in the Peace of Westphalia. It is due to this alone that the emperor consented to allow princes to attend the negotiations as representatives of the empire. It must be said, no doubt, that the efforts of France were directed not so much towards the advantage of the Protestants as towards her own aggrandisement, and that her only concern was that an uncompromising opponent to the Hapsburg emperor might be permanently established in the German prince system, irrespective of all question of creed. This object was attained.

Louis XIV. on the Throne

"The dreams and longings of Philip Augustus, the aims and intentions of Philip the Fair, the traditions of Henry IV.," were almost, though not entirely, realised by the Peace of Westphalia. That peace merely gave France and the French their due, and made valid their natural right of inheritance to the Frankish kingdom of Charlemagne. Much was still wanting to complete the "revindications," of which the French nation had apparently never lost sight. The programme of Guilbert of Metz, of 1434, had not yet been completed. He had laid upon the French king the duty of acquiring Liège, Flanders, Hainault, Brabant, Guelders, Juliers, Upper and Lower Burgundy, Provence, Savoy, Lorraine, Luxemburg, Metz, Toul, Verdun, Trèves, Cologne, Mainz, and Strassburg; but some part of this project had been realised. The districts included in the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which had been French possessions for all practical purposes for the last hundred years—from 1552—were now formally separated from the German confederacy, and the old Hapsburg possessions and rights in Alsace and Sundgau, the town of Breisach, and the jurisdiction over the Alsatian imperial towns, now devolved upon the crown of France. The boundary of the Rhine was attained. The disputed boundaries upon the north, the Pyrenees, and the Western Alps still prolonged the struggle with Spain, and war went on for years on these great issues. The great cardinal, who had clung with wonderful tenacity to the acquisitions which Henry IV. had handed down, had not been so fortunate as to live to see the recognition of the "national rights" for which he had spent the resources of his country; but at the time when he laid down his life's work the victory of France had been certainly assured. Mazarin never wavered in this policy, a policy which was eminently national. It was the natural outcome of the just claims of the French, the successors and heirs of the Gauls, who created the old Austrasia. It is, however, not so easy to retrace the conditions which made the "revindications" possible to an origin in the force of public opinion in France.

CARDINAL RICHELIEU
Becoming cardinal in 1622 and Minister of State to Louis XIII. two years later, Richelieu did much to build up the power of the French crown, while he lessened the political power of the nobility. He died in the year 1642.

Mazarin's National Policy

It is difficult to see the connection between the people's desires and the circumstances which led to the imperial concentration of the original dukedoms and counties composing the whole of France. The extinction of the house of Burgundy in the fourth generation, the acquisition of Brittany and Berry, Anjou and Provence, by the French kings through marriage and inheritance, the death, without heirs, of the three royal brothers—Francis II., Charles IX., and Henry III.—were the reasons which made it possible for Henry of Navarre to accept the call to the empty throne, the splendour of which had begun to wane appreciably during the Huguenot wars.

If the religious wars of the powerful princely families had been carried on, whose temporal interests would have been largely furthered by a territorial separation of creeds, how could the "Gallic idea" have become a political force, how could antiquarian discussion upon the boundaries of Austrasia have checked the inordinate ambition of the princely houses? The Germans must be recognised as co-heirs with the French to the empire of Charlemagne; that the French could lay claim to inherent rights arose from the fact that German political development took a course exactly opposite from theirs. Would the theory of the natural boundaries of the Gallic nation have entered the sphere of practical politics if the transition from feudalism to absolute monarchy had been carried out in Germany under the favourable circumstances which attended its progress in France?

CARDINAL MAZARIN
Wielding almost as much power as Richelieu, whom he succeeded as Minister of State, Cardinal Mazarin secured the triumph of France over Austria and Spain.

How weak are the foundations which support the so-called logical and inevitable character of national development, France had to learn from her own experience at the very moment when she took that first step towards the acquisition of the European supremacy for which she was striving, a step most important and most pregnant of results. The couriers saddled their horses in Münster on October 24th, 1648, to carry to the world the news that Germany had at last complied with all the demands of the foreign mediators, and had saved, at any rate, the sovereignty of her princes from general ruin and misery. None the less, it was by no means certain that the young king, in whose name the cardinal Jules Mazarin tried to save France from her fate, would enjoy all those advantages which had been won for him by German regiments in French pay during the war now ended. The state power, the centralisation of which Richelieu had successfully initiated, now found obstacles before it which had been entirely under-estimated. The feudal lords and the bureaucracy, which had an independence of its own, saw that the moment had arrived for the assertion of their rights and privileges as against the power of the crown, and that now was their opportunity to lay such restrictions upon the regency of the queen as the crown had not brooked for the last half-century. The four courts of judicial and administrative officials, united in the chamber of Saint-Louis, demanded a law for the protection of the freedom of the individual; government prisoners, as in England, were to be brought before the court concerned with the case within twenty-four hours after their arrest. Moreover, demands for taxation were not to be valid until authorised by the Parlement, the judicial body which guarded justice and the execution of law. The government found that its financial resources, and therefore its military powers, were considerably restricted. It imprisoned two members of the Grand Conseil, hoping thereby to put a stop to the movement of reform; but it was speedily convinced that the result of this action was merely to provoke a vigorous resistance, and to excite the population of Paris in favour of the demands of the official spokesmen. The government gave in, and on that same October 24th made concessions which contributed chiefly to the advantage of the manufacturing classes.

The Great Ambition of France

Feudal Lords Assert Their Rights

However, the government did not attain its object. The landed nobility, whom Richelieu had stripped of almost all its privileges, was excited with the hope of regaining the old dominant position in the state, and this through an alliance with the "Noblesse des robes," which had gained possession of the highest official

CARDINAL RICHELIEU IN HIS STATE BARGE ACCOMPANYING CINQ-MARS AND DE THOU ON THEIR WAY TO EXECUTION

From the painting by Paul Delaroche in the Wallace Gallery, London positions by purchase and inheritance. Jean François Paul de Gondi, best known as the Cardinal de Retz, and coadjutor to his uncle Henry, the Archbishop of Paris, gathered round himself some of the most distinguished peers, who demanded the dismissal of Mazarin and the creation of a council of regency, in which they were themselves to have place and voice. The royal family and the cardinal had to leave the citadel, where the Fronde, as the opposition called itself, seized the power.

However, the Duke of Orleans remained on the side of the government, as also did the Duke Louis of Condé, who had already won a great military reputation as Prince d'Enghien, and had beaten the Spaniards at Lens a short time before—on August 20th, 1648. But Condé's younger brother, Armand Conti, his sister Anne Geneviève, Duchess of Longueville, Vendôme, Beaufort, Bouillon, had become allies of Gondi. The brother of Bouillon, Henri de Latour d'Auvergne, Viscount of Turenne, placed his sword at their service, and would have marched on Paris with an army from the Rhine; but, being no diplomatist, he had allowed Mazarin to deceive him, and had not observed that the cardinal had secretly secured the services of his subordinate, the Swiss, John Louis of Erlach, who won over the troops to the government side by a timely cash payment. Turenne, however, was thought to be the greatest French general next to Condé, and his name alone was a power, which was to increase considerably when the already proposed alliance of the Fronde with Spain should be completed and the idea of raising an army in common could be realised. Mazarin was unable to overthrow these enemies to his policy with one blow, as his predecessors had so often done; he required time to separate them and to conquer them in detail. He reconciled himself to the Parlement, which withdrew the proscription issued against him, and brought the court back to Paris. But the spirit of opposition to an absolute monarchy was not immediately broken. It manifested itself among the manufacturing citizens of the capital, in the provincial Parlements, and in the great families which considered that the foundation of a political power lay in the government of the old duchies entrusted to their own chiefs.

MARSHAL-GENERAL OF FRANCE
Turenne fought with distinction in the Thirty Years War during the alliance of France with the Protestants. He was created Marshal-General of France in 1660, and in 1668 changed his faith by becoming a Roman Catholic.

How Mazarin Dealt with His Enemies

Mazarin Again Triumphant

The great Condé himself, who did not succeed in pushing Mazarin aside and ruling his royal cousin alone, placed himself at the head of the relatives of the royal house, who were not inclined to see themselves reduced to the position of mere officials. The preponderance of the princes of royal blood threatened danger to the opposing alliance, inasmuch as it implied a loss of prestige to the other great feudal lords. Mazarin recognised this fact, and made overtures to the party of the coadjutor Retz, with the view of dividing them from the Fronde. As he had succeeded with the leaders of the Parisian Parlement, so here he brought their old allies to obedience; and when he had come to an understanding with both parties, he proceeded to take in hand the task of arresting Condé, Conti and Longueville.

By these acts Mazarin himself gave the impulse to the formation of the new Fronde. Women were the soul of this movement, for they then played a brilliant part in the social life of the period in France, and were centres of far greater force than their less intellectual husbands. The Duchesses of Condé and Longueville gathered together in the south the defendants of the imprisoned princes, secured the town of Bordeaux and the fortresses on the Spanish and Netherland frontiers, and again entered into serious negotiations with Spain. There the opinion was strongly held that individual advantages could be furthered by nothing so much as by the permanent debilitation of the French royal power, which was to be brought about by factions and divisions within France itself. In spite of that close connection with the

THE INFANTA MARIA THERESA OF SPAIN

Maria Theresa was the eldest daughter of Philip IV. of Spain, and was married to Louis XIV. of France.

priesthood which had always been a cardinal point in the foreign policy of Spain, the party speculated upon the revival of Huguenot traditions, and looked for a military organisation of the Protestant nobility by Turenne. Even after his defeat at Compy, on December 15th, 1650, the greatest danger to France consisted in the union of the two most capable and popular generals, and in their co-operation with the foreign enemy. Mazarin lost control of the forces which he had hoped to guide. The Duke of Orleans declared him to be the one great enemy of France, and declined to attend a sitting of the Regency Council if he were present. The members of the old Fronde deserted him almost as soon as he had won them over, and the Parlement of Paris demanded that the princes should be set free and the cardinal dismissed. He thought it advisable to bow before the rising storm, left Paris in February, 1651, and took refuge with the Elector of Cologne.

The retrogression of the French kingdom to the pattern of the mediæval feudal system, the restriction of the royal power by the separation of large districts into principalities, might now have taken place if Condé had been capable of conceiving and executing a political programme. He was, however, nothing more than an ambitious plotting prince, and had not the powers or experience of a ruler accustomed to take upon himself the manifold responsibilities of administration in his own territory. The relations of the high nobles about his person to the country and its people had as little closeness or reality as his own. To the nobles the people were the means to the maintenance of their own splendid establishments. These nobles possessed villages and towns, fortresses and harbours. They could call out a levy of their vassals, and gather them for an armed expedition; but the feeling that they were all people of a common country, which bound lord and vassal together in the German states, was here wholly wanting.

The Court Removes from Paris

At that time there were in France too many official bodies whose sphere of action was not coincident with the territorial departments, too many forces subserving the central power, too many interests which could be forwarded by bureaucratic government, and very few which rested on the foundation of territorial rule. Consequently, the state of parties during the military period was continually changing; every week new groups were formed, fresh conditions were arranged for convenience of participation in this or the other undertaking. Condé nearly succeeded in coming to an arrangement with the queen and uniting the position of Prime Minister to that of first prince of the blood royal; but Mazarin threw his influence into the opposite scale, and warned the queen from Bonn that a compact with Condé would imperil the future of her son, who had just attained his majority. The negotiations then came to a point at which open war against Condé was the only remaining alternative. The members of the old Fronde left him, and agreed to the recall of Mazarin, and to the removal of the court from Paris, where it could have been best watched and influenced.

Condé's greatest loss, which perhaps decided the result of the now unavoidable civil war, was the desertion of Turenne, whose action was determined by personal desires and hopes rather than by political considerations. The beautiful Duchess of Longueville might have succeeded in keeping him under her brother's standard; but she rejected the advances of the only dependent who was capable of successfully upholding her own and her brother's cause. Turenne's talents decided the appeal to arms in favour of the king. Neither by the mercenaries of Lorraine nor by the boldness of the Grande Mademoiselle of Orleans could the defeat of the great Condé be averted. When Paris opened her gates to him after his defeat at Saint Antoine and saved him from annihilation, his fate was sealed, for the citizens of the capital were tired of the war and showed no hesitation in concluding peace with the king, who had approached the town, accompanied by Turenne.

Fresh Honours for Mazarin

Once again—on August, 1652—Mazarin retired from the court in order not to stand in the way of a pacification; a few months later Louis XIV., who had marched into Paris at the head of his guards, brought him back with the greatest splendour, and received him on February 3rd, 1653, into the town by which he had been so passionately hated and persecuted.

The unity of the kingdom was saved. The royal government could not look forward without anxiety to the future as long as the war with Spain continued and Condé was fighting on the enemy's side. They were obliged to keep a careful eye on the individualist movements in Normandy, Guienne, and Burgundy, and upon the fresh intrigues of Retz, who was laying claims to the archbishopric of Paris after his uncle's death. But there was no longer any necessity to fear that the unity of the provinces composing the kingdom was liable to dissolution. Condé had gone over to the side of Spain; but his defection did not imply that of some province of the kingdom bound to himself, as was the case when Bavaria or Brandenburg allied themselves with France against the Holy Roman emperor. Foreign powers had received the most striking proofs that the royal government was again in full consciousness of its strength. Upon the death of Ferdinand III., Mazarin was able to propose the candidature of Louis XIV. to the German electors, and to reply to their preference for the Hapsburg by the foundation of the first Rhine confederacy under a French protectorate. Moreover, the English Commonwealth, in accordance with Elizabethan tradition, took the side of France in the quarrel of the two Romance kingdoms of Western Europe, and

England on the Side of France

helped the impoverished resources of the court with the offer of some brigades of English infantry at its own cost. The price paid for this assistance—Dunkirk—was certainly very high; but after this undertaking the military resistance of the Spanish monarchy might be considered as entirely crushed, and recompense could then be taken. The Peace of the Pyrenees, which was brought about after long negotiations on November 7th, 1659, was the outcome of the defenceless position into which the monarchy of Philip II. had fallen in the course of two generations. France gained a number of fortresses and districts, which materially improved her strategical position, and gave increased importance to the places acquired under the Peace of Westphalia. In particular, a beginning was made of the strengthening of the northern boundary of the kingdom by the incorporation of Artois with Arras; for, in the event of a defensive war, France's chief danger lay in the fact that the Belgian frontier was but a short distance from the capital. Stenay and Thionville were important outposts of the dioceses of Metz and Verdun, as was Avesnes of Champagne.

The Peace of the Pyrenees

The possession of Roussillon made it difficult for Spain to take the offensive against the Lower Aude, and Pignerol secured at the same time the approaches to Piedmont. The young king overcame his preference for Maria Mancini, Mazarin's niece, and consented to marry the Infanta Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of Philip IV., the payment of whose dowry of 500,000 golden guldens was conditional upon her renunciation of her rights of succession to the Spanish-Hapsburg territories.

To Mazarin the Florentine France is no less indebted than to the national leader, who had taken up the inheritance of Henry IV.; he had left the affairs of the state which he served in an admirable position before his death, on March 9th, 1661. His family possessions had increased considerably during his term of office, and the state benefited by the care he expended in this department, as Mazarin brought over great families to the court interests through the marriages which he arranged for his nieces. Such families were the Conti (by marriage with Anna Maria Martinozzi), the Mercœur of the house of Vendôme (by marriage with Laura Mancini), the De la Porte-Meilleraye of the house of Richelieu (with Hortensia Mancini), and the Savoyard-Carignan (with Olympia Mancini). The greatest proof that the royal family could have had of the subordination of his personal ambition to the welfare of the state is the fact that he opposed the marriage of the king with Maria Mancini, who afterwards became Princess of Castiglione-Colonna. The moral victory which Louis won over his passion under Mazarin's guidance is of no slight importance in the development of the king's character. And now this true servant voluntarily retired, and left the young king alone in his place, so soon as it became apparent that his presence might have interfered with the king's progress to the position of independent ruler.

France's Debt to Mazarin

Armin Tille
Hans von Zwiedineck-Südenhorst

DUNKIRK: THE LAST ENGLISH POSSESSION IN FRANCE
The important seaport town of Dunkirk was ceded by France to England in 1658, for the latter's assistance in the quarrel between the two Romance kingdoms of Western Europe, and was sold back to France by Charles II. in 1662.

DECLINE OF THE SPANISH POWER

AND THE BEGINNING OF A NEW LIFE

The Disaster that Destroyed Spain's Faith

SPAIN became transiently great through the accidents of inheritance that made her for forty years the financial centre of Charles V.'s vast empire, by the equally fortuitous possession of the New World and its treasures, and, above all, by the exalted conviction of Spaniards that to them and their king was confided the sacred task of extirpating the foes of the faith throughout the world—a mission which conferred upon them national superiority, individual distinction, and the certainty of ultimate victory. Even in the time of the Great Emperor his forces were defeated again and again by Lutheran, French and Turk; but they were never beaten, for were they not fighting God's battles, and could He be vanquished in the end? Through many years of fruitless struggle in Flanders, through endless insults and depredations by English sailors and Turkish corsairs, through discouragement, failure and ever-growing poverty, this assurance of divine protection kept Spaniards in proud confidence that defied disillusion. The first dread whisper that their faith was groundless ran through the fleet on the night of August 7th, 1588, when the great Armada, upon which the prayers and benisons of all Catholic Christendom had been poured, was hustled up the Channel, a helpless mob of ships, flying in panic from Drake's fire-sloops.

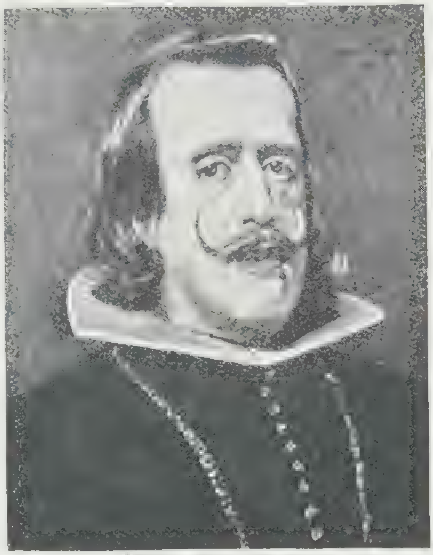
"God has forsaken us!" cried the sailors with pallid lips as they realised their impotence, and though the cry was promptly hushed, for the Inquisition had ears on sea as well as land, the thought to which it gave utterance grew irresistibly until the scales fell from the nation's eyes, and in the bitter knowledge forced upon them by misery, defeat and impotence, the Spaniards turned in mocking scorn and spurned the chivalrous ideal of exaltation by sacrifice that had been the secret of their potency as a people.

Spain's Era of Defeat and Penury

Castile, with its weakened parliament, bore most of the cost of Philip II.'s wars, and when he died, in 1598, his unwise taxation had strangled industry, depopulated the land, and reduced his people to despair. If impossible dreams of imposing orthodoxy upon the world had been abandoned frankly even now, Spain might have become prosperous and happy again, though she had lost her proud supremacy abroad. But the vain illusion still prevailed, and the fable of Spain's boundless wealth persisted. In the face of crushing debt and penury, Philip III. and his Minister, Lerma, maintained the old claims. The hopeless war in Flanders was continued, Spanish men and money were still lavished to support the Austrian emperor in his wars against Lutheranism and the Turk, and the pretence that Spain might yet by force change the religion of England was still kept up. Religion became for most Spaniards a slavish ritual unconnected with the conduct of life, its every form tremblingly followed under the eyes of friars and familiars, however much the heart might rebel in secret.

The Pauper King Philip IV.

On the accession of Philip IV., in 1621, another chance came, the last one, for Spain to recognise patent facts and abandon an untenable position. Again national pride prevailed, and the chance was neglected. The jealousies of other powers and the clash of rival interests conspired with Spain's assumption to maintain the fable of the overwhelming power and wealth of the Catholic king, while the very table of Philip IV. lacked necessary food, his armies starved, in rags, and his fleet was rotting and useless. Pauper though he was, it was incumbent upon Philip still to interfere in the religious concerns of Central Europe, and to continue to squander all he could squeeze from Castile or borrow from the Genoese in the



KING PHILIP IV.

A royal pauper, lacking necessary food, "his armies starved and in rags," while his "fleet was rotting and useless"—such is the picture given to us of Philip IV. and his once powerful kingdom of Spain. The king died broken-hearted in 1665.

hopeless task of subduing the Dutch Protestants. The persistence in the fatal tradition inherited from Charles V. of the hegemony in Christendom of the house of Austria under the ægis of Spain precipitated the final catastrophe. Francis I. had fought against such a consummation in the days when Spain and the empire were strongest, and now with powerful Richelieu controlling a homogeneous France, the opportunity of crushing a weak and disillusioned, corrupt and disunited Spain was too good to be lost. Philip IV. and his advisers would still not learn wisdom and abandon their dreams. The struggle with France, which humility might have avoided, was accepted by Spain with haughty alacrity, and the nation, at the bidding of its king and his favourite Olivares, took the last fatal step upon the slope of ruin.

For years the wars went on in Flanders, in Germany, in Italy, France always leading the foes of Spain. The attempt to levy unconstitutional taxation in Aragon and Portugal gave Richelieu the opportunity of promoting revolt in Spain itself. Portugal threw off the yoke in 1640, Catalonia transferred its allegiance to France, and the overburdened king, who claimed the control of Christendom, was now unable to hold even his own soil. From mere exhaustion the inevitable

PHILIP IV. VISITING THE STUDIO OF THE FAMOUS PAINTER VELASQUEZ

THE DUTCH VICTORY OVER THE SPANISH FLEET IN 1607
In 1607 Heemskerk, the admiral of the Dutch fleet, sailed from Holland, determined to distinguish himself in some great exploit. Learning that the Spanish fleet lay at anchor in the Bay of Gibraltar, he boldly attacked it, and gained a notable victory, four of the Spanish galleons being sunk or burned. The brave Dutch admiral was killed in the fight.

independence of the Dutch was recognised by Spain in 1648, and Catalonia sulkily returned to its allegiance by the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659, except Roussillon, which remained French; and Philip IV. died broken-hearted in 1665, knowing that, deny it as he might, Portugal was lost to Spain for ever.

Fallen indeed was the power that had bulked so big for a century; but the cup of humiliation was even yet not full. Under the rule of Charles II., an infant when his father died, and almost an idiot and a monstrosity in his degeneracy, blow after blow fell upon Spain. More of her Flemish provinces and the Franche Comté were lost, and the national exhaustion was complete. Law and order in Spain were at an end. Greedy factions divided the court and raged around the cretin king. The laboriously constructed system of personal power established by Charles V. and Philip II. had now no centre, for "Charles the Bewitched" was too weak and silly even to be ruled by a favourite, and responsibility rested nowhere. Utterly corrupt and hopeless, the nation awaited tremblingly what should happen when the childless king should die. Around his bed the powers of Europe intrigued for his inheritance, and when he died of senile decay at thirty-nine in 1700, the tempest of civil war swept over the land and purged it of its baser dregs. From the purifying fires of loyal suffering Spain emerged, stripped of her pompous claims, but sane and clear of vision, to begin national life anew under a Bourbon French king, Philip V., the descendant both of the house of Spain and of its enemy, Louis XIV. The decline of old Austrian-Spain had been consummated, and the nation had regained its youth, weaker, but full of hope and free from illusions.

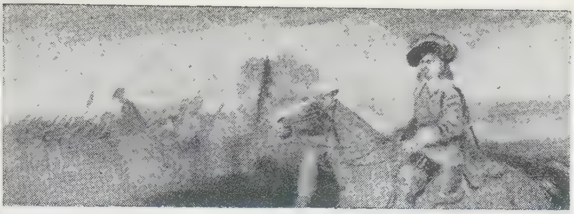
THE FEEBLE CHARLES II.
As an infant, he succeeded his father, Philip IV., on the throne of Spain. He was weak in intellect, and at the early age of thirty-nine died of senile decay in 1700.

MARTIN HUME

BAITING A ROUNDHEAD THE TOAST OF KING CHARLES AT THE POINT OF THE SWORD

"And he that will this health deny, down among the dead men let him lie." So run the words of the old English song, here illustrated. An unfortunate Roundhead has fallen into the hands of the king's friends, and at the point of the sword is being compelled to drink the health of King Charles I., whose portrait is shown directly above his head.

From the painting by Daniel A. Wehrschmidt, A.R.A., by permission of the artist and of the trustees of the late H. H. Norie, W.S.



ENGLAND UNDER CHARLES I.

THE STRUGGLE OF CROWN AND PARLIAMENT

THE accession of James I. naturally leads to a close connection between the histories of England and Scotland. In both countries his policy sowed the seed for a future reaction. But whereas in England the opposition to the Stuarts was political no less than religious, in Scotland all other questions were subordinated to those of ecclesiastical government; and the influence of Scotland is largely responsible both for the peculiar lines on which English Nonconformity developed and for the programme which the Presbyterian section of the Nonconformists adopted, Scottish Protestantism having developed on Calvinistic and Presbyterian lines.

The King's Fight for Episcopacy

But from 1575 the General Assembly, the representative body of Scottish Presbyterianism, began to assume an importance in the state which far exceeded that of the corrupt and servile Parliament. Fear of a religious reaction compelled the regent Morton, and, after Morton, King James himself, to treat with some respect the theocratic claims of the ministers. James fought hard for the maintenance of episcopacy, and by degrees formulated a policy of absolutism which had the support of moderate men and of many who sighed for a return to the old religion. But his only prospect of success lay in dividing the Protestants among themselves; in 1587 he renounced all hope of establishing a strong episcopate in order that he might obtain a parliamentary grant of the Church's lands, and in 1592 he was compelled to sanction an act which formally recognised Presbytery.

The Genevan system had triumphed; but the ministers abused their opportunity and the weakness of the Crown. Their insolence fostered in the mind of James a belief that Puritanism was necessarily connected with democratic and theocratic principles which could not fail to subvert all government if they were permanently accepted. In the years immediately preceding the death of Elizabeth the king was working by circuitous means to revive a real episcopal system in subordination to the Crown.

Expulsion of Presbyterian Leaders

He came to England with a determination that he would never allow the Presbyterian spirit to gain a footing in the Anglican communion, and that his English resources should be used to remodel the Scottish Kirk upon Elizabethan lines. The second half of the plan was accomplished when, in 1606, a Parliament, assembled at Perth, accepted an act for the restitution of bishops; the measure was followed by the expulsion of the most prominent among the Presbyterian leaders.

In England James' policy was emphatically proclaimed at the Hampton Court Conference, in which he and the bishops met those of the clergy who pressed for a simplification of the established ritual. The king came to the conclusion that the advocates of simplicity were Presbyterians in disguise, and dismissed their petition with an absolute refusal. Thus in both countries an impetus was given to religious disputes; the king had identified himself with practices and forms of government which a large proportion of his subjects condemned on conscientious grounds. The Catholics, at the beginning of the reign, had hopes that the new ruler would feel it politic to make large concessions to them; but finding that hope vain, a few of them embarked on the desperate Gunpowder Plot for blowing up the Houses of Parliament. The work was to be done by Guy Fawkes; the plot was betrayed; several of the conspirators suffered the extreme penalty, and the popular prejudice against Romanism was intensified a hundredfold. The lines of the coming struggle between Crown and Parliament in England were largely determined by the fact that James had been actually

King and Parliament at Variance

King of Scotland five and twenty years before he ascended the English throne. In England other causes of friction soon arose. James was at variance with his parliaments from first to last. Sometimes the quarrel was due to his superior enlightenment, as when he concluded peace with Spain, when he projected a legislative union between England and Scotland, when, being balked in the plan, he procured a judicial decision that Scots living in England were entitled to all the private rights of native Englishmen, when, finally, he framed plans for an increased measure of toleration to the Catholics. But even when his views were sound he showed no tact in his manner of unfolding them; and there were cases in which his projects involved a serious menace to constitutional liberty. He inherited Elizabeth's conception of the prerogative without being able to plead, like Elizabeth, the dangers of foreign intervention as an excuse for absolutism. The Commons, on the other hand, were not disposed to treat him with the forbearance which had always characterised their attitude towards his predecessor. He won a remarkable triumph over them in 1606 when the judges ruled that he could impose new customs duties without the consent of Parliament; and he used this permission to make good the deficit in his budget which resulted from the reluctance of the Commons to vote him adequate supplies. But they took their revenge by refusing his request for a fixed income in lieu of his feudal dues and privileges. They opposed his scheme for marrying his son Charles to a Spanish princess, and made a hero of Sir Walter Raleigh, whom he caused to be executed in 1618 for a descent upon a Spanish settlement in the valley of the Orinoco. In 1621 they impeached various persons to whom the king had sold monopolies, and compelled him to punish the Chancellor, Francis Bacon, the most able

JAMES I., KING OF ENGLAND
The only son of Mary Queen of Scots and Darnley, he was proclaimed King of Scotland, as James VI., in 1567, being then only one year old; in 1603, he ascended the English throne, thus uniting the crowns of the two countries.

GUY FAWKES, THE CONSPIRATOR, BEFORE JAMES I. AND HIS COUNCIL
Hoping to regain power and position in England, and inspired with zeal for their religion, a company of Roman Catholics plotted to overthrow King and Parliament in 1605. Barrels of gunpowder were secretly conveyed to the cellars underneath the Houses of Parliament, the intention being to explode these when King and Parliament were assembled. But the plot was discovered, and Guy Fawkes, the leader, with other conspirators, was put to death.

exponent of autocratic principles, with a heavy fine and dismissal from all offices. The ostensible charge against Bacon was one of bribery and corruption; the real offence was his criticism of parliamentary government and his hostility to Coke, the greatest of living lawyers and a staunch defender of constitutional principles. James abandoned the monopolists and Bacon to their fate; he was always on the verge of a serious breach with Parliament, but always retracted in time to avoid the final rupture; it would have been well for his dynasty if he had yielded sooner and with better grace. Obsequious judges and his native pertinacity preserved for him a larger share of power than the Commons desired. But the consequence was to leave his successor in a position from which even a king more tactful and far-sighted than Charles I. would scarcely have emerged with credit.

SIR EDWARD COKE AND SIR FRANCIS BACON

Sir Edward Coke, the greatest lawyer of his time, took a leading part in the prosecution of the Gunpowder conspirators. Sir Francis Bacon became Lord Chancellor in 1618 and in 1621 was created Viscount St. Albans. Charged with bribery and corruption, he was heavily fined and dismissed from all the offices which he held.

In several respects this reign was an age of new developments. It saw the growth of a new and more political form of Puritanism. It also saw the first appearance, under the guidance of Laud, of the High Church party. James completed the conquest of Ireland and crowned the policy of colonisation, which under Mary and Elizabeth had already been pursued on an extensive scale, by settling six counties in Ulster with Scots and Englishmen. Of better omen was the settlement established in New England by English Puritans, who, in 1620, had expatriated themselves to avoid the persecutions of the Star Chamber and High Commission Court. These religious exiles succeeded where Raleigh and the gold-seekers had failed, and the first half of the seventeenth century saw the foundations of an English North America securely laid. On the other hand, the glories of the Elizabethan epoch, the great explorers, the great dramatists and men of letters, the seamen who had made our naval supremacy, passed from the stage without leaving successors to fill their places.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD

The leader of the High Church party, William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, attempted in vain to root out Calvinism in England and Presbyterianism in Scotland.

Most of the new developments which marked the age foreboded strife and unrest and civil war. Peace was the object which James most cherished after that of his own aggrandisement. But peace was not to be secured. In spite of himself, he was dragged, at the end of his reign, into the first operations of the Thirty Years War as the ally of his son-in-law, Frederic the Elector Palatine. The strain and stress of a foreign war gave the first shock to the unstable equilibrium of English society. The follies of Charles I. soon made it impossible for that equilibrium to be restored.

Charles and his favourite Buckingham had given proofs of their incapacity before the death of the old king. But their mismanagement of the negotiations for the Spanish marriage, which James had earnestly desired, in 1623, invested them with a halo of popularity. The nation detested the Spanish connection as un-English and un-Protestant. The popularity was soon forfeited. Buckingham mismanaged England's share in the Thirty Years War. Charles found in Henrietta Maria of France a wife whose nationality and religion were alike detested by his subjects. From the beginning of the reign Parliament showed a reluctance to grant even the customary supplies, and the dismissal of Buckingham soon became the indispensable condition of further subsidies. It was in vain that the favourite courted national prejudice by entering on a war with France and leading

THE HAPPIER DAYS OF CHARLES I. THE KING AND HIS FAMILY ENJOYING THEMSELVES ON THE RIVER

From the picture by F. Goodall, R.A

an expedition to the relief of the Huguenots in La Rochelle in 1627. The government was obliged to meet the expenses of the campaign by a forced loan, and to provide for the new levies of soldiers by means of billeting. Buckingham at first bore the blame for these arbitrary measures. But the assassination of Buckingham in 1628 produced no improvement in the policy of Charles; and the Commons were reluctantly forced to the conclusion that the king, rather than his Ministers, should be held responsible for all the shortcomings and excesses of the administration.

Even before the death of Buckingham the opposition secured a signal triumph, and gave the country a foretaste of their programme by extorting the king's assent to the Petition of Right in 1628. This celebrated statute forbade the billeting of soldiers on private householders, made it illegal to enforce martial law in time of peace, condemned the practice of arbitrary imprisonment by which the royal demands for forced loans had been made effectual, and reasserted the ancient principle that no tax or impost could be raised without the assent of Parliament. To these terms Charles assented with a tacit and disingenuous reservation of the rights inherent in his royal prerogative, and he continued to levy customs duties without statutory sanction.

This evasion of his promise, and the encouragement which he and Laud gave to the clergy of the High Church school, provoked from the Commons a storm of angry protests. Charles retaliated by imprisoning the leaders of the opposition, and for the next eleven years—1629-40—did his best to govern without Parliament.

In this policy he had able supporters. Strafford (Lord Wentworth), originally a member of the opposition, but converted to the side of prerogative by his indignation at the impracticable and obstructive tactics of the Commons, proved himself a vigorous and resourceful administrator. He was first appointed President of the Council of the North, a local Star Chamber, which Henry VIII. had created after the Pilgrimage of Grace; subsequently he went to Ireland with a commission to continue the work of colonisation, to manage the Irish Parliament, and to make the island a profitable possession for the Crown. In all these objects he was signally successful, the more so because he paid no attention to laws which would have imposed inconvenient checks upon his action; and the fear gained ground in England that Ireland would be made the training-ground of armies for the coercion of England.

KING CHARLES I. OF ENGLAND

The reign of this king, which began on March 27th, 1625, on the death of his father, James I., and ended with his execution at Whitehall on January 30th, 1649, was crowded with troubles both at home and abroad. He quarrelled with his Parliaments, three of which were summoned and dissolved within four years, and for eleven years ruled without one.

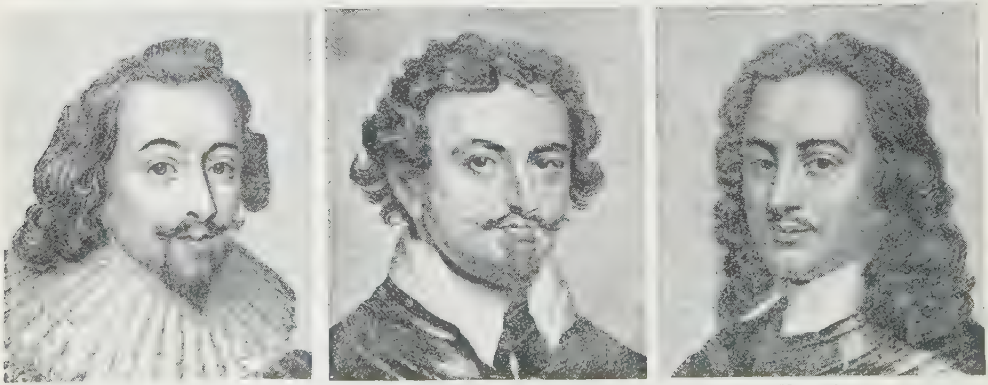
From the painting by Vandyke in the Dresden Gallery

Laud, now Archbishop of Canterbury, devoted himself to English finance, to the reform of the Church in a High Church sense, and to the maintenance of a severe censorship of the Press. Under his direction the Star Chamber and the High Commission became a terror to Puritans and constitutional pamphleteers. Through Laud's influence, Charles had in 1629 forbidden all religious controversy. The archbishop trusted that the majority of the nation would in course of time become habituated to the elaborate forms and ceremonies which he admired, provided that the voices of hostile critics were rigorously silenced. But his utmost efforts failed to check unlicensed writing and preaching. He succeeded only in cementing more firmly the alliance between the political and religious opposition.

The king was strong in the support of the judges, the recognised interpreters of the common law. They sanctioned the imprisonment of the parliamentary leaders; and the high-minded Eliot, who had been the moving spirit of the Commons, died in prison in 1632. So, again, they allowed the statute of 1624 against monopolies to be evaded, and ruled in 1637 that the king could levy ship-money for the defence of the realm without consulting Parliament. John Hampden refused to pay his quota of the new tax; but when he appealed to the courts in 1638, a majority of the judges confirmed the previous ruling. But monopolies and ship-money were insufficient to meet the king's expenses, even though his relations with the Continental powers were pacific. He was obliged to press his feudal rights to the utmost, to revive obsolete claims of forest-right over lands which had been in private hands for generations, and to use the Star Chamber as an instrument for levying enormous fines at the slightest provocation. It was certain that he would be unable to avoid meeting Parliament if any necessity for exceptional expenditure should arise.

Yet his own zeal and that of Laud impelled him to choose this opportunity for provoking a struggle with the Scottish Presbyterians. In 1637 Charles prepared to consummate the triumph which James had won by the introduction of episcopacy. A new Prayer Book for use in Scottish churches was prepared by Laud and sent

HENRIETTA MARIA, QUEEN OF CHARLES I.
Five weeks after his accession to the throne of England, in 1625, Charles married Henrietta Maria, daughter of King Henry IV. of France, and in spite of the troubles which clouded the king's reign, their domestic life was peaceful and happy. The Queen died in 1669.



Buckingham

Strafford

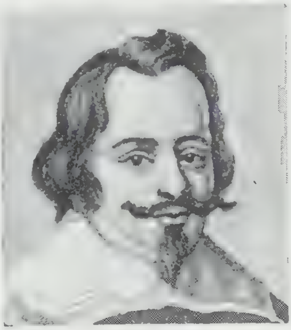
Hampden

THREE HISTORIC FIGURES IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES I.

George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, was a court favourite of James I. and also of Charles I., negotiating the marriage of the latter to Henrietta Maria of France. He was assassinated in 1628. After the death of Buckingham, Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, became the adviser of the king, but fell from power and ended his life on the scaffold. A patriot of high character, John Hampden opposed the king's policy, and was one of the members of Parliament whom Charles attempted to arrest in 1642. He died from a wound received while opposing Prince Rupert.

CHARLES I., KING OF ENGLAND
From the painting by Anthony Vandyke in the Louvre

down to Scotland. A riot began in the church of St. Giles in Edinburgh on the first Sunday morning when the new liturgy was used. Then followed the subscription of the National Covenant by all classes of the Scottish nation; and a General Assembly of the Church, which was so largely reinforced by laymen as to resemble a national parliament, declared in favour of a return to the strict Presbyterian system.



JOHN PYM

He was another of the five members of Parliament whom Charles I. attempted to arrest, and was also conspicuous in the proceedings against both Strafford and Laud.

The king ordered the assembly to dissolve. But it defied him, as its predecessors had so often defied his father; and when Charles, in 1639, advanced to the border with a hastily raised and ill-provided army, he found himself confronted by a force stronger than his own, under the command of David Leslie. The only possible course was to grant the Scots for the moment all that they asked. Charles could not acquiesce in this humiliation. He called a Parliament in 1640, expecting that national pride would induce the Commons to postpone domestic difficulties until the Scots had been chastised. But the Commons were obdurate. They informed the king that redress must precede supply, and were dismissed within three weeks of their first meeting. A second attempt to raise an army without taxation failed. The Scots entered England and forced Charles to make terms. Pending a definite settlement, he was obliged to make himself liable for the pay of the Scottish army. The peers, whom he asked to help him in his financial straits, insisted that he should have recourse to Parliament. Accordingly the Long Parliament was convened at the

THE EARL OF STRAFFORD ON HIS WAY TO EXECUTION

After enjoying twelve years of power under Charles I., the Earl of Strafford was impeached for high treason on the charge of endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom by making the monarchy absolute. He defended himself with conspicuous ability at his trial in Westminster Hall in 1641, but he was condemned and afterwards beheaded on Tower Hill. The above picture shows Strafford kneeling, as he passes on his way to execution, under the window of his fellow-prisoner, Archbishop Laud, that he may receive his blessing and have his prayers in his last moments.

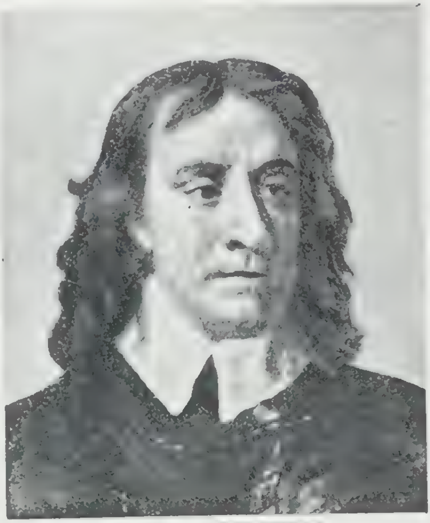
From the painting by Paul Delaroche

CHARLES I. DEMANDING THE ARREST OF FIVE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

Unsuccessful in his attempt to arrest at Westminster the five members of Parliament who were accused of high treason in their correspondence with the Scots, Charles I., learning that they had taken refuge in the City, proceeded to the Guildhall and demanded their surrender from the aldermen. The sheriffs paid no heed to the writs issued for the arrest of the five members, while a proclamation declaring them traitors was also allowed to pass unnoticed.

From the painting by Solomon J. Solomon in the Royal Exchange

close of 1640, and the new members began the work of criticising the executive, with the knowledge that the king could not afford to dismiss them as he had dismissed their predecessors. Under the leadership of Pym, the greatest orator and party manager of their body, the Commons at once took vigorous measures against the Ministers of Charles. They impeached Strafford and Laud; and upon discovering that it was impossible to convict the former of positive illegality condemned him to death by an act of attainder. It was a harsh measure, but Strafford was the one man whose genius might have secured success for the autocratic designs of Charles; and the Commons rightly or wrongly, were convinced of Strafford's intention to govern England with an Irish army. Charles might have saved his Minister by refusing to sign the attainder, but yielded to the pressure of the opposition; it is some excuse for this violation of the express promises which he had given to Strafford that the London mob was clamouring for the head of the queen, on whom, as a Catholic, the blame for Laud's ecclesiastical policy was thrown.



OLIVER CROMWELL

Cromwell came to his country's rescue at a time when the rights of the people and their Parliament were finding a bitter and resolute enemy in the king. He built up a strong fabric of government, which, however did not endure after the death of its founder.

Meanwhile Parliament proceeded, by legislation of less disputable character, to make the restoration of absolutism impossible. A Triennial Act provided that the Houses should meet every three years, and that a royal summons to the members should not be indispensable. Another measure enacted that the existing Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent. The prerogative courts and councils, of which the Star Chamber, High Commission, and Council of the North were the most important, were all swept away. Ship-money was declared illegal; the king's forest rights were restricted; and Parliament reasserted its exclusive right of controlling all customs duties, thus setting aside the judgment in virtue of which James had settled these imposts at his pleasure. The general result of these sweeping measures was a return from the Tudor to the Lancastrian conception of the prerogative. Of this fact the Commons showed full consciousness. Their debates abounded in appeals to the parliamentary precedents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They were deliberately reviving a polity which had been discarded after the Wars of the Roses.

CROMWELL ON HIS FARM AT ST. IVES, HUNTINGDON
From the picture by Ford Madox Brown, by permission of Mr. Frederick Hollyer

It remained to be seen whether the Commons had made a sufficient advance in practical statesmanship to avoid the error by which the Lancastrian Parliament had been irretrievably discredited. Charles could not refuse to sign these acts which undermined his laboriously constructed absolutism; nor could he prevent the Commons from paying off the army which he had raised against the Scots. But he had not lost all hope of a

KING AND PARLIAMENT AT WAR: THE BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR

In the great encounter fought at Marston Moor, about nine miles from York, on July 2nd, 1644, the forces of the king, under Prince Rupert and the Duke of Newcastle, were defeated by the Parliamentary troops. Fifty thousand men, it is said were engaged in the struggle, and the result was a sad blow to Prince Rupert, who had hitherto been invincible.

From the painting by Ernest Crofts

SCENES FROM THE TROUBLED LIFE OF CHARLES I.

Riding roughshod over all the rights and liberties of the nation, Charles I. aroused the indignation and the opposition of his people, and they rose up in revolt. In this picture we see the king raising his standard at Nottingham, where the Civil War had its beginning. This ceremony had not taken place in England since the battle of Bosworth Field.

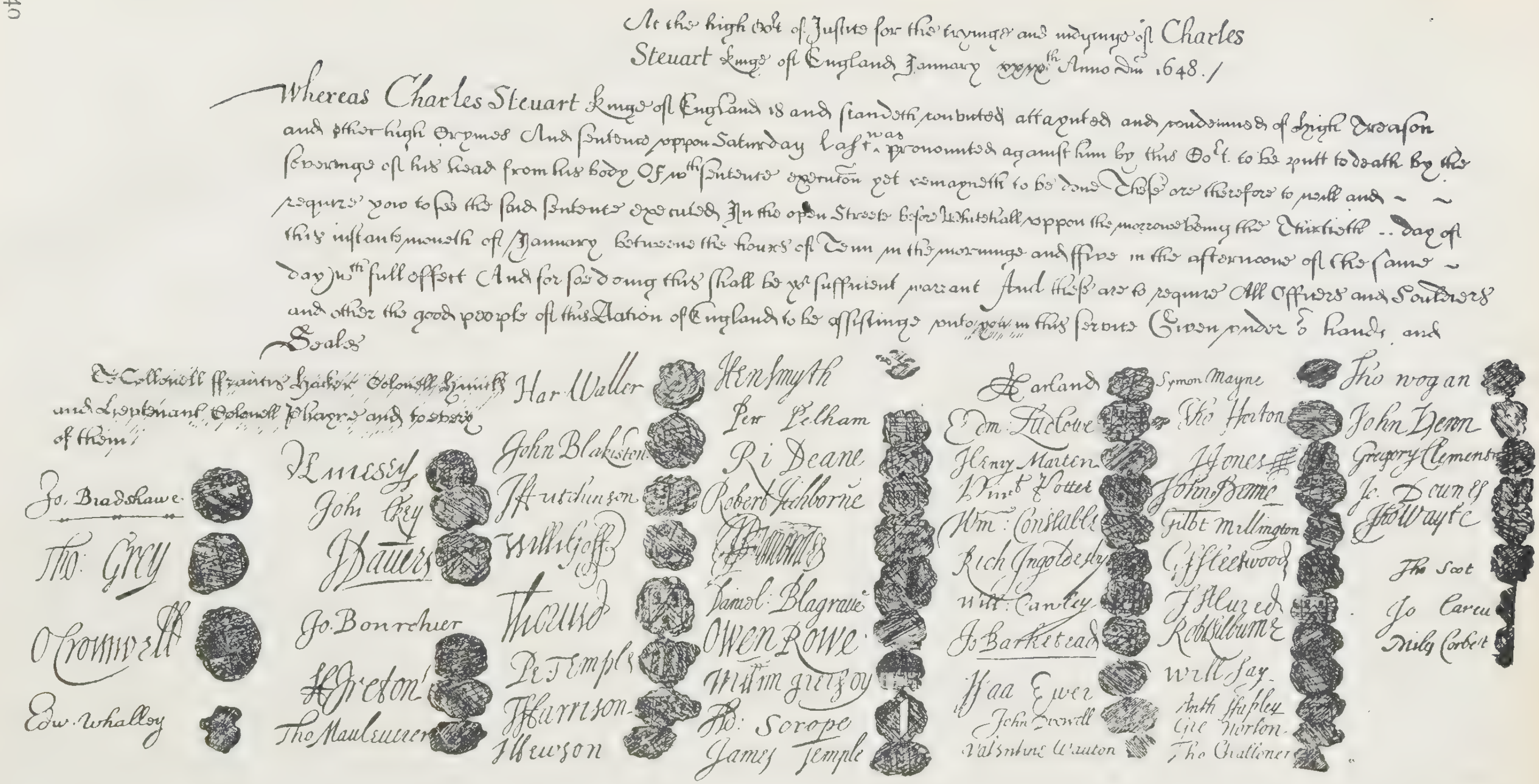
The artist depicts in this picture the scene at Westminster when Charles I. attempted to arrest the five members of Parliament, and shows Speaker Lenthal, on his knees, asserting the privileges of the Commons against the king.

From the frescoes in the House of Lords by C. W. Cope, R.A.

Brought to trial in Westminster Hall on January 20th, 1649, Charles was accused of high treason, and sentence of death was pronounced against him. Throughout the proceedings the king bore himself with great dignity, and refused to submit himself to the jurisdiction of the court, but many witnesses were examined, and he was condemned.

The king is here seen passing from the hall after his trial. The Commons who have tried him are shown in the background, and while some of the soldiers insulted Charles as he passed, people offered up prayers for his safety

From the painting by Sir John Gilbert in the Mappin Art Gallery, Sheffield



At the high Co^rt of Justice for the tryinge and iudginge of Charles Steuart Kinge of England January xxixth Anno Dni 1648.

Whereas Charles Steuart Kinge of England is and standeth convicted attaynted and condemned of High Treason and other high Crymes And sentence uppon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Co^rt to be putt to death by the severinge of his head from his body Of w^ch sentence execucon yet remayneth to be done These are therefore to will and require you to see the said sentence executed In the open Streete before Whitehall uppon the morrowe being the Thirtieth day of this instant moneth of January betweene the houres of Tenn in the morninge and Five in the afternoone of the same day w^th full effect And for soe doing this shall be yo^r sufficient warrant And these are to require All Officers and Souldiers and other the good people of this Nation of England to be assistinge unto you in this service Given under o^r hands and Seales

To Collonell ffrancis Hacker Collonell Huncks and Leiutenant Collonell Phayre and to every of them.

Jo. Bradshawe
Tho: Grey
O Cromwell
Edw. Whalley
M Livesey
John Okey
J Danvers
Jo. Bourchier
H Ireton
Tho Mauleverer
Har Waller
John Blakiston
J Hutchinson
Willi Goff
Tho Pride
Pe Temple
T Harrison
J Hewson
Hen Smyth
Per Pelham
Ri Deane
Robert Tichborne
H Edwardes
Daniel Blagrave
Owen Rowe
William Purefoy
Ad: Scrope
James Temple
A Garland
Edm Ludlowe
Henry Marten
Vinct Potter
Wm: Constable
Rich Ingoldesby
Will: Cawley
Jo Barkstead
Isaa Ewer
John Dixwell
Valentine Wauton
Symon Mayne
Tho Horton
J Jones
John Moore
Gilbt Millington
G Fleetwood
J Alured
Robt Lilburne
Will Say
Anth Stapley
Gre Norton
Tho Challoner
Tho Wogan
John Venn
Gregory Clement
Jo Downes
Tho Wayte
Tho Scot
Jo Carew
Miles Corbet

THE WARRANT FOR THE EXECUTION OF KING CHARLES

This memorable document, addressed to "Colonel Francis Hacker, Colonel Huncks, and Lieutenant-Colonel Thayr, and to everyone of them," was signed by the court on January 29th, 1648, and after stating the crimes for which the king was condemned, demanded his execution "in the open street before Whitehall upon the morrow, being the thirtieth day of this instant month of January, between the hours of ten in the morning and five in the afternoon with full effect." As will be observed from the above, which is taken from the original document in the House of Lords, the warrant is signed by John Bradshaw, Thomas Grey, Oliver Cromwell, and fifty-six others who were prominently identified in the movements of that period.

CHARLES I. ON HIS WAY TO EXECUTION, 1649

From the [illegible] st Crofts, R.A., by [illegible] sion of Messrs. Hildesheimer & Co., Ltd.

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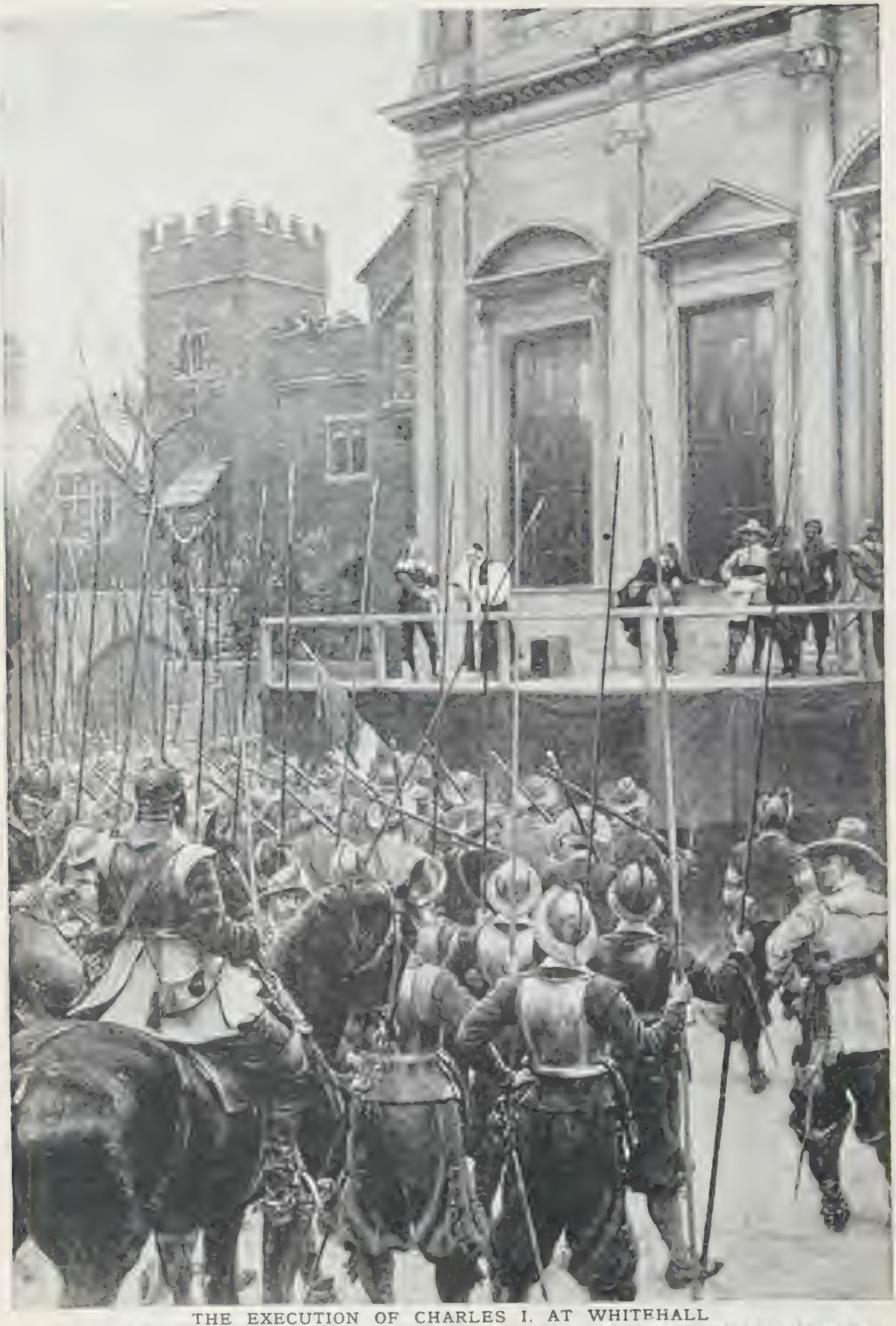
reaction. He resolved to sacrifice his most cherished convictions in order to regain the support of the friends of the Covenant; for he believed, with some justice, that these, if satisfied on the religious issue, were unlikely to sympathise with the political aspirations of the English opposition.

He travelled northward to confirm the Presbyterian settlement in a Parliament at Edinburgh, and used the opportunity to sow the seeds of dissension among the adherents of the Covenant.

THE CONDEMNED KING AND HIS SPIRITUAL COMFORTER

After sentence of death had been passed upon him, Charles returned to St. James's Palace, where he spent the brief interval between his trial and execution. There he bade farewell to his only two remaining children in England, the Duke of Gloucester and the Princess Elizabeth; and there, too, he was attended by Juxon, the late Bishop of London, who, on the fatal day, walked on the king's right in the procession to the scaffold administering spiritual solace.

On Ireland he built still greater hopes. There the materials of a formidable rebellion were fast gathering to a head. The terrible wrongs committed by the Tudors, by James I., and by Strafford, in connection with the policy of plantation, were responsible for much of the Irish discontent; but national and religious feelings came into play as well, and filled the conspirators with a fanatical hatred of the English Protestants, who lorded it in the most flourishing districts of the island. Charles was prepared, in the last resort, to leave Ireland at the mercy of the rebels. He knew that he could count on their undying hatred of a Puritan and English Parliament; he shut his eyes to the probable fate of the English colonists. In 1641 a terrible massacre more than decimated the Ulster Protestants and produced in England the suspicion that Charles was already in active alliance with the Irish. Without entirely adopting this view, Parliament resolved that the king could not safely be entrusted with an army for the suppression of the rebels unless he would put himself in the hands of Ministers responsible to the representatives of the people. So far all were unanimous. But the majority in the Commons desired



THE EXECUTION OF CHARLES I. AT WHITEHALL

Only three days elapsed between the king's condemnation and execution. On January 30th, 1649, the life of the unhappy Charles ended at Whitehall, one blow of the executioner's axe severing the royal head from the body.

From the painting by Ernest Crofts, by the artist's permission to go further, and to take upon themselves the reformation of the English Church. There was little doubt that parliamentary control of the Church would end in the substitution of Presbyteries for the Episcopate. Rather than submit to this innovation, the best members of the Church rallied to the king's cause. The introduction of the religious issue gave him a body of English support which seemed to make his Irish and Scottish intrigues no longer necessary. He returned from Scotland and at once put himself forward as the representative of orthodoxy against reckless innovation. From this point events moved rapidly towards an irreparable breach. On hearing a rumour that the queen was threatened with an impeachment, Charles, in 1642, made an ineffectual attempt to seize the five members who had been pointed out to him as her chief enemies. Immediately afterwards he definitely announced that he would never consent to surrender the control of the militia, the only armed force which England could under ordinary circumstances bring into the field. On this issue war was declared.

GENERALS IN THE CIVIL WAR

Sir Thomas Fairfax was commander-in-chief in the decisive campaign, and succeeded his father as Lord Fairfax. General Ireton, whose portrait is also given, fought on the side of Parliament; he was a stout opponent of the king and signed the warrant for his execution.

AFTER THE EXECUTION: CROMWELL AND THE DEAD KING

From the painting by Paul Delaroche

THE BURIAL OF KING CHARLES I. IN WINDSOR CASTLE

For seven days after the execution of Charles, the coffin remained at Whitehall exposed to public view. On February 8th, the remains of the ill-fated king were laid to rest in St. George's Chapel in Windsor Castle. Snow fell heavily as the body was being removed from the interior of the castle to the chapel, "and the servants of the king were pleased to see, in the sudden whiteness that covered their unfortunate master's coffin, a symbol of his innocence."

From the painting by C. W. Cope, R.A.

But the real question lay between Puritanism and the Elizabethan Church.

The first Civil War lasted from 1642 till 1646. It divided every social class and many households, but there were certain districts in which one or the other of the contending parties enjoyed a lasting predominance. East of a line from Hull to Arundel lay the headquarters of Parliamentary influence, the wealthiest and most progressive part of the country. Cornwall, Oxfordshire, and North Wales were consistently Royalist. The Midlands continually changed hands; the country between Cornwall and Sussex was first Parliamentary, then Royalist, then reconquered by Parliament. The north was at first held for the king, but was lost to his cause in 1644. The theatres of military operations were various and widely scattered despite the fact that the headquarters of the king were fixed at Oxford, at no great distance from London where the Parliament was sitting. Besides maintaining several armies simultaneously in different parts of England, the king relied upon the diversions effected by his supporters in Ireland and Scotland. The campaigns of Montrose in Scotland (1644–1645) were, from a military point of view, one of the most striking features in the war. The Parliament acted more wisely when it resolved to concentrate the bulk of its available forces on the conquest of England. In 1643 it purchased Scottish aid by accepting Presbyterianism, though with reservation, under the Solemn League and Covenant; a Scottish army thereupon

CAREY AND RUPERT: FRIENDS OF THE KING

Lucins Carey, Viscount Falkland, was an eloquent advocate of constitutional liberty; he stood by the king when the Civil War broke out, and was killed at the battle of Newbury in 1643. Known as the "Mad Cavalier," Prince Rupert was a leading spirit in the Royalist cause, and fought with great courage in its battles. He died in 1682.

CROMWELL DISSOLVING THE LONG PARLIAMENT

Cromwell dismissed the Long Parliament, which had sat for twelve years and had supported the nation's rights against the king. The members of the Council were also dispersed. The historic scene when Cromwell, pointing to the mace, exclaimed, "Take away that bauble!" is shown in this picture from the painting by Benjamin West.

CROMWELL REFUSING TO BECOME KING

The greatest man in the nation and the one who controlled its destinies, it was felt that he should possess the title as well as the power, and a committee of Parliament in 1657 asked him to accept the crown and become king. It was a tempting invitation, but Cromwell put it from him, fearing, it is said, the disapproval of the army.

From the painting by J. Schex in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool

THE DEATH OF OLIVER CROMWELL AT WHITEHALL ON SEPTEMBER 3RD, 1658

From the painting by D. W. Wynfield in South Kensington Museum

marched across the border and proved invaluable in the northern operations.

The military movements in England may be briefly summarised. In 1642 the king made Oxford his headquarters and attempted a direct attack upon London, from which, however, he was deterred when he found a Parliamentary force drawn up at Brentford to oppose his advance. In 1643, Charles again made London his objective, but resolved to make the attack with three converging armies, of which one, under Newcastle, was to advance from the north; a second, under Hopton, from the south-west; a third, under his own leadership, from Oxford. But the armies of Hopton and Newcastle, though successful in their own districts, showed a tendency to melt as they advanced. The garrisons of Hull and Plymouth did good service to the Parliament in giving occupation to their Royalist neighbours. Another useful outpost was acquired in Gloucester; in the eastern counties a local association organised and put under the command of Oliver Cromwell—a Huntingdonshire squire, hitherto known only as a member of the Parliamentary opposition—the famous force of the "Ironsides," who soon became the terror of Royalist commanders.

THE GREAT ADMIRAL BLAKE

This great admiral, Robert Blake, did much to establish the sea power of England, and won many victories for the flag of his country. He died on August 7th, 1657, just as his ship entered Plymouth Harbour, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

In 1644 York was besieged by the combined forces of Parliament and the Scots; and the king's nephew, Rupert of the Palatinate, in attempting to raise the siege, experienced a crushing defeat at Marston Moor. To some extent this battle was counterbalanced by the success of Hopton, who forced a Parliamentary army to capitulate at Lostwithiel. But in the following year, 1645, the scale turned against the king. The Commons, grown wiser by bitter experience, abandoned the custom of entrusting their armies to incompetent peers. The supreme command was given to Fairfax, with Cromwell as his lieutenant-general; and the two received full powers to reorganise. The "New Model" soon justified the expectations of its makers. In marching northward to effect a junction with the victorious Montrose the king was defeated at Naseby, and again at Rowton Heath in 1645. About the same time the hopes which he rested on Montrose were shattered by the rout of that general's Highland army at the battle of Philiphaugh.

THE DUTCH ADMIRAL TROMP

Martin Harpertzoon Tromp, the victor of no fewer than thirty-three sea fights, took part in many naval battles against England, and lost his life in a fight against Monk off the coast of Holland in the year 1653, when the Dutch lost no fewer than thirty men-of-war.

These disasters, accompanied by minor reverses in the west and south-west, made it impossible to continue the war. In 1646 Charles threw himself upon the mercy of the Scots, from whom he looked to obtain better terms than Parliament would offer. But the Scottish proposals were harsh—that Parliament should have the control of the armed forces for the next twenty years, and that episcopacy should be abolished in England. Charles hoped to temporise, but the Scots, impatient of

ASSERTION OF LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE BY THE INDEPENDENTS IN 1647

The Presbyterians, with the support of the Scots, were bent on establishing a religious despotism in England, but the Independents, who had grown into a body of considerable influence, claimed liberty of conscience and freedom of worship.

From the painting by J. Herbert, R.A.

his delays and tempted by an offer of compensation for their expenses in the war, surrendered him to Parliament.

There was still the hope that Parliament and the army might be set at variance by Royalist intrigue, for the Parliament was pledged to the enforcement of Presbyterianism, while the army was composed of many sects; and Cromwell, now the acknowledged leader of the soldiers, showed his loyalty to the Independent creed by demanding liberty of belief and worship for all honest men. The king might still win over the army by promises of toleration, or the Parliament by accepting Presbyterianism. In 1647 the feud of Presbyterian and Independent ran high, and Parliament proposed to disband the army. The soldiers thereupon took the law into their own hands. They seized the king's person, to prevent him from coming to terms with their opponents, and offered to restore him on condition of toleration and a remodelling of Parliament on a more democratic basis.

But the flight of the king to Carisbrooke came as a proof that he intended to play off one party against the other. He was in communication with the Scots, who had offered, if he would grant their terms, to invade England. The bargain was struck, and the Scots fulfilled their part of the bargain, thus opening the second Civil War in 1648. But it was an affair of a few months only. Under Cromwell's influence the soldiers postponed their claims until "Charles Stuart, that man of blood," should have been brought to justice. The Scots were defeated at Preston; the king was recaptured; the army could now afford to settle accounts with him and with Parliament. By the incident known as Pride's Purge, when Colonel Pride and his troop admitted to the House only the pliant members, the Commons was cleared of those who refused toleration; the remaining members, under the influence of the army, appointed an extraordinary court of justice, by which the king was tried and sentenced to death. He was beheaded at Whitehall on January 30th, 1649. In the following May the expurgated Parliament known as the "Rump" resolved to establish a republic, in which there should be neither king nor House of Lords. Thus was inaugurated the Commonwealth, which lasted until 1660. Time had effaced from the memories of men most of the objects with which Parliament had embarked upon the great rebellion. Moreover, the victory had been already gained, so far as constitutional principles were concerned, before the war began. The feud with Charles had been in part religious, and still more of a personal character. He had been attacked as the champion of Anglicanism, and because he would not submit to the extraordinary restraints which the shiftiness of his character seemed to make imperative. Anglicanism was now a beaten cause. A new religious question had arisen — whether there should or should not be a State Church and enforced uniformity. In politics, too, there was a new issue—whether the relations of legislature and executive should remain as settled in 1642, or whether the executive, resting on the support of the army and Independents, should be strengthened at the expense of a Parliament which was elated by success and likely to tyrannise.

The "Man of Blood" Brought to Justice

Inauguration of the Commonwealth

JOHN MILTON
The greatest English poet after Shakespeare, John Milton was born in Bread Street, Cheapside, London, on December 9th, 1608. His sight failed him in 1652, but this calamity did not stem the flow of his immortal verse, as the picture on page 4350 shows. He died in 1674.

The army was master of the situation; but Cromwell was master of the army, and Cromwell's wish was to secure the toleration and practical reforms which the army desired with the least possible violence to the old system of government. He hoped that the Rump would satisfy the soldiers by providing for a new and truly representative Parliament; from this body he expected to obtain a satisfactory settlement. The reluctance of the Rump to abdicate was, however, invincible. Cromwell therefore expelled it by armed force in 1653, and, with the help of his officers, framed a list of members for a

ENGLAND PREPARING "A WHIP FOR VAN TROMP"

The struggle for the supremacy of the seas waged between the English and the Dutch was attended by many encounters between the fleets of the two nations. Van Tromp, the Dutch admiral, is said to have hoisted a broom at the masthead of his ship to suggest that he would sweep the English from the seas, to which the English admiral replied by hoisting a whip at his masthead. In this picture a naval architect is seen exhibiting to the assembled lords and gentlemen the model of a new warship, which was meant to be "a whip for Van Tromp."

From the picture by Seymour Lucas, R.A., by permission of the Leicester Art Gallery.

nominated Parliament. This assembly, proving both unpopular and incapable of a constructive policy, was soon dismissed; and at the end of 1653 Cromwell, at the wish of the army, assumed the title of Protector. A new constitution, the Instrument of Government, was published, defining his position and the unalterable principles which were to be respected by all future legislation. He was to be assisted in executive duties by a council of state. The chief part in legislation and taxation was assigned to a Parliament, in which representatives of Scotland and Ireland were to take their places by the side of the English and Welsh members. Parliament was to meet every three years; but, in the interval between one Parliament and another the Protector was allowed powers considerably greater than those of a Tudor or Stuart king. Such was the unexpected result of a twelve years' battle for liberty.

THE BLIND MILTON DICTATING "PARADISE LOST" TO HIS DAUGHTER
From the painting by Munkacsy

The first Parliament of the Protectorate, in 1654, felt the irony of the situation, and proposed to reconsider the whole constitution. This Cromwell would not allow. If fundamentals came under consideration, he feared that toleration would be lost, and the executive reduced to an impotent shadow. Hence a deadlock, terminated only by the dismissal of Parliament. A second assembly, though elected under the influence of major-generals whom the Protector had appointed as local viceroys, proved equally unaccommodating (1656–1658). England for the whole period of the Protectorate remained under arbitrary rule. It is for this reason that the brilliant success of Cromwell in foreign policy, the restoration of internal order, and the toleration which he established could not make himself popular or his system permanent. He averted a Presbyterian tyranny, but he was endured as the less of two evils. With his home government posterity can sympathise to some extent, and he may fairly be praised as the first ruler who effectually united all the British Isles beneath one central authority. But his warmest admirers must admit that in Ireland his rule was fundamentally unjust. Here, as in so many other directions, he continued the Tudor tradition; but here his model led him astray in a more than usual degree. He found Ireland involved in the throes of civil war. It was imperative that he should deal sternly with the forces of agrarian and religious discontent which the Royalist leader Ormonde had enlisted in his master's service.

The massacres of Drogheda and Wexford in 1649 were terrible but necessary examples. But when the last embers of the Royalist party were extinguished in 1652, it would have been generous to forget the massacres and act of treachery with which the Irish rising had begun, and to consider the best means of remedying the grievances to which it had been due. Cromwell, however, could not, where Ireland was concerned, rise above the prejudices of the ordinary Englishman.

Cromwell's War in Ireland

Instead of mitigating the unjust system of plantations, he extended it. His Act of Settlement in 1652 proscribed one-half of the Irish nation, and left the majority of Irish landowners liable to eviction at a moment's notice. His plan was to resettle the whole of the Keltic population in the remote west of the island, and although the literal execution of the plan was abandoned as impossible, a large proportion of the soldiers of the New Model army received their arrears of pay in the form of Irish land. In practice tolerant of Catholics, Cromwell refused to give them legal toleration. He perpetuated the divisions which he found existing in Ireland, and his name is to this day a byword with the Irish people. The provocation which he received from Scotland was almost as great, though different in kind. In 1650 the Scots recalled Charles II. and prepared for the invasion of England, proposing to re-establish monarchy and Presbyterianism at one and the same time. Their hopes were crushed by the victories which Cromwell won over David Leslie's army at Dunbar in 1650 and over Charles at Worcester in 1651. Scotland lay at England's mercy and was placed under a military government. Monk, the commander of the English garrison, proved a stern and resolute enemy of law-breakers and conspirators, but he gave the country peace and a measure of prosperity.

His foreign policy was spirited, though wanting in far-sighted sagacity. With Blake for a subordinate, he was not likely to forget the ambitions of the Elizabethan seamen. The Navigation Act (1651), confining English trade to English vessels, struck a deadly blow at the prosperity of Holland, the chief of England's maritime rivals; it led to a war in which Blake met Tromp, and the honours remained with the Englishman. Such a conflict between the two greatest of Protestant powers was a proof that a new era had dawned, in which religious sympathies counted for less than commercial rivalries.

The Foreign Policy of Cromwell

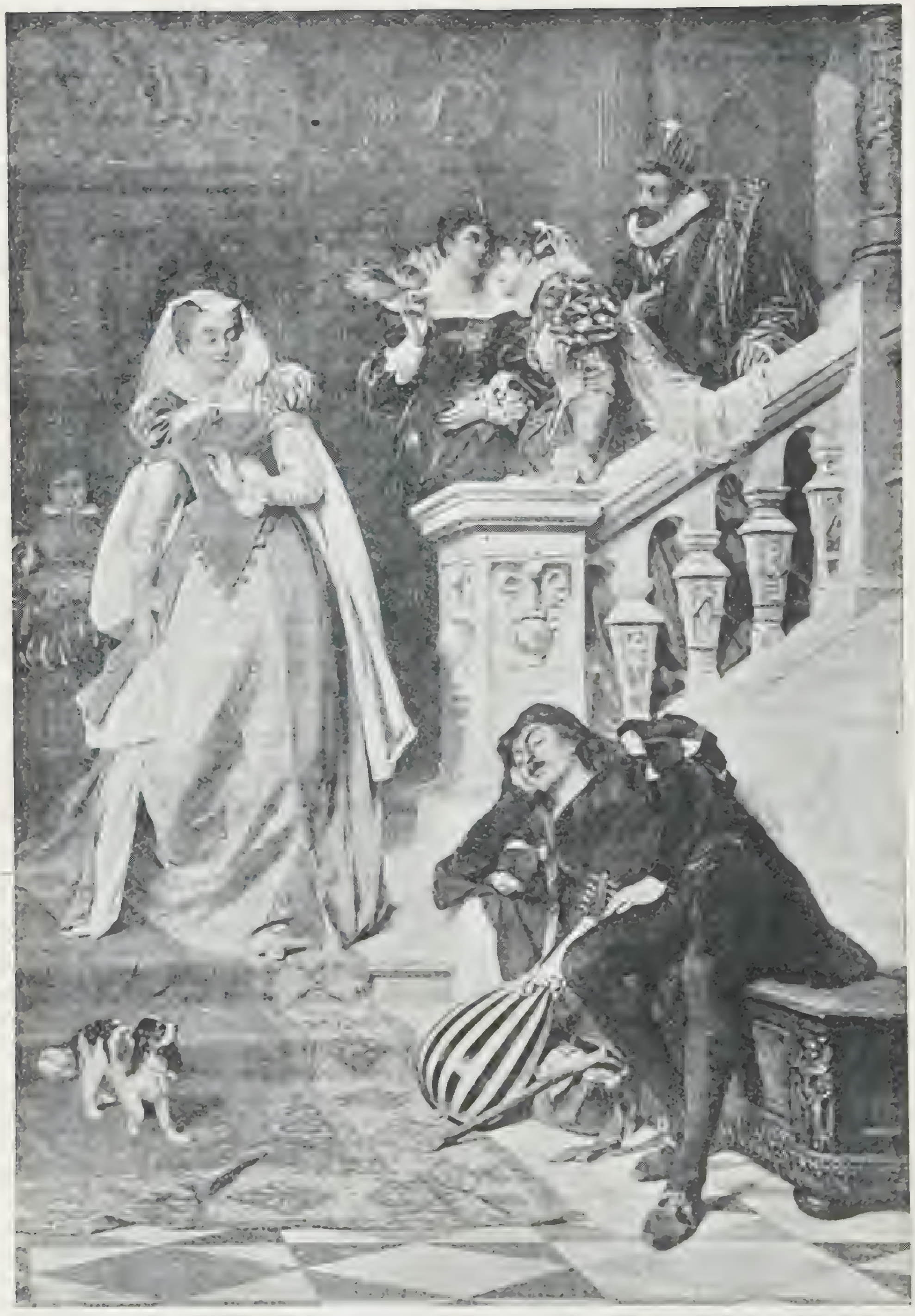
Yet in other respects the foreign policy of Cromwell was governed by Protestant feeling; he had not learned the lesson conveyed in the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. He regarded Spain as the arch-enemy, and attacked her colonies in the New World with the same mixture of crusading and mercantile enthusiasm which had animated Drake and Hawkins. To France, as the natural enemy of Spain, he attached himself by a treaty with Mazarin in 1655, through which England acquired Dunkirk. From this base the Protector hoped to use the New Model for the succour of oppressed Protestants.

The Puritan was no mean man of business. But the growth of commerce was only one of the many causes which combined under the Protectorate to exhaust the Puritan spirit. In Cromwell's later years all England, with the exception of a few idealists, was preparing to resume and carry further the course of thought and action which the great rebellion had cut short.

The Age of Puritanism

Bacon, whose scientific prophecies had been, thirty years before, the voice of one crying in the wilderness, was now to enjoy a posthumous triumph. The spirit of the "Novum Organum" and "New Atlantis" dominates the best thought of Restoration England. Bacon had little in common with the Puritan except the love of intellectual liberty; and to this only the best of Puritans were faithful. The strength of the Puritans lay in destruction and in protest; victory corrupted them, and they tended to become tyrants in their turn. Yet no temper less robust than that of Puritanism would have sufficed to break the chains of obsolete tradition and authority, to free England for the process of intellectual development which Bacon had imagined. And in Milton the religious movement made a contribution of the highest worth to England's spiritual heritage. The "Areopagitica" is the final plea for liberty of conscience and discussion; "Samson Agonistes," the most splendid expression in modern literature, of the truth that strength is purified through suffering; while "Paradise Lost" expressed with extreme force the conception of a world in which God and the individual are the sole realities, and the divine service, the sole liberty and the highest good of all created beings.

H. W. C. DAVIS



THE FIRST MEETING OF QUEEN MARY AND RIZZIO, THE ITALIAN MUSICIAN

An Italian musician of many accomplishments, David Rizzio ingratiated himself into the good graces of Queen Mary, occupying a position of honour at her court and becoming her chief Minister after Moray's rebellion. His great influence with the young queen excited the jealousy of the nobles, who at last murdered him, almost before Mary's eyes.

From the painting by David Neal, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

SCOTLAND FROM FLODDEN TO THE RESTORATION

NINETY years after James IV. fell on Flodden Field his great-grandson was king both of England and Scotland; the matrimonial diplomacy of Henry VII. had borne its fruit in the union of the crowns. The interval had passed stormily enough with the northern nation.

No attempt was made to follow up the victory of Flodden. The King of Scots was a babe; his mother, Margaret, was the sister of the English king, whom she anticipated in her passion for matrimonial experiments, but otherwise did not greatly resemble. Scotland became a battle-ground for the frays and the intrigues of rival nobles, a state of affairs carefully encouraged by Henry and Wolsey. In spite of Margaret, who, however, was not consistently favourable to her brother's views, the partisans of the French alliance kept, on the whole, the upper hand. As had always been the case, the clergy were especially antagonistic to English interests; and James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, can claim more credit for consistency and statesmanship than any of the lay nobility.

The young James V. was still a boy when he assumed the reins of government in 1528. Henry was now on the verge of his ecclesiastical reconstruction. For some years he periodically suggested conferences, to be held in England, for the settlement of disagreements, suggestions at which James looked very much askance, having shrewd suspicions that he or Beaton would find themselves caught in a trap. Distrust of his uncle strengthened his inclination to maintain his alliance with the Churchmen, while Henry would have persuaded him to follow the example of his own anti-clerical policy. Lutheranism was finding its way into Scotland, and the burning of Patrick Hamilton by the archbishop had already had an effect precisely the opposite of what was intended.

CARDINAL BEATON

Ambitious and unscrupulous, Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, struggled hard to overthrow the reformed faith in Scotland. He was assassinated in 1546.

Thus the whole trend of events was towards attracting advocates of the Reformation into an Anglicising party, and associating clericalism with patriotism—so far, at least, as patriotism meant a desire to resist English domination. Again, this position of affairs tended also to set the nobility on the side of the Reformation, the alliance of the Crown with the Church being opposed to their interests; for, on the one hand, they were eager to profit by a spoliation of the Church like that which was going on in England, and, on the other, the king, like many of his forebears, was bent on strengthening the central government by breaking the power of his great semi-independent feudatories.

The marriage of James to Mary of Guise, or Lorraine, a member of the most powerful family in France and the most hostile to England, virtually ensured that the old policy of the French alliance would be adhered to, and the relations between the Scots king and his uncle became more strained than ever. Finally, a raid into Scotland was followed by preparations for a counter-invasion of England; but the Scottish force was utterly routed at Solway Moss. The blow killed James, who died a few weeks later, leaving as his heir the infant daughter who was to become famous as Mary, Queen of Scots.

Once more, and not even now for the last time, Scotland was to suffer the distractions of a regency. Both in character and ability, the queen-mother, Mary of

Guise, stands high among the many able women rulers of the sixteenth century. It was her misfortune that she stood for the side which was doomed to fail in the long run — Romanism and the French alliance. The future of Scotland was bound up with Protestantism and union with England. But, for the moment, the vital necessity was independence from England. A union which meant subjection would not have served the purpose; and subjection was what Henry aimed at. Cardinal David Beaton, the nephew of Archbishop James, and the heir of his policy, was a very unlovely character; yet it is not impossible that but for him and Mary of Guise, Henry would have achieved his aim. In fact, Solway Moss made the French and clerical ascendancy in Scotland the condition of independence. Before twenty years were over the country had found both intolerable, and had got rid of them for good and all. But by that time the crisis was past, and independence was no longer in danger.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

The daughter of James V. of Scotland by his second wife, Mary of Guise, Mary was born at Linlithgow in 1542. Her early years were spent in France, where she married the Dauphin who succeeded to the throne as Francis II. in 1559. In 1587 she was executed.

ANOTHER PORTRAIT OF SCOTLAND'S UNHAPPY QUEEN

From the painting by Oudry in the National Portrait Gallery, London

The cardinal was murdered just before Henry's death. The Protector Somerset, whose aims were usually as enlightened as his methods were blundering, wanted to bring about a free and harmonious union, and tried to effect it by fire and sword. The Scots at Pinkie Cleugh met with disaster hardly less crushing than Flodden or Solway Moss; but they shipped little Queen Mary off to France, where she was betrothed and afterwards married to the Dauphin. Somerset had too many irons in the fire to interfere further directly in Scotland, which for similar reasons was left severely alone by Northumberland and by Mary Tudor. Mary of Guise, as regent, and the Catholic party had to maintain their position during the fifties mainly by French troops, while Calvinism rooted itself more and more firmly among the populace. The shrewd Cecil persuaded Elizabeth to give material aid to the "Lords of the Congregation" — the title assumed by the Protestant leaders. The result was that Mary and the French were forced to accept terms which permanently expelled the French garrison and secured the domination of Protestantism. The death of the regent immediately preceded the Treaty of Leith in the year 1560.

In December, Queen Mary, whose husband had succeeded to the French throne in the previous year, became a widow, and the prospect of the French and Scottish crowns being united disappeared. She was half French by birth, wholly French by training,

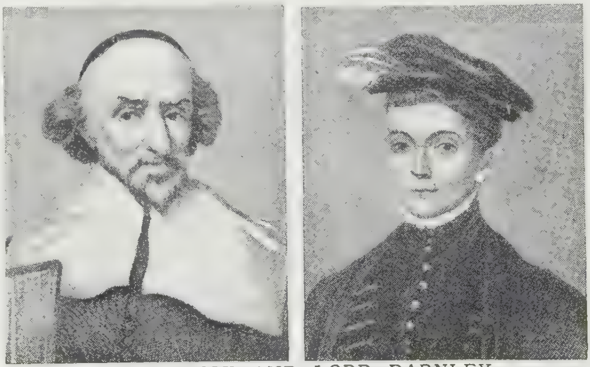
QUEEN MARY'S FAREWELL TO FRANCE

No longer Queen of France after the death of her husband in 1560, Mary's thoughts turned to her native land, where she was urgently required, her mother's death having left the country without a government. She sailed from Calais on August 14th, 1561, arriving at Leith five days later. At night Mary had her couch spread in the open air that she might have a parting view of the shores of the country which she loved so well, on awaking in the morning.

From the picture by Robert Herdman, R.S.A.

and an orthodox Catholic by religion. Also, on the theory that Elizabeth was illegitimate, she was incontestably the legitimate claimant to the English throne. These conditions made her relations with England sufficiently complicated; while in Scotland she had to deal with a people among whom the rigid John Knox was already regarded almost as an inspired prophet, and with a nobility as turbulent as any to be found in Europe. Nevertheless, being just eighteen, she determined to embark on these stormy waters, and returned to Scotland in 1561.

Sympathy between Queen Mary and Knox was out of the question. Neither of them ever had the faintest chance of understanding the other's point of view. The Queen's illegitimate half-brother, Lord James Stuart, better known as the Earl of Moray, tried to carry out a policy by which concession should not be all on one side; but the Reformation party were as intolerant in their power as the Romanist prelates had been. Mary was eternally suspected of aiming at the overthrow of Protestantism. Her cousin on the English throne professed the utmost friendliness but invariably urged the young queen to follow a course which would have made her thoroughly dependent on her loving sister's goodwill. Above all, she must not marry anyone who would strengthen her position.



JOHN KNOX AND LORD DARNLEY

The leader of the reform party in Scotland, John Knox, who was born about 1505, did more for Protestantism and education in his native land than any other man before or since. His life came to an end in 1572. Lord Darnley married Queen Mary, who conferred on him the title of King of Scotland. He lost his life in 1567 as the result of a plot.

Mary ignored Elizabeth's advice and married her cousin, Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, a grandson of Margaret Tudor by her second marriage, who stood near the English succession through his mother, and near the Scottish through his father. He was a Catholic, and had he been a man of tolerable intelligence or character, the marriage might have proved a brilliant stroke of policy. As he proved to be both fool and knave, its result was disastrous, while its immediate effect was to drive Moray into unsuccessful rebellion.

Mary, left practically friendless, felt confidence in no one but her Italian secretary, Rizzio, who was consequently assassinated almost before her eyes, Darnley participating in the murder. Before a twelvemonth had passed, Darnley himself perished, the victim of another plot, in 1567. When Mary, almost immediately afterwards, allowed herself to be abducted and married by James Hepburn of Bothwell, whom everyone knew to have taken the leading part in Darnley's murder, the world believed that she had been steeped in the guilt of the crime from its beginning. A rebellion followed; Bothwell was put to flight at Carberry Hill, and the queen was compelled to surrender. She was imprisoned at Loch Leven, and forced to sign an act of abdication in favour of her infant son James VI., the government of the country passing in effect into the hands of Moray—who had been in France when Darnley was murdered—with other lords, some of whom had certainly been implicated in the murder. In the following year Mary effected an escape from Loch Leven, but the forces which gathered to her standard were routed at Langside; she herself fled south, crossed the Solway, and threw herself on the hospitality of the Queen of England. Elizabeth made characteristic use of the situation. To hand Mary back to the subjects who had driven her from the throne would be a dangerous admission of the right of subjects to rebel. To restore her to her throne by force of arms would upset the loyalty of English Protestants.

To give her passage to France and permit her restoration by French assistance would revive the French ascendancy in Scotland. To put her to death on her own responsibility would at the best give a very dangerous handle to her own enemies. So Elizabeth contented herself with holding a commission of inquiry, which received and published the evidence

THE STATE ENTRY OF QUEEN MARY INTO EDINBURGH IN THE YEAR 1561

From the painting by Wm. Hole, R.S.A., in the National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, by the artist's permission

against Mary in the Darnley affair, and then stopped its proceedings. But she kept Mary a prisoner in her own hands, for eighteen years threatening now to release her, now to replace her on the throne, now to hand her over to the Lords of the Congregation, and now to bring her to trial—and execution—for complicity in one or another of the various Catholic conspiracies which aimed at placing her on the throne of England. Only when Elizabeth had at last made up her mind no longer to evade the life-and-death struggle with Spain did she give Walsingham the chance of carrying the last alternative into execution. Mary was found guilty of complicity in Anthony Babington's conspiracy, and was beheaded Both now and in the previous inquiry o

1568 the damning evidence lay in letters whose complete authenticity has never been conclusively either proved or disproved. The dramatic and psychological interest of the tragedy of Mary Stuart has impressed the world so deeply that it cannot be passed over; but it is entirely out of proportion to her political importance. She had a losing battle to fight from the beginning. She neither hastened nor retarded the union of the English and Scottish crowns, or the development of the peculiarly Scottish type of Protestantism. The former followed naturally and inevitably on the death of Elizabeth, seeing that there was then no other candidate for the English throne to whose support any party in the nation could rally solidly. The latter was the work primarily of John Knox and his successor, Andrew Melville. From 1559 to 1572, Knox was the acknowledged religious leader of the "reformed" party in Scotland, as distinct from the lay nobles whose zeal for religion grew from a political root, and did not in most cases temper their morals, which were latitudinarian.

The essentially theocratic conceptions of Knox gripped the Scottish people, by whom the "ministry" was looked upon as discharging the functions not so much of a priesthood as of the prophets of Israel, the channel, not of Divine grace, but of Divine instruction. The governing classes, on the other hand, tended to take the extreme Erastian view that the clerical organisation should be an instrument in the hands of the temporal rulers. But the temporal rulers were far too much at variance among themselves to let continuous power remain for any long time in any one set of hands. Moray was assassinated in 1570. Two more regents arose and disappeared before Knox died, in 1572; the vigorous Morton who held the reins from 1527 to 1578, ended his life on the block in 1580. The boy king, tossed from pillar to post, very early acquired the conviction that statesmanship consists in cunning. The years did not diminish the intensity of his hate for the clerical domination, which did not hesitate to impress upon him that he was but

AN HISTORIC SERMON: JOHN KNOX PREACHING AT ST. ANDREWS

It was truly said of John Knox that he never feared the face of man, and here we have a striking illustration of the Reformer's courage. The incident depicted occurred in the parish church of St. Andrews, in June, 1559, when Knox, who had just returned to Scotland after an exile of thirteen years, appeared in the pulpit in defiance of a threat of assassination, and preached to the assembled congregation with such effect that the people of the town decided to adopt the reformed worship. Acts of vandalism followed, churches being stripped of all images and the monasteries pulled down.

From the picture by Sir David Wilkie, R.A., in the National Gallery

JOHN KNOX ADMONISHING MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

Carlyle has said that John Knox could not have been true to his country and tender with his queen. The fact that Mary was a Roman Catholic led to prayers being offered up in the churches that God would turn her heart, and the Reformer made public references to the queen's religious beliefs, which stirred her indignation and led her to summon him to her presence. The interview was stormy, as Knox's outspoken words brought tears to the eyes of the queen.

From the picture by J. Burnet

" God's silly vassal." A turn of the wheel made it possible in 1584 to establish the episcopal system; but in 1592 the positions were reversed, and the Presbyterian Church polity—essentially democratic—was formally instituted, with powers of enforcing " discipline," which made the Church of the future a decisive force in moulding the character of the Scottish people. The energy which Knox had at an earlier stage devoted to laying the foundations of educational organisation provided the machinery for developing the popular intelligence under a powerful theological influence. The ecclesiastical constitution was, however, again modified in 1600 by the appointment of a few bishops. James intended to turn the hybrid thus created into a revived episcopal system.

On the death of Elizabeth, James VI. of Scotland ascended the throne of England as the heir of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York through their eldest daughter Margaret, their son's issue being now exhausted.

THE MURDER OF RIZZIO, THE QUEEN'S FAVOURITE

The favours showered upon the Italian musician by the queen roused the envy and the jealousy of Darnley and the nobles, and they concerted a plot for the murder of Rizzio. On the night of March 9th, 1566, utterly ignorant of the fate awaiting him, he was sitting at supper with the queen and the Countess of Argyle in a room at Holyrood Palace when the assassins rushed in, and in spite of Mary's efforts to save him, dragged the unhappy Rizzio off to his death.

THE COVENANTERS COMMUNION: AN EPISODE IN THE FIGHT FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

In this picture, from the painting by Sir J. Harvey, P.R.S.A., we have depicted a scene that was common in the days when the people of Scotland made their brave stand for religious liberty. Denied the privilege of worshipping God according to the dictates of conscience, men and women sought out the secluded corners of the mountains, and there engaged in the holy acts of praise and prayer, their religious fervour only heightened by the hardships endured.

THE IMPRISONED QUEEN ABDICATING THE THRONE

The popular suspicion that the queen had been privy to the murder of her husband, Lord Darnley, seemed justified when, after the acquittal of the Earl of Bothwell on a charge of complicity in Darnley's murder. Mary married that profligate nobleman. The nobles rose against her, and she was imprisoned in the castle of Loch Leven, where, on July 24th, 1567, she was compelled to sign an act of abdication in favour of her son, then scarcely twelve months old.

THE ESCAPE OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS FROM LOCH LEVEN CASTLE

During her imprisonment in Loch Leven Castle, the queen's active brain was busy at work devising methods of escape At last by the exercise of wiles and charms she succeeded in inducing the young Laird of Loch Leven George Douglas to assist her, and in this picture we see how the escape was effected. When it was known that the queen was at liberty, many of the nobles hastened to her standard, and within a few days she had an army of 6,000 men.

From the painting by Thomas Danby, R.A.

SCOTLAND'S TROUBLED DAYS: THE ASSASSINATION OF THE GOOD REGENT MORAY

About a fortnight after her escape from Loch Leven Castle a battle was fought in 1568, at Langside near Glasgow between the forces of Mary and the army of the Regent Moray. The queen was utterly defeated and sought shelter in England. During her detention there by Elizabeth, the Regent Moray was assassinated in the streets of Linlithgow by James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who was instigated by Mary's adherents, and by this dastardly act Scotland lost an able and patriotic leader.

There was no serious opposition, and thus the crowns, but not the governments, of the two countries were united. The way was paved for a closer union in the future; the perpetual menace of actual hostilities was ended, and it was rendered impossible for the two nations to follow antagonistic foreign policies. But in domestic affairs they remained separate, though the king's accession to the English throne greatly strengthened his hands in his dealings with his northern kingdom. Within a decade he had re-established an episcopal system, which, without destroying the Presbyterian organisation, transferred the controlling power to the Crown.

This success on the part of the king was largely due to the fact that the lay magnates supported him in the desire to check the domination of the Presbyterian ministers. His son, however, succeeded in alienating the magnates, and when he attempted to impose high Anglican forms on the composite Scottish Church, opposition assumed the proportions of rebellion. The great mass of Scots made haste enthusiastically to sign the National League and Covenant. In the "Bishops' War," in 1639, Charles found himself faced by a united nation, which he had no chance of coercing except by the aid of the English Parliament. Thus the attitude of Scotland forced him to bring to an end the period of absolute rule in England; and when the English Parliament met, it at once attacked the king and his Minister, Strafford, and manifested complete sympathy with the Scots. Charles found himself involved in a quarrel simultaneously with the people of each of his kingdoms.

THE LAST MOMENTS OF QUEEN MARY

From the painting by H. Barraud

In both, the extreme attitude of the opposition tended to detach and drive over to the king's party men who had at first figured as leaders in the resistance to his arbitrary proceedings. Of these the most prominent in Scotland was James Graham, Marquess of Montrose. The outbreak of the civil war brought about an alliance between the Scottish Covenanters and the English Parliament, ratified in the Solemn League and Covenant at the close of 1643; the invasion of the North of England by the Scots next year paralysed the Royalist plan of campaign, and their junction with the Parliamentary troops gave decisive effect to the battle of Marston Moor. Meanwhile, however, Montrose had risen on the king's behalf against the Covenant Government; but his brilliant series of victories was closed by his defeat at Philiphaugh, three months after the battle of Naseby.

The Scots, however, dissatisfied with the ascendancy of Independency in the army of Cromwell, became lukewarm. The king elected to surrender himself to them; but when they found that there was no prospect of binding him securely by the Covenant, they handed him over to the Parliament and retired from England on receipt of the pay promised. In the subsequent fate of the king—a distinct violation of the Solemn League and Covenant—the Scots had no part or lot. In a last attempt to rally Royalism to a restoration independent of the Covenant, Montrose was captured and hanged. The

THE EXECUTION OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS AT FOTHERINGAY

After suffering imprisonment for eighteen years, Mary Queen of Scots was executed at Fotheringay, on February 8th, 1587, her fate being sealed in consequence of her alleged endeavour to bring about her own freedom by the assassination of Elizabeth. Dressed as for a festival, Mary walked to the scaffold with a firm step and bravely met her fate

From the painting by Robert Herdman, R.S.A.

AFTER THE EXECUTION: THE LAST OF THE UNHAPPY QUEEN

The indignation of the Scottish nation was aroused by the execution of Mary, and when Elizabeth sent an envoy to express her sorrow for the "miserable accident," King James refused to receive it. After the execution the queen's body was covered with an old cloth, as shown in the picture, and carried to an upper chamber to await the process of embalming. Six months later, the remains were interred in Peterborough Cathedral, and a quarter of a century afterwards by order of James I. of England were exhumed, taken to Westminster, and deposited in Henry VII.'s Chapel

From the painting by Eyre Crowe, A.R.A.

young Charles thereupon accepted the Covenant, and was recalled to the throne of Scotland. Such a situation could not be accepted by the English Commonwealth, though there was no technical standpoint for its intervention. Cromwell marched into Scotland; the ignorant zealotry of the Scottish preachers delivered David Leslie into his hands at Dunbar on September 3rd, 1650, but did not overthrow the Royalist cause. In the next year, Cromwell captured Perth, but left the route open to England. The Scots marched south with Cromwell in pursuit, and were crushed at Worcester on September 3rd, 1651. In Scotland itself parties had so broken up that Cromwell had no difficulty in imposing his own system on the country. In effect a military government was established under Monk; under the Instrument of Government, Scotland was formally incorporated with England, sent her representatives to Westminster, and received equality of trading rights. This first brief incorporating union was terminated by the Restoration. But from this time it becomes unnecessary to devote separate treatment to the affairs of the northern kingdom.

MARQUESS OF MONTROSE
A leader in the Civil War, he fought against the Covenanters, gaining brilliant victories, but was defeated at Philiphaugh. He was hanged at Edinburgh, on May 21st, 1650.

THE SIGNING OF THE NATIONAL COVENANT AT GREYFRIARS, EDINBURGH, IN 1638
From the painting by William Hole, R.S.A., in the National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, by the artist's permission

FAMILY FEUDS IN IRELAND: AN INCIDENT IN THE BATTLES BETWEEN THE FITZGERALDS AND THE BUTLERS

Adjoining each other in Ireland were the estates of the Earls of Desmond and Ormond, the heads of the Fitzgeralds and Butlers respectively, and when disputes arose between the families they were settled at the point of the sword. An incident in one of these encounters is here represented. Wounded and taken prisoner, the Earl of Desmond was being borne from the field by a body of Ormond's men when someone cried, "Where now is the great Earl of Desmond?" "In his rightful place," he fiercely replied—"on the necks of the Butlers."

From the picture by Daniel Maclise, R A.

IRELAND BEFORE THE RESTORATION

STRUGGLES AGAINST ENGLISH GOVERNMENT

ALTHOUGH Ireland formed a part of the dominions of the King of England, her history is to a considerable extent separate, only at intervals breaking in on the main current of the politics of her more powerful neighbour, which made intermittent efforts to bring her under subjection, but practically none to establish orderly rule. To Henry VII. is due the credit for attempting to improve upon the past record, by regulating the system of English control under Poynings' Law, and trying, by conciliatory methods, to enlist the great chiefs on the side of the government.

Rebellion of "Silken Thomas"

At the close of Henry's reign, the great Earl of Kildare was virtually the ruler of Ireland. But on his death, his son, who succeeded him in the office of deputy, lacked the capacity his father had shown, and disorder soon broke out again. The theory that every chief might do what was right in his own eyes was too deeply ingrained to be held in check except by a very vigorous personality. The Earl of Surrey, heir and successor to the title of Norfolk, was sent over by Henry VIII. and Wolsey to report, and pronounced that the only way to establish order was to provide a competent force of not less than 6,000 men, and enforce English law. The king and his Minister were disinclined to this course, while a continued policy of conciliation appeared only to convince the chiefs that they could go their own way.

The Severe Measures of Bellingham

However, when Kildare was summoned to England and sent to the Tower, his son, known as Silken Thomas, raised a rebellion. Henry was occupied with his ecclesiastical reconstruction. The revolt was dealt with at first feebly, but was finally suppressed by Lord Leonard Grey. He, however, being appointed deputy, returned to the policy of governing through the Irish chiefs; but in doing so, he displayed a partisanship for particular families which made the effect the reverse of conciliatory. He was recalled and, incidentally, executed. His successor, Anthony St. Leger, was more successful, because more tactful. But since, after some years of comparative tranquillity, the chiefs showed signs of being tired of good behaviour, he was recalled by Protector Somerset, and Sir Edward Bellingham tried resolute government again. His severities restored order, but intensified the native aversion to English rule, which was never continuously effective outside the English Pale. Yet, although after Bellingham, the distracted state of England would have made organised defiance of her rule comparatively easy, the capacity for organised co-operation was what the Irish chiefs lacked.

The National Champion Dies in a Brawl

The reign of Elizabeth twice saw the English domination seriously threatened as it never had been in the past, each time by the head of the O'Neills of Ulster. During Elizabeth's early years, Shan O'Neill was recognised by the Irish as "The O'Neill," the head of the clan, though another scion of the family was recognised by the government as Earl of Tyrone. Shan made himself practically master of Ulster; the efforts of the deputy, Sussex, to coerce him were entirely unsuccessful. Shan ruled with an unscrupulous rigour which crushed rivalry, but with an administrative capacity which gave the farming population a greater sense of security than they enjoyed within the Pale itself. He even began intrigues which point to a serious design of challenging the English dominion and posing as a Catholic champion; but his career was cut short in a brawl. There was no one to take his place, no one capable of making himself the recognised chief of the Irish people, though he had brought the idea of throwing off the English yoke altogether into the range of national ambitions. And soon both Philip of Spain and the Pope began to awaken to the idea that Ireland might be worked as a basis for operations against the heretic Queen of England, while native hostility to the English was greatly increased by experiments in planting English settlers both in the south and in the north on lands whose native owners held them by titles in which English lawyers found a flaw. The gentlemen of Devon were about as little disposed to recognise the Irish as men and brothers as were the Spaniards to view the "Indians" in that light. Treated as savages, the Irish, not unnaturally, accepted the rôle, and in 1580 the ugly rebellion known as Desmond's broke out in the south, in which English and Irish vied with each other in what the English themselves would have accounted atrocities anywhere else. The rebellion was finally stamped out with merciless severity, and "order reigned in Warsaw."

The Irish Treated as Savages

By this time, English dominion and English garrisons had extended into every quarter of Ireland; but Elizabeth's policy of parsimony was nowhere so disastrous, because it kept the troops insufficient in quantity and vile in quality. Still, even the coming of the Armada found Ireland incapable of creating a diversion. It remained for Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone in the last years of Elizabeth, to organise rebellion with a skill exceeding that of Shan. Ireland was thoroughly establishing itself as the grave of English reputations. Tyrone drew rivals to his side, and was consistently able to justify his own proceedings, and to prove breaches of faith on the part of the English authorities until the time came for open rebellion. Success attended his arms; Essex, sent to suppress him with a force enormously superior to any which had been previously employed, fared no better than his predecessors. But no efficient foreign aid was forthcoming; even Tyrone had failed to accomplish a real union of the Irish chiefs, and the rebellion was at last broken by Mountjoy. Tyrone was admitted to the Queen's grace, but early in the next reign he withdrew from Ireland, and active resistance to the English rule was terminated for a long period. It fell to King James I. to complete the Elizabethan process of extending the direct control of England and the English system throughout the country, still largely by the same method of planting colonists. To this period belongs the introduction of the strong Scottish element in Ulster.

Submission to the English Rule

When Wentworth appeared in Ireland in the next reign, it was his primary aim to establish the royal power there in a form which would be a menace to any popular opposition to arbitrary government in England. Wentworth made his Irish parliaments as subservient as those of Thomas Cromwell had been in England a hundred years before. But he also enforced his law with a complete disregard for personal interests; and his justice, however arbitrary in method, was even-handed. Also he was vigorous in his encouragement of native industries, and material prosperity made manifest progress under his rule.

But Wentworth was summoned to try and save his master in England, and to meet his own doom. When the iron hand was withdrawn, there was first a sudden and appalling uprising of the dispossessed Irish against the English settlers in the north, then a rising of the Englishry in the Pale, who were for the most part Catholics—explained by the attitude of the Puritan parliament at Westminster. Civil war broke out in England, and the combinations of parties in Ireland became chaotic, with the insurgent groups claiming to be Royalist, and the Puritan element finding itself friendless. Hence the first measure of the Commonwealth, when the King's head had been cut off, was to despatch Cromwell to subjugate Ireland. The work was accomplished with swift and ruthless severity. Ireton was left to give the finishing touches, and a fresh plantation of Puritan soldiery intensified the Puritan characteristics of the northern province.

Cromwell's Iron Hand in Ireland

As with Scotland, so with Ireland, Cromwell established a temporary legislative union, though the Irish "representatives" represented only the fraction of the population which the Cromwellian conquest recognised as loyal. And as with Scotland so again with Ireland, the Restoration brought a return to the old order.

THE SCANDINAVIAN STATES

THE REFORMATION IN DENMARK AND NORWAY

THE temporary union of the three Scandinavian kingdoms under one crown was brought to an end, as we have seen, by the Swedish revolt which followed the Stockholm massacre of 1520, perpetrated by Christian II. of the Oldenburg house. Sweden broke away from the union to follow its own course. Norway remained under the Danish monarchy, and claims no separate treatment before the end of the eighteenth century. Thus, for the present, we have to trace Scandinavian history while it flows in two channels—those of the Danish and Swedish kingdoms. In the present chapter we shall follow the fortunes, first of Denmark, and then of Sweden, down to the middle of the seventeenth century.

The Weakening Power of the Danish Crown

During the rule of the three first Oldenburg kings the power of the Danish crown, which had been consolidated by Waldemar IV. and Margaret, was growing weaker, though its dominion had been extended by the attachment to it of the duchy of Schleswig and the county of Holstein, which had fallen to Christian I. by election.

The Naval Ambitions of the Kings

The Danehof ceased to exist, and its place was taken by the Rigsraad, or council of state, an independent body whose consent the king was forced to obtain in important matters. Through the medium of the Rigsraad, which had developed out of the royal council, and whose most important members were the Drost—later the Lord High Steward—the Marsk, the Chancellor, and the Bishops, the nobles increased their power by making use of the conditions imposed on the kings at each election to increase their privileges. None but nobles were allowed to administer the fiefs, or the administrative districts, the revenues of which most of them enjoyed in return for military service and money payments to the crown. They were exempt from taxation and had considerable power over the peasantry, while their only duty was the defence of the country. At the same time, the position of the peasantry deteriorated, and the number of peasant owners of "odal" (allodial) land steadily decreased. The majority of the peasantry were tenants who were in some districts, such as Zealand, Lolland, and Falster, tied to the soil; they were bound to pay to their overlords various dues—fines on succession and land tax—and in addition to render labour service. The towns fared better, for the kings recognised that the privileges enjoyed by the Hanseatic League were injurious to the Danish merchants, and therefore, without exception, did all in their power to put an end to the supremacy of the League; they curtailed its privileges, concluded commercial alliances with the Netherlands, England, Scotland, and France, and created a navy with which they hoped to secure the mastery of the North Sea and the Baltic.

Christian II. Aims at Absolute Power

The last Union king, Christian II., was especially solicitous for the welfare of the townsfolk and the peasantry. He was a gifted, enlightened, and energetic ruler, but at the same time passionate, inconsiderate, and suspicious, and frequently revengeful and cruel. From his youth onwards he hated the nobility and the higher clergy, whose power he constantly endeavoured to diminish. To the conditions on which he was elected king he paid no heed, for he aimed, like the other European sovereigns of his time, at making his own power absolute. In his struggle with the ruling classes he relied on the support of the commonalty, for whom he always entertained a special preference, and whose position he improved by numerous laws. In consequence he was

Christian II., 1513–23 Frederic I., 1523–33 Christian III. 1533–59

Frederic II., 1559–88 Christian IV., 1588–1648 Frederic III., 1648–70

SIX KINGS OF DENMARK AND NORWAY

loved by them, while the nobles, on the contrary, feared and hated him to such an extent that they at last renounced their allegiance and offered the crown to his uncle, Frederic of Holstein-Gottorp. Losing heart, Christian took ship to the Netherlands in April, 1523, to claim the assistance of his brother-in-law, the Emperor Charles V. Eight years later, towards the end of 1531, he made an attempt, with Norway as his base, to recover his throne, but without success, and died a prisoner in the castle of Kollundborg on January 25th, 1559.

On Christian's deposition his laws were repealed; the nobility regained their ancient rights, and the new king was forced to give his promise to the clergy to protect the Church from heresy, for even in Christian's reign the Reformation had penetrated into Denmark, and he himself, whose mother was the sister of Frederic the Wise of Saxony, had for a time been favourably disposed towards the new doctrine. It continually gained new adherents, especially in the towns, for in Denmark, as elsewhere, the papal authority was on the wane, and the clergy were despised for their ignorance and immorality. Frederic I. did not fail to perceive the progress made by the new teaching; but, contrary to his promises, he did nothing to arrest it, while many of the nobility regarded it with favour, in the hope of enriching themselves at the expense of the clergy. Thus, as the Catholic Church was at that time almost without capable defenders, the resistance attempted by the prelates was in vain.

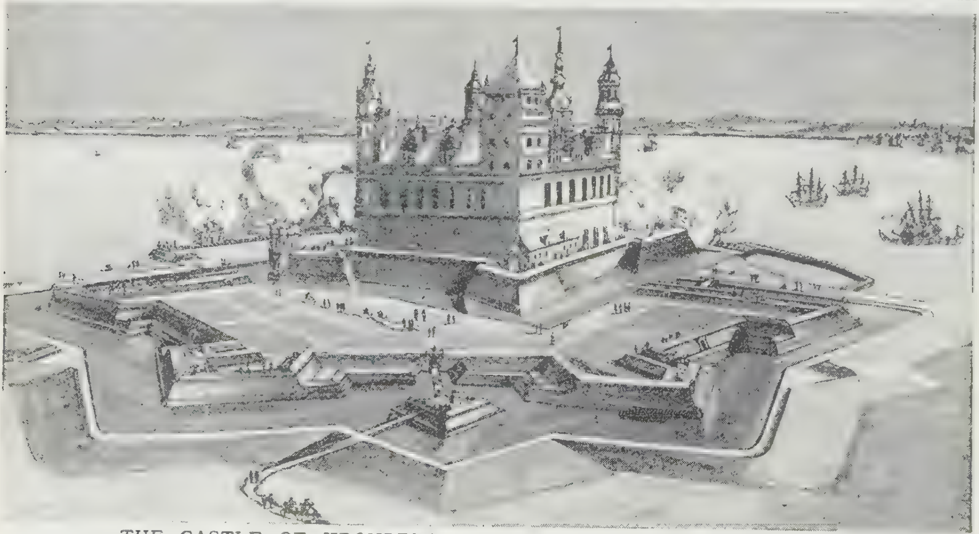
Such was the condition of affairs when Frederic I. died, in 1533. When the magnates met together to elect the new king, a unanimous choice proved to be impossible. The nobility were in favour of Frederic's eldest son Christian, but as he was known to be a zealous Lutheran the bishops opposed his election. In the meantime the burgesses and peasantry had taken up arms for the purpose of restoring their old king, Christian II., and they were supported by the city of Lübeck, whose burgomaster, Jürgen Wullenweber, hoped to re-establish his city's former power. In the struggle that ensued victory was at first inclined to the side of Christian's supporters and their allies from Lübeck, after whose general, Count Christopher of Oldenburg, this war has been named the "Count's War." Almost the whole of Denmark submitted to Count Christopher, who accepted homage in all directions in the name of Christian II. In this extremity the bishops were forced to give way, and Christian III. was chosen as king. Soon after the fortune of war turned; the forces of Lübeck were defeated both on land and on sea, and within a short time Christian III. was master of all Denmark in 1536. Norway, too, which had supported the party of Christian II., was compelled to submit, and remained united to Denmark from that time till 1814. In this war the burgesses and the peasantry suffered a defeat from which the latter especially took long to recover. It ended Lübeck's rôle as the chief power in the north; and another result of it was that the Reformation won the day in Denmark and Norway. At a meeting of the Rigsraad, or parliament, to which representatives of the nobles, the burgesses, and the peasantry were summoned, the Catholic Church was abolished in 1536, Lutheranism and the Protestant form of Church government were introduced, the king was made supreme head of the Church,

KING CHRISTIAN II. A PRISONER IN THE CASTLE OF KOLLUNDBORG

Christian II., the last Union king, was a gifted and enlightened ruler, and showed much solicitude for the townsfolk and the peasantry. Hating the nobles and the higher clergy, he was in continual conflict with them, and in 1523 they renounced their allegiance and offered the crown to the king's uncle, Frederic of Holstein-Gottorp. In 1531, Christian attempted to recover his throne, but was unsuccessful, and died a prisoner in the castle of Kollundborg in 1559.

From the painting by Carl Bloch

and the possessions of the bishops and monasteries were confiscated, thus enormously increasing the crown revenues. The position of the Church and the clergy thus underwent a complete change. The bishops lost their seats in the Rigsraad, and, as a consequence, their political influence, besides being deprived of their estates. The episcopal office, having lost many of its previous attractions, was no longer an object of desire to the nobility, and came to be filled by men of lower birth. The bishops were chosen by the priests, and the priests by their parishioners, though some livings remained in the gift of the crown or of the nobles, to whom the churches belonged. The nobles, like the king, though to a less degree, profited by the confiscation of the monastic estates. They now strove to consolidate their scattered possessions, and, their importance as a military class having ended with the introduction of the new methods of warfare, settled on their estates as landed proprietors. Many of them entered the service of the state, and some engaged, not without success, in the pursuit of science.



THE CASTLE OF KRONBERG AFTER ITS RESTORATION IN 1659

Built between 1574 and 1585 by the Danish King Frederic II., the castle of Kronberg in Seeland was besieged in 1658 by the Swedes under Karl Gustav Wrangel, and conquered after an attack lasting for two weeks. The above illustration shows the castle with its fortifications, after its restoration, in 1659, by the Swede, Erich Dahlberg.

In Denmark, as elsewhere, the Reformation supplied the first impulse to the rapid growth of a vernacular literature. Except during the reigns of the Waldemars, there had been but little literary activity throughout the Middle Ages, and the majority of the works produced were written in Latin. Old legends and poems, it is true, were handed down by means of oral tradition, and a vigorous popular poetry grew up; but it, too, lived only orally among the common people. There was, in fact, no national literature until the foundations for one had been laid during the Reformation period.

The father of Danish literature was Christian Pedersen, who raised his mother tongue to the level of a literary language by his translation of the Bible and other works. He died in 1554. The literature of this period is, in the main, of a religious character; the poems are hymns, for the most part translated from German or Latin originals. The duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which Christian III. had inherited from his father, he shared with his brothers, one of whom, Adolphus, was the founder of the Gottorp line of dukes, who later endeavoured to make themselves independent sovereigns, and frequently allied themselves to that end with Denmark's enemies, more especially with Sweden. Frederic I. and Christian III. had peaceful relations with the Swedes; but after the latter's death, in 1559, disputes soon arose, and resulted in the Scandinavian Seven Years War (1563–1570). Christian's son, Frederic II., wished to renew the Union of Kalmar, and had, moreover, come into conflict with the Swedish king, Eric XIV., over the Baltic provinces; for the Order of the Sword was in process of dissolution—a fact of which Sweden, Russia, Poland,

DENMARK'S HEROIC KING, CHRISTIAN IV., FIGHTING AGAINST THE SWEDES ON HIS SHIP, "THE TRINITY"

Against the Swedish attacks upon Denmark, the Danish King Christian IV. fought with wonderful courage, and though sixty-seven years of age at the time when the incident pictured above took place, he was relentless in his efforts against the foe. On July 1st, 1644, Christian with thirty ships was opposed by the Swedish fleet consisting of forty-six vessels. In the course of the fight the king, already wounded, was struck by flying splinters, losing his right eye and several teeth. He fell unconscious to the deck of his ship, "The Trinity," and the crew, thinking him to be dead, uttered lamentable cries, but the brave old king, with the blood flowing from his wounds, suddenly raised himself and cried: "No! God has still spared me life and strength to fight for my country, while each of you does his duty." Then, with bandaged head, he resumed the fight till the enemy retired at nightfall.

From the painting by W. Marstrand

and Denmark wished to avail themselves in order to seize the possessions of the order for themselves. But Frederic failed to achieve his purpose, and at the Peace of Stettin had to be content with a money indemnity. This war, carried on with great inhumanity by both sides, had, however, a lasting and unfortunate result; it aroused once more among the Scandinavian peoples a mutual hatred that was constantly kept alive by new feuds. After the war Frederic gave up his schemes of conquest and devoted himself to works of peace. In these he was successful, and during the later years of his reign Denmark enjoyed the respect of all Europe. The fortress of Kronberg was built during the years 1574 to 1585, to command the entrance to the Sound, and the Danish king was looked on as the ruler of the northern seas. But Denmark was not able to maintain this supremacy for long, since even under Frederic's son, Christian IV. (1588–1648), it began to decline.

Denmark Respected by all Europe

Christian had the advantage of a careful education, and was especially well versed in mathematics and technical sciences; he was, moreover, intelligent and an untiring worker, taking a personal interest in affairs of all kinds, and incessantly striving to promote the weal and increase the power of his two kingdoms. He improved the administration of justice, assisted the schools, kept the fleet in a thoroughly effective condition, raised, in addition, a standing army, and in various ways fostered commerce and shipping, manufacture and mining. He founded towns in both Denmark and Norway, and improved Copenhagen by the erection of a number of public buildings in the style of the Dutch renaissance. He built factories, founded trade societies, acquired colonies, patronised voyages of discovery, and interested himself in Norway to a greater extent than any other sovereign of the Oldenburg line. Thus the first half of his reign was a time of prosperity for both Denmark and Norway. But Christian IV. endeavoured also to increase his own and Denmark's power by interfering in the politics of Central Europe, and in this domain he was unsuccessful. He was not himself a brilliant statesman, nor was he surrounded by capable advisers. Moreover, Denmark lacked the necessary strength to play a leading part, with the result that the wars in which he became involved, with the exception of the first, ended in disaster, in spite of his personal bravery and courage. At his death he left his kingdoms reduced in extent and devastated.

An Era of National Prosperity

Christian's first struggle was with Sweden in 1611. Like his father, he intended to unite the three kingdoms, but though he did, indeed, succeed in occupying some portions of Sweden, he was unable to carry out his plans, and was forced to give back his conquests in return for a money indemnity in 1613. Then followed several years of peace, but in the meanwhile the Thirty Years War had broken out in Germany. When it spread to North Germany the North German Protestants sought Christian's help, and he was elected chief of the circle of Lower Saxony. He had been waiting for an opportunity to make his influence felt in Germany and took the field in 1625; but being completely defeated by Tilly at Lutter, near the Barenberg, on August 27th, 1626, he was forced to withdraw into Denmark. The imperial troops followed in pursuit and overran the peninsula of Jütland, which they laid waste without mercy, but were prevented by the Danish fleet from gaining a footing on the islands. Disappointed in his expectations of help from England and the Netherlands, Christian decided to make peace with the invaders, the more readily as the emperor, being anxious to keep him from an alliance with Sweden, offered favourable terms. The conquered provinces were restored to him at Lübeck on May 12th, 1629; but he was forced to promise that he would not further interfere.

The Swedes as Defenders of Protestantism

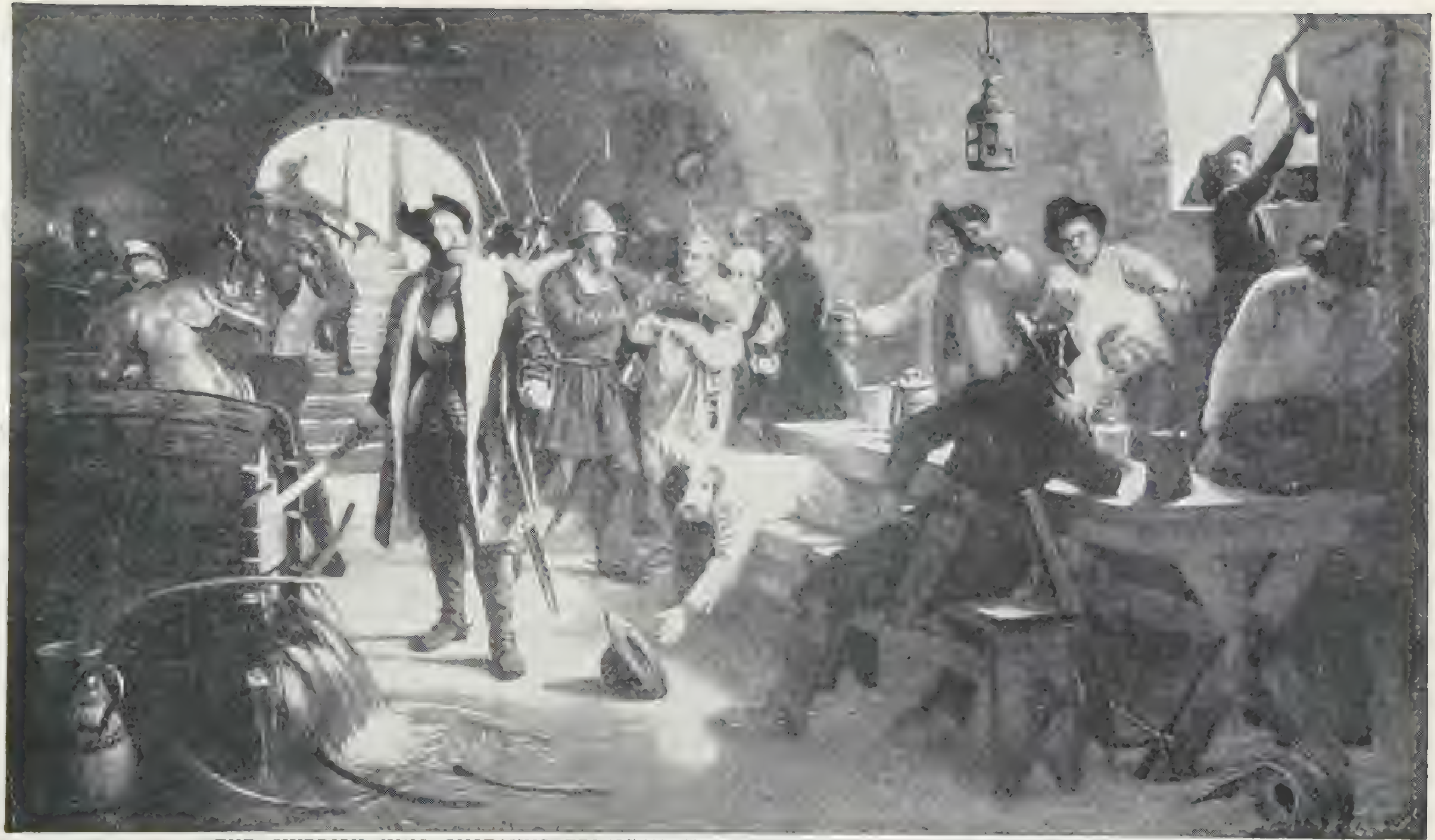
When, later on, the Swedes gained their brilliant successes as defenders of German Protestantism, Christian was roused by jealousy to hamper them by every means in his power. The Swedish government determined to retaliate by attacking Denmark, and in 1643 one Swedish army entered Holstein, though war had not been declared, while another invaded Scania. At the same time the Netherlands, exasperated by the raising of the tolls levied in the Sound and by Christian's claim to supremacy in the North Atlantic, despatched a fleet to the help of the Swedes. Christian's courage and resolution did, indeed, save Denmark from complete humiliation, but at the Peace of Brömsebro on August 23rd, 1645, he had to surrender Halland, Oesel, Gothland, Herjedalen, and Jemtland to Sweden. In addition tolls were no longer to be levied on Swedish vessels passing through the Sound, and the toll to be paid by Dutch vessels was reduced — a serious loss of revenue. Three years later, on February 28th, 1648, Christian died. His want of success was no doubt chiefly due to himself; but much of the blame must be laid upon the nobles. Their selfish conduct embittered the other classes of the population and was destined before long to bring about their fall. During the later years of Christian IV.'s reign his sons-in-law, especially the Lord High Steward, Korsitz Ulfeldt, exercised the greatest influence on the government. On the death of the good king he aimed at securing the chief power for himself and the Rigsraad, and Christian's son, Frederic III. (1648-1670), was compelled, before being elected, to accept conditions which deprived him of all power. He was determined, however, to break the bonds that held him, and, first of all, to rid himself of Ulfeldt. By his arrogant behaviour the latter had aroused the enmity of the nobles; complaints were brought against him, and inquiries into his administration were instituted. Deeply offended, he did not await the result, but left Denmark in 1651 and betook himself first to Holland and then to Sweden, whose government he attempted to incite against Denmark. In this he was not successful; but he had not long to wait for a rupture between the two states, and with it his opportunity to revenge himself on his country and Frederic. Charles X. Gustavus of Sweden was at this time campaigning in Poland, where his position was critical. Frederic thought that he could take advantage of these circumstances to regain the lost provinces, and was foolish enough to fling down the gauntlet to Sweden. On receiving the declaration of war Charles immediately left Poland, in the summer of 1657, hastened by forced marches to Denmark, and occupied, almost unopposed, the whole peninsula, where he was joined by his father-in-law, the Duke of Gottorp. Then followed a severe winter. The Great and Little Belts froze, and in February, 1658, he was able to march across the ice with his troops into Zealand. No provision had been made for the defence of the island, and the Swedes advanced on Copenhagen. Frederic had thus no alternative but to sue for peace, which was concluded at Roskilde on March 8th, 1658. Denmark lost all her possessions east of the Sound—Scania, Halland, Blekinge—as well as the island of Bornholm. Norway had to give up Trondhjems Len district and Bohuslen, and the Duke of Gottorp was released from vassalage to the Danish crown. Before long Charles regretted that he had not acquired the whole of Denmark. He soon found a pretext for renewing the war, and again advanced on Copenhagen in the summer of the same year. But meanwhile the citizens had made use of the time to place the capital in a state of defence. Encouraged by the example of the king and the queen, the high-spirited Sophia Amalia of Brunswick, they defended themselves heroically against the Swedish attacks. After an ineffectual attempt to storm the city Charles was obliged to raise the siege in 1659. He was also unfortunate in other directions; the people of Trondhjem and Bornholm drove out the Swedes, while they were expelled from Jütland by an army sent to the help of the Danes by Poland and Brandenburg. Charles proposed to recompense himself for his losses by the conquest of Norway, but died suddenly on February 23rd, 1660.

Denmark's Challenge to Sweden

The Lost Possessions of Denmark

QUEEN SOPHIA AMALIA
She was the queen of King Frederic, who reigned from 1648 till 1670, and set a splendid example during the Swedish attacks, encouraging the people to a successful defence.

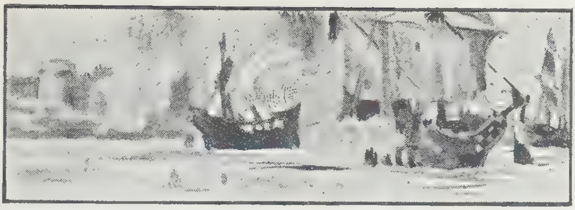
Peace was then concluded at Copenhagen on May 27th through the good offices of England and Holland, Trondhjems Len and Bornholm being restored to Denmark. In all other essential respects the terms of the Peace of Roskilde were retained, the two maritime powers being unwilling that both sides of the Sound should be in the possession of one and the same state.



THE SWEDISH KING GUSTAVUS ERIKSSON REBUKING HIS PEOPLE FOR THEIR DRUNKENNESS

Gustavus Eriksson, the deliverer of the Swedes, was crowned king in 1523, and immediately began to elevate his country. Displeased at the intemperate habits of the people, he made a bold stand for better living, the above picture illustrating an incident in this crusade, when the king with his sword burst a barrel of liquor and allowed its contents to be destroyed.

From the painting by Geskel Saloman



SWEDEN UNDER THE VASAS

THE GREAT REIGN OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

IN Sweden, the Stockholm massacre of 1520 had produced a result precisely the opposite to that at which King Christian II. had aimed, for, at the instigation of the youthful Gustavus Eriksson Vasa, a nobleman who had escaped from the massacre, the Dalkarlar—the inhabitants of the province of Dalarna—revolted in 1521. The Danes were driven out and the Swedes elected their deliverer, Gustavus, as their king, on June 6th, 1523. In this way Sweden was freed from Danish domination.

Sweden in a State of Decay

From without there was no immediate cause for fear, a fact which emphasises the painful contrast afforded by the internal condition of the country. Continuous warfare and strife had put an end to order and undermined all respect for the laws, so that every man did as he pleased. The administration was in confusion, the Church in a state of decay, and the country impoverished; commerce and manufactures languished. Since the demesnes of the crown had been given away as fiefs, there was hardly any revenue, and at the same time the crown was heavily in debt to the Hanseatic towns, to which it accordingly was obliged to grant important commercial privileges. Strength and ability were necessary to restore the country to its former position.

The Swedes Masters of the Baltic

Gustavus' first and most important task was the adjustment of finance. In order to increase both the public revenue and his own power he attached himself to the Lutheran Reformation; the new doctrine was introduced at two successive Reichstags at Westeras, in 1527 and 1544. The king was made supreme head of the Church, and had the disposal of the confiscated revenues of the bishops, the churches, and the monasteries. The bishops were compelled to deliver up their castles to him, and were excluded from the Council of State; the clergy were no longer equal in rank to the nobility, but were placed on a level with the burghers and peasants. Gustavus was enabled by the large funds which were at his disposal through the confiscation of Church lands to maintain a standing army and to build a strong fleet with which the Swedes were able not only to defend their coasts, but also to become masters of the Baltic. The king worked indefatigably for the welfare of the lower classes, so that old branches of industry were revived. In this, as in everything else, the king took the lead, and thus set the people a good example. He busied himself with agriculture, mining and commerce, and in order to promote industrial pursuits, invited mechanics and artisans of other nationalities into the country. The first thing necessary for the furtherance of trade was the overthrow of the power of Lübeck. The commercial privileges of this city had been greatly restricted by the "War of the Counts," in which Gustavus allied himself with the party of Christian III.

Erik XIV. Succeeds Gustavus

The Swedes began to transact business with other countries, including England, France, Spain, and the trade with Lübeck gradually ceased. Thus, on every side Sweden was regaining her former prosperity. Although Gustavus often acted with severity and arbitrariness, and the people were burdened with heavy taxes, his work was still appreciated. In the imperial diet of 1544 it was decided by the Estates that the crown should descend to his male heirs according to the law of primogeniture, while the younger sons should receive appanages. Gustavus was very cautious in his foreign policy; he took little part in the complications in which Central Europe was then involved, and his constant aim was to preserve peace in the north. This cautious policy was not followed by his son Erik XIV., who succeeded him in 1560; he wished to make conquests.

When the Order of the Knights of the Sword was abolished, Poland, Russia, Sweden and Denmark contended for the land of the order—Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland. In consequence of this there was war for almost a hundred years; by this war Sweden gained the supremacy of the Baltic provinces with the exception of Courland. War broke out in the year 1561, when Reval, together with the knights of North Esthonia, submitted to King Erik; Swedish troops took possession of the castle of Reval, and the Poles, who wished to strengthen their power in the Baltic provinces, attempted in vain to drive out the Swedes. At the same time war broke out with Denmark. This war lasted from 1563 to 1570, and is called "The Northern Seven Years War."

The King Deposed by his Brothers

While this war was raging Erik was deposed by his brothers John and Charles, who both hated and feared him, and John III. ascended the throne (1568-1592). John, who was weak and irresolute, but at the same time violent and despotic, married the Catholic princess Katharina Jagellon of Poland. By her influence he became favourably disposed to Catholicism. He completed a new liturgy, "The Red Book," in 1576, in which several Catholic ecclesiastical rites and a portion of the Latin Mass were introduced. In 1578 he seriously considered the question of embracing the Roman Catholic religion.

However, as his wife died in 1583, and he could not agree with the Curia about the church service, his zeal for Catholicism abated, although during his lifetime he adhered to his liturgy. His son Sigismund, who was educated as a Catholic, became king of Poland in 1587 as Sigismund III., and he was in Poland when his father died in 1592. During his absence the country was governed by his father's brother Charles, Duke of Södermanland, and the royal council. Charles was a zealous Protestant, and had opposed the introduction of the liturgy into his duchy. An assembly of the Estates was summoned to Upsala, where the Protestant confession of faith was adopted and the liturgy abolished in 1593. At the end of this year Sigismund came to Stockholm. Before being crowned he was compelled to confirm the decree of Upsala with an oath, on February 19th, 1594, which, however, he did not keep. He appointed Catholic priests and officials, and then returned to Poland. The people refused to obey those who had been set in authority by Sigismund, and elected Duke Charles as vice-regent in 1595.

Sigismund Breaks His Oath

Sigismund landed with a Polish army in Sweden, and several councillors and other nobles attached themselves to him: he was, however, defeated by Charles at Stangebro, September 25th, and left the country, which he was destined never to see again. The National Assembly pronounced his deposition, in 1599, and appointed Charles as ruling hereditary prince. Some years later Charles was made king, and the right of succession was agreed to.

Charles IX. (1604–1611) took strong measures against Sigismund's friends, many of whom were beheaded and still more outlawed. Through this severity, however, he secured peace in the kingdom, and was thus enabled to devote himself to the improvement of the state of the nation, which had been becoming worse and worse under the bad government of his brothers and his nephew. Charles followed in the footsteps of his father. His brothers had shown marked favour to the nobles; Erik had laid the foundation of a superior nobility by creating the titles of count and baron, while John had presented the counts and barons with large, heritable fiefs, and had favoured the rest of the nobles by granting them various privileges. Charles, on the contrary, was not so favourably disposed to the nobility, but relied more on the lower classes. On this account he was nicknamed "the peasants' king" by the nobles.

Charles "the Peasants' King"

The Estates were summoned for the first time by Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson, and obtained greater influence in the administration, which was better regulated than previously, while the power of the council decreased. Reforms were instituted in the law-courts and in the army, finance was regulated, education was improved, and the University of Upsala, which had been founded by Sten Sture the Elder, and which, up till then, had dragged on a miserable existence, was restored. Trade revived and new towns, among them Gödeborg, were founded. During the whole of his reign Charles was at war with his neighbours. The dethronement of Sigismund occasioned war with Poland in 1600, which was carried on with varying fortune in Esthonia and Livonia. At the same time Charles was implicated in the civil war in Russia in 1609 with tolerable success. Finally, war broke out also with Denmark in 1611—the Kalmar war. Charles died on November 9th.

Gustavus II. Adolphus (1611–1632), who was born on December 19th, 1594, was richly endowed both bodily and mentally. He was by nature noble and upright, and possessed the power of self-control and of leading others; he had a keen intellect, and could express himself briefly and forcibly both in speech and writing. He had received a thorough education in ancient and modern languages, in history, military science, and in all knightly accomplishments. At an early age his father confided state affairs to him. Whenever Charles could not complete an undertaking and had to rest satisfied with the preparations, he was accustomed to say: "Ille faciet" (He will do it). Gustavus did not disappoint his father's confidence, but became equally great as a man, a statesman, and a general. The Swedes are fully justified in ranking him among the greatest sovereigns of Europe. He exercised clemency towards his father's enemies—by this, and by the favour which he showed to the nobles, he won their respect. He was also honoured by the rest of the people. Although he was restricted in the exercise of his power by the council and the Estates, his wishes were unanimously followed. Perfect harmony existed between king and people, and it was this harmony in the nation which enabled Gustavus to accomplish his great undertakings. Still, he would hardly have been able to achieve so much if he had not been surrounded by distinguished men whose merit he thoroughly appreciated. Chief among these was his chancellor and friend, the prudent, clever, and loyal Axel Oxenstierna, who helped him in all his enterprises with faithful and unwearied zeal. Next to him should be mentioned Gustavus' teacher, John Skytte, his brother-in-law, the Count Palatine John Casimir, the generals Jacob de la Gardie, Gustavus Horn, Wrangel, Banér, Torstenson, and many others. Gustavus had inherited three wars—namely, those with Poland, Russia, and

Gustavus Vasa, 1523–60

Eric XIV., 1560–68

John III., 1568–92

Sigismund III., 1592–1604

Charles IX., 1604–11

Charles X., 1654–60

SIX KINGS OF SWEDEN PROM THE YEAR 1523 TILL 1660

Denmark. As early as January 28th, 1613, he put an end to the war with Denmark. Peace was also soon concluded with Russia on March 9th, 1617. Sweden retained East Carelia, with Kexholm, and Ingermanland, and thus secured a safe boundary against Russia, which was cut off from the Baltic. Thus the only country with which he was still unreconciled was Poland. Since King Sigismund would not listen to overtures of peace, the war was continued till 1626, and the Swedes showed their superiority over the Poles by conquering Riga and Livonia and establishing themselves in West Prussia.

Beginning of the Thirty Years War

In the meantime the Thirty Years War had broken out. Gustavus, who had entered into friendly relations with England, Holland, and the Protestant states of Germany, conceived the plan of uniting all the Protestant powers of Europe in a great alliance against the emperor and Spain, as a means of protecting the oppressed German Protestants. He was forestalled by Christian IV., who placed himself at the head of the Protestant party and declared war against the emperor and the League. Christian's enterprises, however, were not favoured by fortune.

Gustavus, who recognised the danger which threatened not only Protestants but also Sweden if the emperor acquired the supremacy on the Baltic, offered his alliance to the Danish king, and declared that he was prepared to advance from Poland into Germany. The emperor, however, who wished to prevent such an alliance at all costs, promised favourable conditions to Denmark, and persuaded Christian to conclude peace in 1629. Gustavus then decided to declare war against the emperor, although he was entirely dependent on his own resources. It was first of all necessary to make terms with Poland. By the mediation of Richelieu a truce for six years was arranged on September 26th, 1629, by which Sweden retained Livonia, together with Riga and several Prussian towns. When his preparations were completed he bade a touching farewell to the Estates, to whose care he commended his daughter and heiress, as if he felt a foreboding of his death. He took ship in June, 1630, for Pomerania, where he published a manifesto in justification of his proceedings and invited the co-operation of the North German princes. He was, however, received with suspicion by them, and was compelled to force his way through the country, and therefore arrived too late to save Magdeburg, which was besieged by Tilly, in May, 1631. A few months later he gained a victory over Tilly at Breitenfeld, by which the cause of the Reformation was saved and Sweden became one of the great powers of Europe. After this battle Gustavus marched towards the Rhineland, where he allowed his army to rest for a few weeks.

Sweden's Peace with Poland

In the spring of 1632 he pressed forward to Bavaria and marched to the Lech, behind which Tilly had taken up a strong position. Gustavus forced a crossing, Tilly was mortally wounded, and the Swedish king entered Munich as a conqueror. In the meantime the emperor had appointed Wallenstein his commander-in-chief. Wallenstein collected a large army in a short space of time, and pitched his camp not far from Nüremberg, where Gustavus had taken up his position. Gustavus, who wished to free the country from the burden of war, attempted in vain to force a battle; equally fruitless were his attempts to take Wallenstein's camp by storm. At last hunger and sickness compelled both generals to break up their camps. Wallenstein went to Saxony; Gustavus, who had first advanced towards Bavaria, altered his plan and proceeded northwards by forced marches. The two armies met at Lützen on November 16th, 1632. The Swedes were victorious, but their king fell in the battle. The death of Gustavus threw the whole of Protestant Germany into deep mourning. The Emperor Ferdinand II., however, ordered a Te Deum to be sung, since with Gustavus' death the greatest danger for the Catholics had disappeared.

Catholic Joy at the Death of Gustavus

Since the accession of Gustavus, Sweden had enjoyed hardly a single year of peace, and the king himself had spent most of his time on the battlefield. He still found time, however, to continue his father's work in improving the internal condition of his country. He showed himself just as capable in this as on the battlefield, and neglected nothing which affected either the state or the people. The powers and the privileges of the National Assembly and of the council were more definitely determined, and the National Assembly, which had hitherto possessed no settled constitution, was regulated so that in

TRAITOR BISHOPS: THE IGNOMINIOUS ENTRY OF PETER SUNNANVADER AND MASTER KNUD INTO STOCKHOLM IN 1526

These two Swedish bishops, unsuccessful in their rebellion against Gustavus I., sought refuge at Trondhjem. There they were betrayed to the king's servants, who, dressing them in rags and putting a crown of straw on Sunnanvader's head and a mitre of birch-bark on Knud's, mounted them on starving horses and brought them to Stockholm in a Shrovetide procession amid jeers and insults. At the market-place the unhappy bishops were compelled to drink the executioner's health and were then put to death on the wheel

From the painting by C. G. Hellquist in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York future each of the four Estates of the realm should transact its own affairs. The most important class was the nobility, which also received a fixed constitution. The army, with which Gustavus, the creator of the new science of warfare, had occupied himself so much, was brought into such a state of proficiency that for a long time the Swedes enjoyed the reputation of being the best soldiers in Europe.

The Swedish Soldiers the Best in Europe

Gustavus busied himself also with the intellectual development and material welfare of his people. Schools were reformed and the University of Upsala was richly endowed. Commerce and industry were promoted, mining was improved and extended, joint-stock companies were formed, and merchants and labourers were attracted from Germany and Holland. The reign of Gustavus, however, was not entirely free from trouble, occasioned by the predominance of the nobles and the steadily increasing burden of taxation. Gustavus had always shown a marked partiality for the nobility. It is true he demanded a great deal from them, but at the same time he gave them many privileges. The highest offices in the state were reserved for nobles; they alone enjoyed patronage and exemption from tolls and customs. This favouritism shown to the nobles was disadvantageous to the other classes, particularly to the peasants, who groaned under an oppressive conscription and the many new taxes which the war had made necessary.

QUEEN CHRISTINA
A daughter of Gustavus Adolphus II., she ruled Sweden, at first under a regency, from 1632 until 1654, when she abdicated and went to Rome, where she died in 1689.

Gustavus bequeathed the crown to his daughter Christina (1632—1654), but as she was only six years old, a regency was appointed, at the head of which stood Axel Oxenstierna. Oxenstierna continued the work of Gustavus with vigour and sagacity, and completed the organisation of the government which had been begun by Charles IX. and Gustavus. The council, as the central point of the administration, was settled permanently at Stockholm. Executive functions were divided between five ministerial committees, over which presided the five highest officers of the empire—Chancellor, "Drost" (High Steward), Treasurer, "Marsk" (Marshal), and Admiral. The country was divided up into districts, Län, as at present, at the head of which were the "landshöfdingar"; the frontier provinces were ruled by governors-general and Stockholm by a lord-lieutenant. Every branch of industry was flourishing. Means of communication were improved and a postal service was introduced. Imports and exports increased considerably.

In order to extend facilities for international commerce the North American colony of "New Sweden"—the present state of Delaware — was founded on Delaware Bay, which was lost to the Dutch as early as 1655. The government was confronted by great difficulties on account of the scarcity of money. The public revenue was insufficient to cover the expenses, and in order to procure money various expedients, not always of a fortunate kind, were adopted; crown demesnes and crown dues were sold to the nobility, or subsidies were taken from foreign powers. A large sum of money became necessary when the regency decided on continuing the German war. An alliance was made with the Protestants in the south-west of Germany. The capable generals who had been trained by Gustavus Adolphus were able to uphold the reputation of the Swedish army. It is true they suffered a heavy defeat at Nördlingen on September 6th, 1634, and were deserted by their German allies, who concluded a separate peace with the emperor. From the critical situation in which they now found themselves they were rescued by the French, who offered their valuable assistance to the Swedes.

The Swedes now won several victories over the imperial troops, and carried on at the same time a successful war against Christian IV. of Denmark, who attempted to prevent them from advancing further into Germany, but was obliged by the Peace of Brömsebro in 1645 to cede Oesel, Gotland, Halland, and the Norwegian provinces of Herjedalen and Jemtland. The war was finally concluded by the Peace of Westphalia, under the terms of which Sweden retained the whole

The Great War at an End

THE BATTLE OF NORDLINGEN IN 1634, IN WHICH THE SWEDES WERE DEFEATED

of Nearer Pomerania, with the island of Rügen, part of Further Pomerania, Wismar, and the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, as temporal duchies under the suzerainty of the empire, and received a large sum of money.

Sweden had risen to the rank of a great power and had acquired considerable possessions on the Baltic. Her army had gained the reputation of being invincible; the dauntlessness and courage of the people were strengthened. At the same time, however, their morals and habits were becoming corrupt, inasmuch as peaceful occupations were despised and luxury and extravagance were increasing. The power and wealth of the upper nobility had become so great that the nobles became despotic and treated the people with arrogance and superciliousness.

During the war Christina had assumed personal control of the government in 1644. She possessed rare talents, was vivacious and witty, and her attainments, especially in history and in ancient and modern languages, were of a striking order. She had been trained in politics by Oxenstierna. She was a generous patron of literature and art; savants of other nationalities, such as Hugo Grotius and René Descartes, were always welcome at her court. On the other hand, she was capricious, vain, and fond of pleasure. She was extravagant in her use of public money, and bestowed landed property, patents of nobility, and other favours with a lavish hand on men who were not worthy of such honour. The lower classes, who were groaning under

WRANGEL SURPRISED WHILE HUNTING: AN INCIDENT IN THE THIRTY YEARS WAR
When General Lennart Torstenson relinquished his place at the head of the Swedish army, the command was given to the brave Karl Wrangel, who, in 1646, joined forces with the French General Turenne. Both armies then occupied Bavaria. While out hunting one day, as shown in the above picture, the Swedish general was surprised by Bavarian troops.

The Queen Resigns the Crown

heavy taxation, complained in vain ; they demanded the restitution of part of the crown lands in order to restrict the threatening power of the nobility. Extravagance increased rather than diminished ; dissatisfaction spread, and a revolution was actually feared. Christina, who in the meantime had grown tired of governing, decided on June 16th, 1654, to resign the crown in favour of a distant relative, Charles Gustavus. She left her country, embraced the Roman Catholic faith, and went to live at Rome ; here she died in 1689.

Charles X. Gustavus, the son of the Count Palatine John Casimir and of Katharine, a half-sister of Gustavus Adolphus, was educated in Sweden, and was in language, ideas, and manners a Swede ; he had a keen intellect and a powerful will, and was quick in decision and in action. In addition he possessed that higher education and culture which result from study and travel. He was specially distinguished as a general, for he had studied military tactics under Torstenson and had fought with distinction in the Thirty Years War. When he ascended the throne in 1654 he found the country in a most unsettled and deplorable condition. The finances were in confusion owing to Christina's extravagance, and the resources of the people had been drained by taxation. In order to increase the revenue, the Riksdag, or National Assembly, decided to confiscate the crown lands which had been given away by Christina, and in fact almost three thousand estates were seized.

Sweden's New King at War

These measures were, however, shortly discontinued, as the attention of the king was directed to foreign politics. His relations with Poland and Denmark were not of the most friendly kind. Since John II. Casimir of Poland, the son of Sigismund, refused to acknowledge Charles Gustavus as king of Sweden, the latter decided to declare war. He attacked Poland from Pomerania, conquered Warsaw and Cracow, received the homage of the Polish nobles, and compelled the Great Elector of Brandenburg to place the duchy of Prussia under the feudal supremacy of Sweden and to promise to furnish auxiliary troops. The idea of Charles was to divide Poland, to retain the coast provinces for himself, and thus to make the Baltic a Swedish lake. His great success had, however, raised up for him many enemies ; Holland and Austria were inciting Denmark and Russia to war. The Poles rebelled ; their king returned from exile, and although Charles Gustavus obtained a brilliant victory at Warsaw on July 28th–30th, 1656, he found himself in a critical position, and in order to ensure the fidelity of Brandenburg was obliged, on November 25th, at Labian, to acknowledge the independence of Prussia.

Death of Charles Augustus

At the same time a commercial treaty was concluded with Holland. Then Denmark declared war against him, and the Austrians advanced into Poland. Upon this Charles Gustavus relinquished Poland, proceeded by forced marches through North Germany, and within a short time conquered the peninsula of Jutland. At the beginning of 1658 he crossed over the ice of the Belts to Zealand and compelled the king, Frederic III., by the Peace of Roskilde, to cede the Scanian provinces, together with the island of Bornholm, and from Norway Trondhjems Len and Bohuslen. This makes the zenith of Sweden's international power. At that time she had control over almost the whole coast line of the Baltic. But Charles Gustavus was not satisfied ; he wished to destroy Denmark's independence. He therefore violated the peace, and in 1658 landed again in Zealand ; but this time he did not meet with the same success. Copenhagen withstood his attacks, and was succoured by the Dutch, who, since they did not approve of his plans, had attached themselves to his other enemies, among whom was Brandenburg. An army of Brandenburgers, Poles, and Austrians under the Great Elector drove the Swedes out of Jutland; the inhabitants of the provinces which had been ceded rose in revolt.

After an unsuccessful attack on Copenhagen, Charles Gustavus abandoned the siege of the capital in 1659, and returned to Sweden. He still hoped for assistance from England, but the English, in alliance with France and Holland, remained faithful to the Peace of Roskilde. Charles, however, intended to carry on the war, and aimed at the conquest of Norway. He accordingly marched with his army into Southern Norway, but died suddenly at Göteburg on February 23rd, 1660.

Hans Schjöth

THE FOUNDING OF PRUSSIA

FREDERIC WILLIAM "THE GREAT ELECTOR"

AFTER the flaccid constitution of the Holy Roman Empire had destroyed all prospect of a great German state, the principalities inevitably became the centres of political development, for the reform of the empire, though constantly demanded and several times attempted, had been proved impossible owing to internal causes. Upon the course of that development depended the political fate of the German nation; and it could take a favourable turn only upon the condition that a body politic should arise in Germany comprising a considerable portion of the nation and capable of rousing the forces slumbering within them to independent energy. The idea of a vigorous living confederacy was in direct opposition to the dynastic interests, which were supported in many ways by religious differences, and coincided with the separatist tendencies of the population. A voluntary renunciation of individual rights in favour of the central power was not to be expected of the several states, whose existence was even yet extremely doubtful and insecure. To bring about a concentration of the national strength a great German power was needed capable of brushing away the influences which worked in opposition to every movement towards unity.

Austria's Need of German Aid

The interests of the House of Austria did not coincide with those of the German nation, and its possessions lay for the most part beyond the boundaries of the German nationality. Austria desired the imperial crown as a means of increasing her own dignity, and was obliged to rely upon German troops to secure her territories and to enable her to take advantage of such opportunities as came in her way. She had neither inclination nor capacity to found a German state.

The rise of a German great power was, however, not one of the pressing problems of the seventeenth century; that from one of those imperial provinces which were struggling for a share in the privilege of the electorate a state should arise which should one day vie with the great monarchies of the world was an idea which had never yet presented itself to the imagination of the boldest of political speculators. Yet in the course of that century the foundation of this state had been completed, though the contemporary world was very far from appreciating the truth. From the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia to the outbreak of the French Revolution, Europe had seen no event of greater importance than the growth of that Prussian monarchy which was called to take over the inheritance of the German monarchy when it had been freed from the burden of international family interests, and was destined to apply its youthful strength to the task of restoring German influence to its high place in the councils of European states and peoples.

Foundation of the Prussian Monarchy

The foundation of this Prussian monarchy is the work of Frederic William, Elector of Brandenburg (1640–1688), who entered upon the government of the marches upon the Elbe, Havel, and Spree at a time when the economic value and the political importance of the whole territory had sunk to a lower depth than it had reached even upon its acquisition by the Zollerns. During the latter stages of the war the land had been cruelly devastated. Swedish and imperial governors had assumed the position of masters of the land, while the Elector George William had resided without the limits of the kingdom, in his duchy of Prussia, that he might be left free to pursue his own pleasure in his own way at Königsberg. Upon the death of the last Duke of Pomerania, George William had been called to succeed him by inheritance. He had thrown himself wholly into the emperor's arms in the hope of getting his rights, while Sweden had remained for a long period in possession

Sweden's Hold on Pomerania

of Pomerania, and had laughed the claims of the House of Brandenburg to scorn. The Catholic count, John of Schwarzenberg, governed the electoral district, and the garrisons sent out by the emperor robbed the barns and stables of the inhabitants of such poor property as yet remained to them. Frederic William's special talents had been highly developed by a stay of four years in Holland, and by intercourse with his relations of the House of Orange. He immediately perceived the dangers involved in a connection resting upon so inadequate a basis, and he attempted to take up a neutral position, which allowed him to fulfil the duties of a territorial prince without pledging himself to the fulfilment of earlier duties.

The Firm Hand of Frederic William

The very first steps of his varied career as a ruler show the clearness of his political insight and the strength of his will. The several orders of the duchy of Prussia, like all other feudal lords, found it expedient to limit the powers of their overlord as far as possible. They acted with the Polish malcontents, who wished for a republic with the intention of making the position of the Hohenzollern, who as Duke of Prussia was vassal of the King of Poland, one of entire dependency, and wholly powerless against themselves. Frederic William dealt vigorously with this confederation, which was united by a common spirit of hostility to orderly administration. In 1641 he held the enfeoffment in Warsaw, prescribing tolerably mild conditions, and met the nobility of his duchy in the character of a prince who was anxious for their welfare but was convinced of his own rights and determined to exercise them.

After the affairs of Prussia had been reduced to order and his position at home had been secured, he devoted himself to the care of the marches and to his possessions on the Rhine, which had come down to him from the Dukes of Juliers and Cleves. The conclusion of an armistice with Sweden brought nearly all the Brandenburg towns and fortresses into his power. By a compact with the States of Holland he was enabled to make a temporary arrangement of the financial relations of the House of Brandenburg with them, a measure rendered necessary by the involved state of those finances. So badly had they been managed by his predecessors that the accumulations of simple and compound interest upon a debt of 100,000 thalers incurred in 1614 had already led to the mortgage of all the Cleves district and to distraint upon the ducal chest.

The Elector's Political Compacts

At the peace negotiations in Osnabrück the ambassadors of Brandenburg laid claim to every right which could be deduced from the elector's privileged position. They offered a most vigorous opposition to the Swedes and the imperial party, who considered that the Swedish claims should be compensated with Pomerania. The young elector was a zealous adherent of the reformed faith, and he could not reconcile his conscience to becoming the cat's-paw of the Catholic princes, who, as their enemies said, did not consider themselves bound "to keep faith with a heretic."

Thus he could find no place in the Swedish, imperial, or French parties, and therefore turned for support to the States-General, where the House of Orange was still at the head of the government. European diplomatists were long busied with the project of his marriage with Christina, the heiress to Sweden, but on December 7th, 1646, he married Louise Henrietta, the daughter of Prince Frederic Henry, and gained security for a part of Pomerania and for Juliers and Cleves.

Marriage of the Elector

After the death of the hereditary stadtholder on March 14th, 1647, and the rapidly following decease of his son William II. on November 6th, 1650, the government of Holland by the plutocracy began, and France then sought alliance with Brandenburg; but the elector declined any union with a foreign power, and worked zealously to bring about an understanding between the reformed states of the empire and to unite them into a "third" party. Of this policy a partisan was found in the patriotic Elector of Mainz, John Philip of Schönborn. The self-seeking attitude adopted by Saxony, which had so often hindered the solution of religious differences in Germany, proved an obstacle to this undertaking. By the terms of peace Sweden gained all Further Pomerania, including Stettin, and after weary negotiations a strip of coast line was cut off for her from Higher Pomerania, so that Kolberg was the only available harbour remaining to the Brandenburg territory. The compensation for Further Pomerania was the dioceses of Halberstadt, Minden,

FREDERIC WILLIAM "THE GREAT ELECTOR"

Known as the "Great Elector," Frederic William, Elector of Brandenburg, succeeded his father in 1640. He was a capable administrator, and introduced many reforms that contributed to the well-being of his people. By the Treaties of Wehlau, in 1657, and Oliva, in 1660, he secured the independence of Prussia from Poland, and though he cleared Western Pomerania of the Swedes he was compelled to reinstate them by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, in 1679. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, over [illegible] Huguenots settled in Brandenburg.

From the painting by Camphausen, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

and Kammin, and the reversion of the archbishopric of Magdeburg upon the death of its administrator, Duke Augustus of Saxony, on June 4th, 1680. It became necessary to wage war with the Palatinate of Neuburg for the possession of Cleves in 1651. The several orders of that district desired to escape the electoral government, and threatened to become Dutch in preference to belonging to Brandenburg. They were deterred from open revolt only by the timely arrest of their spokesman, Herr Wylich of Winnenthal.

Opposition to the Electoral Government

Between the Memel and the Rhine there was a number of splendid districts, destined to form the basis of the elector's political power. But there was no interdependence among them, and an entire lack of the sense of political unity. There was not even the personal dependence of the self-seeking nobility upon their feudal overlord. To the Prussians imperial affairs were a matter of indifference. They were anxious to obtain the freedom and the privileges of the Polish magnates.

The margraves demanded additional rights over their vassals and serfs in return for the smallest additional impost. In Cleves the people insisted upon the terms of their contract with the late ruling house, and looked upon the Brandenburger as a usurper, of whom they would gladly be rid at the earliest possible opportunity. Never for a moment was the thought entertained that the union of the Hohenzollern possessions under an energetic prince was an event of importance to any nation of evangelical faith.

Frederic William created the bureaucracy, which for a long period was the only visible sign of the political unity of his dominions. He brought into order the financial chaos then prevailing, relieved the demesnes of their oppressive burdens, and stopped the squandering of their produce, while facilitating the lease of them. Wherever he could, he introduced monetary exchange in place of barter, and assured a revenue to himself with which he could free his household from the disgrace of debt and pay for some military force which might at any rate be able to repel a sudden attack on the part of one of his envious neighbours. The direction of the Brandenburg military powers was handed over to Count George Frederic of Waldeck, who was the elector's faithful and sagacious adviser in all diplomatic controversies and also throughout the Augean task which was the necessary prelude to any internal reform. He was, perhaps, the first man in Germany who had any suspicion that the Hohenzollern kingdom was capable of becoming a great power in Germany and in Europe.

The Reforms of Frederic William

At an early period Sweden had obtained a position upon the North Sea and the Baltic. It was eminently fitted for the foundation of a dominant power which would entirely overshadow the efforts of the neighbouring Germans. Sweden possessed the duchies of Bremen and Verden at the mouth of the Weser, and the coasts of Pomerania and Rügen with their admirable harbours; and thus this maritime and commercial nation had found means and opportunity to monopolise the entire carrying trade of the Baltic Sea, and the commerce with England and Holland on the one hand and North Germany on the other. It is only from this point of view that the acquisitions of Sweden under the Peace of Westphalia can be considered as important gains and a veritable extension of power. However, the Swedish nationality was not capable of carrying on trade or maritime pursuits upon any large scale; the Swedes are a peasant people, clinging closely to that soil which Nature has adorned and richly endowed, and desiring nothing more than to be left in possession of it in freedom and in moderate prosperity. There was no superfluity of national strength forcing them voluntarily or involuntarily to emigrate and throw out branches; nor is there now.

Sweden's Social System Shaken

The long war had shaken the social system of Sweden to its very foundations; but social status remained unchanged. No attempts at industrial enterprise upon a large scale were evoked; there was no formation of trade guilds; the sole results were increased friction between great and small landowners, a deterioration of morality, and a decrease in the power of the crown. The nobility had enriched themselves in the course of the war, for those of them who commanded regiments and fortresses had found occasion to enter into business relations with friend and foe alike; they had also gained possession of many of the crown lands which were given to them instead of pay when they presented their endless accounts of arrears, in the composition of which the regimental clerks and quartermasters of the seventeenth century were extraordinarily clever. The retired infantry and cavalry leaders and officials wasted their Pomeranian estates in riotous living, or squandered such treasure as they had brought home in extravagant feasts and drinking bouts with their friends, while they regarded with coarse scorn the piety and self-restraint which King Gustavus Adolphus had successfully maintained among his warriors.

All that Sweden had taken from Germany disappeared in gluttony and drunkenness. As regards the increase of prosperity and national wealth, it was of no service to the northern kingdom. The ability and the experience of Sweden's diplomatists, the bravery of her officers and admirable soldiers were unable to spur the nation to reach a higher state of economic development, or to suggest new objects for the efforts of far-sighted individuals. Queen Christina (1632–1654), who died in 1689, was totally unfitted to exercise a beneficent influence in this direction. Government, in her opinion, was a crushing burden, and practical views of life had no attraction for her. The generosity of her caprices proved a serious detriment to the state exchequer, which was constantly in low water, and as constantly replenished by additional sacrifices of state property. This treatment of the state lands dealt a heavy blow to the freedom of the peasants, for they passed, with the lands which they had cultivated, into the possession of the noble families whose money had been poured into the royal exchequer.

Influence of Queen Christina

The whole population of the country was thoroughly aroused. The small landed nobility, the free peasantry and the clergy made common cause against the great families and the bishops, who had got possession of all the lands and were forcing the serfs to till them for their benefit. A manifesto to the people of Central Sweden of the year 1649 complains that the queen's mildness was abused, and that the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus would soon have nothing but the title to the crown and the kingdom to call her own.

"The grants of land upon feudal tenure were often fraudulently obtained, the recipients being undeserving of any such reward; subordinate officials distributed such grants in return for pecuniary considerations, and in the exercise of their rights would rob the poor widow of her calves and butter." In the Rigsdag of 1650 it was stated that the territories which the people had made the greatest sacrifices to acquire benefited a few individuals, and were of no advantage to the state; that, on the contrary, the crown and the kingdom had been weakened and diminished by these illegal grants. The queen had every sympathy with the oppressed who had lost their rights; she recognised that the state was in its decline; but she was of too weak a character to make a stand against the nobles, whom she herself had permitted to grow too powerful. However, her resolution to abdicate and to hand over the kingdom to her cousin, Charles Gustavus of the Palatinate Zweibrücken, who had in vain solicited her hand in marriage, brought no decisive change in the circumstances of the country.

The Queen's Weak Character

Charles Gustavus X. (1654–1660) was a capable soldier. He was well aware of the forces which were at work among the European powers, and he was prepared to devote his entire knowledge and power to the welfare of the state. But the qualities of which Sweden stood in need were exactly those which the king did not possess. She yearned for peace and healing statesmanship—not for conquests and glory. But Charles Gustavus thought he could restore the power of the crown by fresh acquisitions of power and wealth. He turned his attention to that portion of the Baltic coast which was under Polish rule, seeing that its highly developed commerce afforded an opportunity for the imposition of those "licences," or harbour duties and import customs, which had already proved so productive in Pomerania.

The warlike intentions of Charles Gustavus X. placed the Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia in the position of politically holding the casting vote, and no one knew better than he how to turn that advantage to account. A campaign against Poland was a practical impossibility for Sweden, if her troops were to be continually outflanked and her lines of communication broken from the marches or from the principality. If she could not ensure the co-operation of the elector, she must at least ensure his neutrality, and for this she had to offer him certain advantages in return. On the other hand, it was to be expected that when

Sweden's Relations with the Elector

Poland found herself hard pressed, she would attempt to bring over her neighbour to her side, and offer political concessions by way of remuneration. Therefore, the characteristic course of policy was for Prussia to join Sweden at the outset of the struggle, to inspire her Polish overlord with the fear of her power, and then to give him the opportunity of a reconciliation, in return for certain corresponding advantages. Frederic William now had the opportunity of showing his appreciation of these circumstances, whether right or wrong. To a man of his clear insight into the state of affairs there could be no doubt as to the proper course to pursue; given his personality, and the result was a foregone conclusion.

War Between Sweden and Poland

There have been too many statesmen whose powers of reasoning failed before even the simplest of problems. Brandenburg-Prussia had also this further advantage, that she was not bound by alliance in any direction, and in particular that she was entirely independent of imperial policy. Had the fate of Prussia been in the hands of George William or of a Schwarzenburg, the war between Poland and Sweden would have caused only loss to the north of Germany, and certainly would not have brought liberation from a crushing and degrading subjection or aggrandisement to Brandenburg.

At the outset of the war between Sweden and Poland the elector's success was very unimportant, and hardly appreciable to contemporaries. In November, 1655, the Swedish troops occupied a large portion of the duchy of Prussia, meeting with little or no opposition from the elector. In the compact of Königsberg on January 17th, 1656, Charles Gustavus X. undertook to evacuate the duchy, which the Brandenburger now held as a fief from Sweden. Poland had surrendered her feudal territory and had consequently given up her right to it; the victor seized the position of the conquered. However, the military position soon underwent a change. Charles Gustavus began to find that he could remain in the Polish lands which he had conquered only under very dangerous conditions. He was more than ever dependent upon the support of his new vassal, who was not bound to furnish more than 1,000 infantry and 500 cavalry to serve as auxiliary troops.

Factors in the Struggle

A compact was arranged at Marienburg on June 25th, wherein the objects desired by the two parties were more clearly and distinctly specified. The elector promised to help the king during this summer with the whole of his military power, in return for which the king promised him full sovereignty over the Palatinate, Posen, Kalisch, Sjeradz, and Lentshiza.

The Brandenburg forces had never yet been employed for any great undertaking, and their value was now to be proved. In the battle of Warsaw, which lasted for three days (July 28th–30th, 1656), 9,000 Brandenburg troops and 9,000 Swedes defeated 80,000 to 90,000 Poles, Lithuanians, and Tartars, drove them across the Vistula in terrible confusion, and became masters of the imperial capital. And Prussia rose on the ruins of Poland.

The battle of Warsaw had proved that the warlike prowess and the military leadership of Brandenburg were fully equal to those of Sweden. The two powers were of equal numerical strength, and had severally carried through a task of equal magnitude and difficulty; the advance of the Brandenburg infantry brigade under the brigadier Otto Christof of Sparr on the last day's fighting was so irresistible, the charge of the cavalry, led by the elector in person, was so decisive, that Charles Gustavus stopped the pursuit out of Prussian astuteness, lest his allies should reap too rich a harvest of trophies. The compilers of the official Swedish reports have done their best to minimise Frederic William's services in gaining the victory, and the elector himself modestly refrained from proffering any correction of their misstatements, caring only for material gains. But, none the less, his allies could not shut their eyes to the facts, and the whole world was profoundly surprised to learn how quickly a German electorate of no previous reputation had acquired so admirable an army.

The Great Battle of Warsaw

This army is indissolubly bound up with the foundation of the State of Prussia; being the special creation of its general, it has henceforward nothing in common with the composite forces of feudal and knightly times. On the contrary, it is a state army; not a militia, but none the less a national power, in which were fully displayed the admirable capabilities of the North German for warfare, when incorporated in well trained and disciplined troops.

Frederic William had shown what he could do when he put out his full strength, but he had no inclination to place that strength gratuitously at Sweden's disposal. He was obliged to retire to protect his duchy against a possible invasion by Russia, and to guard his own territory against the attack of a Lithuanian-Polish army.

In his absence the Swedes were defeated by the Poles, and on November 15th, 1656, King John Casimir marched into Dantzig with 12,000 men. The elector received proposals from both parties; he accepted that which promised him the freedom of Prussia from feudal subjection, a concession which brought with it no increase of territory, but was of importance for his position in the political world. In the convention of Labiau on November 20th, 1656, Charles Gustavus recognised his ally as sovereign Duke of Prussia, with the sole limitation that as such he was to keep no ships of war.

Poland's Payment for Peace

Shortly afterwards relations with Sweden were broken off, because Charles Gustavus X. was devoting his entire power to the war with Denmark and had temporarily given up his designs upon Poland; a reconciliation with Poland was then brought about through the mediation of Holland. The price which Poland had to pay was the recognition of Prussian independence in the convention of Wehlau on September 29th, 1657, and the feudal relations which had subsisted between the countries since the unhappy day of Tannenberg were dissolved.

The Growing Power of the Elector

It now became necessary to break down the resistance of the Prussian orders and of the Königsberg patriciate, which exercised an almost unlimited domination over the town in the so-called "Kneiphof." The opposition, which had almost broken out into open revolt against the elector, lost power as soon as Frederic William arrived in person in the duchy in the autumn of 1662, with the object of restoring order. "The mildness and clemency which marked his arrival, as impressive as the appearance of his dragoons, calmed the heated spirits of the citizen heroes, who had been vainly expecting the invasion of Prussia by their Polish confederates." Poland had observed with great satisfaction the difficulties which the unruliness of the Prussians had placed in the way of the elector, had supported the Prussians in their attitude of hostility to the electoral government, and had praised their fidelity to their old feudal lord. But neither the king nor the Reichstag had any thought of beginning war with Frederic William, who was more than their superior, even without the help of Sweden. In 1663 the dissolution of the Landtag was decided and the sovereignty of Prussia was recognised, the oath of allegiance being taken on October 18th, 1663; the Polish emissaries also took the oath, and contented themselves with the stipulation that the duchy should revert to the Polish crown in the event of the House of Hohenzollern becoming extinct.

After the elector had established his supremacy in the state, he was confronted with the more difficult task of reorganising the civil administration and the economic conditions of the duchy, and also of the electorate and of Cleves. He was obliged to make numerous concessions in the matter of taxation before he could obtain the rights of enlistment and free passage for his troops, which were points of supreme importance to him, as may easily be conceived. His timely realisation of the royal demesnes brought an increasing annual income to the electoral exchequer, and enabled Brandenburg-Prussia to keep an army which commanded the respect of the powers at every European crisis in constant readiness. France was speedily obliged to recognise the existence of this force; Sweden in particular felt that her sphere of operations was largely contracted by the military power of the energetic Brandenburger.

Denmark Reduced to Impotency

Not only had Frederic William made peace with Poland; at the imperial election he had espoused the cause of Austria, and had thus freed himself from the difficulties of his isolated position. Charles Gustavus X. had already humiliated Denmark on March 8th, 1658, and had reduced her almost to total impotency by the Peace of Roskilde. He proposed to administer a second blow, with the intention of leaving her entirely defenceless and preventing any alliance between Brandenburg and Denmark, when the elector averted the blow by placing himself at the head of the "cavalcade to Holstein," for which undertaking he put into the field 16,000 men and forty-two guns, while Austria sent 10,000 to 12,000 men and twenty guns, and Poland 4,000 to 5,000

Sweden as the Bulwark of Protestantism

men. Frederic William penetrated as far as Alsen, and said he was ready to give battle to the Swedish troops blockading Copenhagen if the Dutch admiral, De Ruyter, who was entrusted with the defence of the Danish capital on the sea, had been able to place at his disposal the ships requested for the transport of his troops, which De Ruyter could not do. The connection of this entanglement upon the north with the struggle between France and Hapsburg is seen in the share taken by Louis XIV. in the attempt to free Charles Gustavus from his encircling toils. Sweden was still considered as the great opponent of Catholic imperialism, and as the chief support of Protestantism against Catholicism. Frederic William declined to join the "Concert of the Hague," which was set on foot by Mazarin, unless a universal peace was thereby to be assured; for he would have to expect a further attack from Sweden as soon as the intervention of France and England had freed her from her desperate position on the Danish islands and the Jutland mainland.

Sweden's Unrealised Ambitions

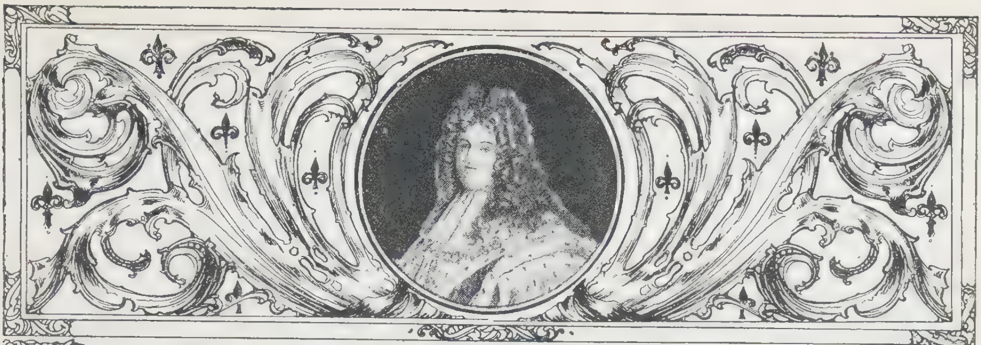
This danger, which had become the more imminent owing to the withdrawal of the Austrian troops from the Baltic coast after the conclusion of the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1649, was lessened by the sudden and unexpected death of Charles Gustavus on February 23rd, 1660. A deadly struggle between Sweden and Brandenburg would have been no unpleasing prospect to Austria; she would have merely looked quietly on until the opportunity arrived for her to give the casting vote to her own advantage. The Peace of Oliva, on May 3rd, 1660, marks an important point in the history of the development of the maritime powers upon and within the Baltic. Sweden's power had risen and fallen, leaving no permanent results; she was obliged to relinquish her idea of founding a great power based upon the possession of the most important of the Baltic coasts, and upon a naval force which should upon any occasion be more than the equal of all the other maritime states. In any appreciation of the value of a vigorous and ambitious prince to the development of the state, the fact that both Gustavus Adolphus II. and Charles Gustavus X. were carried off in the midst of important political undertakings must not be considered as matters of importance in the struggle for Baltic supremacy.

Death of Charles Gustavus

In the nature of things there was no sufficient reason for a Swedish hegemony in North Germany, which would not in any case have lasted beyond the reign of Gustavus Adolphus. Equally impossible was it, even by the strongest efforts of a dominating personality, to make Sweden a maritime power, because the Swedes have no inclination for maritime pursuits, and are never likely to be driven by lack of suitable land to get a living from the sea. Nor can it be affirmed with any certainty that German supremacy on the Baltic would have been established, or the rise of Brandenburg power have been accelerated, by the marriage of Frederic William with Christina, and the long-discussed, desired, and dreaded union of Brandenburg and Sweden. Certainly the Poles would have been driven from the coast forthwith, and Dantzic would have been made a Brandenburg-Prussian harbour town in the seventeenth century; but we have no certain grounds upon which to base an answer to the question whether any constitutional form could have been devised for the equalisation of Swedish and North German interests, and the unification of the sources of strength possessed by the two parties.

The advance of Sweden under Charles Gustavus was a serious matter for Brandenburg, and the death of Charles can therefore be considered only as a fortunate occurrence in view of the task which lay before the Great Elector.

Hans von Zwiedineck-Südenhorst



THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV

THE GRAND MONARQUE

AND HIS LONG DOMINATION OF EUROPE

THE conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia is an important point of departure in the political and economic development of Europe; it is marked both by the firm establishment of the monarchical principle, and also by the rising predominance of the mercantile system. Moreover, it marks the end of political feudalism, on which the powers and functions of the mediæval body politic had been founded. Survivals of the feudal system may, no doubt, be noted even now; but its spirit ceased to be a moving force in European civilisation from that time, and the personal ties which held it together had lost their strength.

The Birth of Great Movements

Rise of the Protestant States

The struggles of individualism for recognition had been checked by the corporate character of mediæval life, but are of much earlier origin. Individualism came to birth with the revival of learning and the Renaissance, and had wholly won its way in the departments of science and art even during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But it was not before its victory had been decisive there that the underlying principle, now sure of recognition, could be developed in another direction, that of the individuality of the state. New forces were brought into being by this movement, essentially opposed to the forces which had produced the feudal system. The more the powers of the corporations were restricted, the wider became the field for individual activity, and rulers were encouraged to grapple with those duties and responsibilities which had been previously undertaken by numerous corporations working to a common end. The assault delivered by the Reformation upon the greatest and the most powerful of all international corporations, the papacy, had not been finally decisive during the sixteenth century. This success was attained only in the Thirty Years War, where the efforts of Catholicism to secure universal supremacy were proved to be incapable of realisation. The recognition of the equality of all Christian creeds in the Romano-German Empire, the political rise of the Protestant states—England, Sweden, and Holland—to the level of others which had remained Catholic, the sanction of the Pope given to "Christian," "Catholic," and "Apostolic" kingdoms—these were facts which nullified once and for all, that possibility of a universal Christian community upon which the greatest minds and the boldest politicians had once speculated. The results of these facts became manifest as well in Catholic as in Protestant states. Catholicism became a political force, but states were no longer founded with the object of realising the Catholic idea.

The House of Hapsburg gained great advantages from an alliance with the papacy, but it had, and has, no hesitation in renouncing the alliance, if by so doing it could further its political ends. Of this we have instances in the nineteenth century as well as in the eighteenth. In the policy of the French Bourbon and Napoleonic governments such instances are even more striking. The chief task of every government is to unify the powers under its control, and to turn them to account with a view to throwing off any external yoke and to consolidating the internal relations between the territories composing the state.

For the accomplishment of this purpose a change in the military system was imperatively demanded. During the fifteenth century the vassal's duties were by no means co-extensive with the mere defence of the country. Feudal armies were no longer equal to the demands made upon them by their overlords, who were anxious to increase their dominions, though the great city corporations of Italy were able to cope with the increasing difficulties of their policy, using only the military strength of their own citizens. Pay and recruiting became the sole methods of creating an army. Professional soldiers fought for dynasties and towns, overthrew and founded states. The German military orders were profoundly national in their rules and regulations; but they were of no service to the national welfare, as there existed no general authority nor political bond. War became a business, in which the man who invested his capital was most likely to succeed. During the sixteenth century dynasties and political parties, such as the League in France, were content with this military instrument, which was passed from hand to hand, and came into the service of hostile lords for so long a time as their operations should continue. But the great convulsion of the Thirty Years War opened the way for a new military organisation. It made possible the formation into standing armies of the yeomen who had been enlisted as occasion arose, and with these the state sought to advance its own political aims.

LOUIS XIV., KING OF FRANCE
He was only four years of age when, in 1643, he became King of France. With Cardinal Mazarin as her Minister, Louis' mother, Anne of Austria, acted as regent, but in 1661 the great cardinal died, and the king becoming sole ruler, made himself an absolute monarch. He died in 1715.

It was only in the second half of the seventeenth century that the idea gained ground in Germany and in France that the several territorial districts, and not the feudal vassals, had to undertake the responsibility of providing material for the war power of the overlord. First of all, special districts became responsible for the enlistment of particular bodies of troops—regiments, in fact; then, if the numbers were too scanty, a further enlistment might be demanded; and, finally, the ruling power grew strong enough to grasp the right of calling out soldiers, or recruiting, an arrangement which would have been impossible before 1500, because it was incompatible with the conception of feudal sovereignty. This is a conception that has disappeared in modern states. The constitutional system of the nineteenth century would replace it with the conception of "personal freedom;" but this is an idea which has been greatly limited by the respect demanded for "state necessities" and "state welfare."

In domestic administration, bureaucratic influences constantly grew stronger. The ruling power gradually claimed for itself those rights which had hitherto been bound up with territorial possession, or had formed part of municipal privileges. Such rights were exercised by individuals exclusively dependent upon the ruler or his representatives. The arrangement and subordination of these executive powers were carried out wholly upon the basis of sovereignty, and the creation of this bureaucratic hierarchy occupied attention even during the eighteenth century, until it degenerated and was found incapable of completing the domestic organisation of the state, when it became obviously necessary to admit the co-operation of the people, who had been temporarily excluded from all share in administrative functions. However, standing armies and the bureaucracy are the distinguishing features of that political system which succeeded feudalism—a system of which we cannot even now observe the development in its totality, and the duration of which it is impossible to estimate.

A PORTRAIT OF LOUIS XIV., SHOWING THE KING IN HIS ROYAL ROBES

From an engraving of the painting by Hyacinthe Rigaud

It also became necessary to support the newly organised state by reconstituting its domestic economy, a process which was carried out upon the principle of separating districts and centralising the productive forces within them. In the second half of the seventeenth century the mercantile system spread in every direction. Its essential feature consists in the fact that the ruling power proposed to make the work of all the members of the state useful to the state itself, to put pressure upon them in order that as large a share as possible of their profits might become available for state purposes. Of state necessities, the chief were the army and the fleet, which implied vital power and the possibility of self-aggrandisement. The territorial community therefore now takes the place of the municipal. The aim of governments is now to increase the productive powers of their peoples, not only because individual producers and civic corporations are thereby benefited, but also because the capacity for bearing taxation is thereby increased. Governments struggle for colonial possessions, and support the formation of great trading companies, which are not now independent corporations, but must submit to State control and accommodate themselves to the political relations of their rulers with other powers. There we have the real origin of the conception of the national strength as a uniform activity, directed by the sovereign in power. It is when domestic economy takes a commercial direction that the distinguishing features of political economy are plainly seen, and hence arises an entirely new set of ideas concerning the nature and extent of national power.

The Process of Political Development

This process did not come to fulfilment at the same time in every European nation; it was most quickly carried out in cases where political unity had already been attained, and where the central power had emerged victorious from the struggle with the independent corporations. It is the historian's task to explain those circumstances which exercised a retarding or an accelerating influence upon state formation. Economic life is wholly dependent upon external circumstances and the political situation, and therefore it is necessary first to examine the political history, and to expound the most important series of related facts, before entering upon an examination of national progress.

A history of civilisation, which would examine the immediate condition of peoples living under similar circumstances, and not confine itself merely to the intellectual side of development, to art and science, can be written only upon the basis of political history. Alone and unaided, it can gain no insight into the motive forces of civil and political life, for this is information which the science of political history alone can provide. Even at the present day we have no answer to the question: What form of political and economic constitution will have that permanent importance for mankind which the forms of feudalism had for a thousand years? We do not know whether any grade of development yet remains for our entry which is likely to last so long, whether the rapid change of productive conditions is likely to influence conceptions of rights, and thereby to produce more rapid changes in the social organism. But the firm conviction is borne in upon us that the rise of those marvellously complex political organisms which we call Great Powers has exercised the highest degree of influence upon the historical life, not only of Europe, but of the whole world. Nationalism is not sufficiently intellectual to give an impulse to the creation of fresh bodies politic differing in essentials from those now existing, and thus far has contributed merely to assure the position of the Great Powers; and it seems at the moment as if the great problems which mankind will have to solve in the near future could be taken in hand only with the help of the powerful machinery of the great states.

NICHOLAS FOUCQUET

Under Mazarin, Foucquet became Procureur-Général and Minister of Finance, and in these positions acquired much wealth. He hoped to succeed the great cardinal, but Louis ordered his apprehension, and he died in prison in 1680.

To offer further conjectures upon future developments is not the business of history, which should avoid political hypotheses to the utmost of its power; but it is the duty of the historian to examine into the rise of those great political organisms with which lies the ultimate decision of all questions now involving the exercise of force. It is from this point of view that we propose to follow the course of history and to pursue our investigations, giving special prominence to every point which may illustrate that remarkable and most important subject, the position of the Great Powers in the nineteenth century.

The Heritage of the Great Cardinals

When Louis XIV. began to extend and to build upon the foundations which the two cardinals had laid, his government attained in every department of public business a degree of independence and influence of which none of his confidential advisers could ever have dreamed. How could anyone have expected that the means which might have been successfully employed to set up a tyranny in some humble little principality would be set in operation in a kingdom which was the home of the proudest nobility in Europe, and where the highest law courts could insist upon the enforcement of law and custom as against the crown ?

Louis was convinced of the fact that a monarch who could make all the forces of the state subservient to himself, and could turn them to the state advantage at his will and pleasure, was in a position to undertake far heavier tasks than any Minister, however gifted. The effort to realise his theory was a real pleasure to him, and he had sufficient ambition and also intellectual power to enable him to devote his life to this great task. A royal task it was in very truth, and he brought it to completion, for his was a royal nature through and through, eminently chosen and adapted to show mankind to what height of power and of purely personal influence a strong character can attain when supported by great traditions, inspired with the spirit of a highly gifted people, and devoting for half a century its every effort and exertion to increase and to extend the possessions which belonged to the nation.

JEAN BAPTISTE COLBERT
The finances of France, and the country generally, were in a sad condition when Colbert became the chief Minister of Louis XIV. in 1661. He instituted many reforms, and in ten years the revenue was more than doubled.

The extraordinary political talent of the king became apparent at the outset of his reign in the security with which he proceeded to organise his government. He was himself his first and only Minister, assisted by several admirable intellects, for whom he, as master, appointed the several departments in which their activity was to be operative ; these were Colbert, Le Tellier, Louvois, father and son, and Lionne. In cases of necessity others were called in from time to time to the state councils, which were invariably held under the king's presidency. At first Turenne was often one of these, as were Villeroi and several Secretaries of State at a later period. Special knowledge, capacity for some particular business, alone decided the king's choice : birth and wealth no longer constituted a right to a place in the royal council. The king was the sole representative of the royal family, the House of Bourbon with its different branches. In him were conjoined both the will of the nation and the interests of the dynasty. By the side of the young monarch the great Condé was but a poor figure ; he never rose above the position of governor and general, and after him no other prince of the blood attempted to lay claim to a share in the government.

Ministers of Louis XIV.

The King's Firm Government

However, where there was the will to govern, it was also necessary that there should be a way. Louis XIV. directed his particular care to this end : he looked carefully into the business of the "Partisans," the tax-farmers and public creditors, for it was above all things necessary to protect the state from these vampires. He made a beginning with Nicholas Foucquet, the Procureur-Général and Minister of Finance, who had conducted this department of the state with great adroitness under Mazarin, but had also gained unbounded wealth for himself. Colbert had made the king acquainted with all the underhand dealings and falsifications of Foucquet, and the king had definitely decided upon his dismissal at the moment when Foucquet was under the impression that he could take Mazarin's place, and rule both king and country as Prime Minister. He based his calculations upon the young man's love of pleasure, which had already become obvious—so much so as to convince the court that the society of the Fronde, which had laid no restraint upon the freedom of intercourse between ladies and their cavaliers, would here also be thrown into the shade.

But a peculiar feature in Louis' character, a mark both of his royal and tyrannical nature, was the fact that he never allowed his personal desires to

THE FRENCH KING AND HIS ARMY: A MILITARY TOURNAMENT UNDER LOUIS XIV. ON JUNE 5TH, 1662

Taking into his own hands in 1661 the full control of the government, Louis XIV., with the aid of his Minister Louvois, raised the status of the army. He made many conquests, the French infantry becoming during his reign the finest in the world, a distinction which it long retained. The above picture illustrates a grand military tournament under the king in 1662.

influence his political judgment, that his interests in official life and government were never thrust out of their place by conversation and love affairs, and that he always found time for everything which could busy a mind with so wide an outlook over human life as his. Foucquet was arrested on September 5th, 1661, a short time after he had enchanted the king with an extraordinarily brilliant and expensive entertainment in his castle of Vaux, at Melun, and thought that he had won him over entirely. The king placed him on his trial, and insisted upon a heavy punishment, although public opinion was in favour of the clever financier who had been adroit enough to circulate the guldens which he had extorted by his oppression among a wide circle of dependents and parasites, and also to reward therewith good and useful services. Colbert, as ministerial official, who had undertaken the business of working up the most valid "cases" with inexhaustible zeal, was very well acquainted with the methods by which the partisans had gained their great wealth, and supported the king in his resolve to demand restitution to the state of the gold that had been unjustly extorted. A special court of justice was entrusted with the examination of the defalcations, and ordered confiscations in the case of five hundred persons to the amount of 110 millions of livres, which were poured into the state chest.

MARIA THERESA, THE QUEEN OF LOUIS XIV

This portrait of the queen of Louis XIV. is reproduced from the painting by Velasquez. Maria Theresa was the eldest daughter of Philip IV. of Spain, and was married to the French king in 1660.

By means of this influx, and also by lowering the rate of interest which the state paid to its creditors, Jean Baptiste Colbert was enabled to maintain the national credit without further impositions, although the revenues had been pledged from the beginning of his administration until 1663. He entirely removed the *taille*, or poll tax, which was a burden only upon peasants and citizens, for the clergy, the nobility, and the upper-class citizens, in fact everyone who bore a title, had been exempted. On the other hand, he raised the indirect taxes, especially the *gabelle*, or salt tax, which was remitted only in exceptional cases, and bore more heavily upon the large establishments than upon the small.

With the reform of taxation began that great economic centralisation of the mercantile system, which is of no less importance than the formation of the state. Colbert had no precedent for his guidance, but none the less he formed the successive economic developments of previous reigns into a firm and sound national system, even as his lord and king followed the steps of Henry IV. and Richelieu in his foreign policy. The regulations by which Louis XI. had opposed the entrance of foreign manufacturers into the kingdom, the institution of free trade in corn within the limits of the kingdom by the edict of 1539, the bestowal of special rights upon the commercial and manufacturing classes by the government after 1577 and 1581, the creation of a French fleet under Richelieu —these measures were first necessary before the policy of economic protection, the removal of the customs duties of the provinces, could enable the general interests of the state to gain a victory over the individual aspirations of separate provinces and towns. The States-General could no longer be summoned, because such a measure would have renewed the struggle between the orders and the central power, and have taxed the entire strength of the government. It became necessary to place limits on the operation of the provincial assemblies, as no consideration for the general necessities could be expected from them. There was also the danger to be reckoned with, as the event proved, that these assemblies would use their privileges to secure their putative advantages within the narrow limits of their local administration, and would place every obstacle in the way of the government, which invaded the rights of the individual in its zeal to further the aims of the public economy.

France's Economic Progress

In the course of only six years (1667–1673) successive royal edicts had laid the foundations of a uniform administration throughout France, without which the country could never have provided the government with the enormous amount of military material required for the war against neighbouring states, whereby the "natural" boundaries of France were to be reached. Before the state could exert its power as a whole, the national resources had to be centralised. Economic progress became the foundation of political power.

There was but one method of increasing the prosperity of the citizens, and so making it possible for them to bear the burden of national undertakings, and this method consisted in attracting them to the production of staple articles of consumption, in persuading them to trade on their own account and so to reserve to themselves the profits which foreigners had previously appropriated, in putting all the available money in the country into circulation, and, by a steady reduction of the influx of foreigners, excluding foreign countries from all participation in the advantages gained through trade and manufactures. This change in industrial concerns had almost to be forced upon the citizens of France by the government; of themselves, they contributed but little to that result. Not only did Colbert exercise his influence to bring about the erection of new manufactories, not only did he procure foreign experts and place them as instructors in the workshops, but even the smallest technical details were carefully examined by the authorities. Directions upon the weaving and dyeing of hundreds of fabrics were issued by them, and disregard of their regulations was punished. In the department of manufactures the energy of the government was rewarded by brilliant success.

The Government's Encouragement of Commerce

The dexterity and the good taste of the population displayed itself in their manufactures, which were, in part, new creations or were modified to meet an existing demand, as in the case of the lace manufacture.

The trade, however, which it was hoped that the West India, East Africa, East India, Northern, and Levant companies would establish by no means fulfilled the general expectations. The French were not capable of world-wide commercial undertakings. They rarely desired to push their influence in far distant countries; they were not fitted, as their king had supposed, to enter into commercial rivalry with Holland and England. Several times France gained a footing in North America, and each attempt proved her want of capacity for the task of colonisation. At the present day France has neither influence nor colonists in the northern continent of the New World; these have passed to the British race. The capital of these companies was provided by private subscription, in which the higher officials had to take a share "at the king's desire."

French Incapacity in Business

The best business of all was done by the Levantine company, which monopolised the trade between the western Mediterranean and ports of the Turkish kingdom, after numerous attempts at intervention by the Dutch merchants. Great hopes had rested upon the completion of the Canal du Midi, as it was thought that merchantmen of heavy tonnage could avail themselves of this new route from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean; at any rate, it made manifest the talents of the French for engineering work, and gave flatterers—among whom Pierre Corneille was conspicuous—the opportunity of magnifying the king above Charlemagne and all his predecessors. But the new passage did not become an important trade route; the canal affected the trade merely of the surrounding districts—that is to say, of Languedoc.

The rearrangement of financial affairs, wherein, according to the report of the Venetian envoys, material improvement would be rapidly brought about by the influx of bullion from abroad, enabled the

THE POPE'S APOLOGY TO THE FRENCH KING: CARDINAL CHIGI PLEADING BEFORE LOUIS XIV FOR PARDON

The sequel to a dispute between Pope Alexander VII. and Louis XIV. is represented in the above picture. In 1660 the French ambassadors in Rome claimed the privilege of protecting all the quarter of the city near their residence from the usual operations of justice, and, supporting this contention, Louis became involved in a serious dispute with the occupant of St. Peter's Chair. At length the Pope gave way, and sent his nephew, Cardinal Chigi, to Paris, to apologise to the French king and to seek pardon for the Holy See.

king to reorganise the army, which was hardly equal to any enterprise of difficulty in its present form, under which it had emerged from the most recent wars. The system of yeomanry enlistment, the swindling practised by the authorities, whose returns invariably claimed pay for a larger number of men than were actually under arms, the small number of real fighting troops as compared with the growing train of camp followers, the entire dependence of military operations upon the exigencies of winter quarters and harvesting—these and many other causes of weakness could only be swept away when the king took the interests of the officers and men directly under his control, when the middleman was no longer responsible for their equipment, and when pay could be disbursed as it fell due.

Hitherto the governors of the provinces had been a serious check to the power of the king over the army, since they had command of the fortress garrisons, and could call out the "arrière ban" of the nobles and levy the militia. Standing cavalry regiments had never been kept up, as they were found to be unavailable for purposes of regular warfare. Louvois was the first to make use of the militia —with some reluctance—during the War of the Spanish Succession, when lack of men became a serious problem. For this purpose contributions were exacted from the nobility and the towns, which were employed for purposes of recruiting.

It was not a national army that Louis XIV. employed to secure his predominance in Europe, but an army of professional soldiers, of which scarce two-thirds were Frenchmen. The infantry of the "Maison du Roi," which was 6,000 strong, was half foreign; in the life-guards, 800 mounted troops of noble origin, Frenchmen were in the majority. The "infantry of the line" counted forty-six regiments, of which fourteen, including fifty so-called free companies, were composed of Swiss.

RENEWAL OF THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND, NOVEMBER 16TH, 1663

"L'ETAT, C'EST MOI!": THE FAMOUS DECLARATION OF LOUIS XIV.
The imperious temper of the youthful King of France, ever impatient with opposition, led Louis on one occasion to take stern measures with the Paris Parlement. While he was hunting, word was brought to him regarding the interference of the Parlement with his edicts; he galloped straight to Paris, entered the Palais de Justice and Hall of Parlement in his hunting habit, and sternly rebuked the astonished legists. "L'Etat, c'est moi!"—The State, it is I—is the saying attributed to him, and in this phrase is embodied the policy which he so zealously pursued.

Germans, Irishmen, Italians, and Walloons. The cavalry amounted to eighty-two regiments, with 12,000 horses; in their case foreigners made up an eighth part of the whole, and were looked upon as the flower of the service, and received higher pay than the native-born soldiers.

The rise of the French nation to the position of a great power was not the result of any great national movement, but was due solely to the victory of the system of centralisation and monarchical absolutism, which lofty aims were prosecuted by capable statesmen and a monarch of first-rate capacity. These aims were national. They corresponded to that inner consciousness of power with which the nation was inspired; but they were not laid down as being the direct expression of the national will. The kingly policy had to undertake the task of accustoming the nation to that point of view. In the German Empire exactly the contrary was the case. There the necessities and the just demands of the nation were discussed in tracts and essays, which went the round of the educated classes. But the movement gained no consideration; neither the emperor nor the diet was able to unite the German forces, either for defence against attack, or for the enforcement of justice, or contractual obligations, or for a stand against oppression. Had not this dissimilarity of conditions existed in her neighbour, France would never have been able, even under the strongest absolutism, to attain a position wholly out of proportion to her natural resources and to the just claims of her people.

Centralisation at home was followed by extension abroad, by conquest, the unlimited extent of which could not fail to become a source of danger to the nation. There can be no doubt that Louis XIV. was induced to undertake his wars of spoliation by the legend of Austrasia and the so-called right of natural boundaries, which were to include the Rhine;

but it is equally certain that after his marriage with the Infanta of Spain he had entertained the hope of winning the Spanish kingdom, or at least a large portion of its territory. In so doing he transgressed to his eventual ruin the limits of the classical system of French policy which had been founded by Henry IV. and built up by the cardinals. He excited the greed for possession in the French, and fostered their political pride; but he failed to inspire them with that sense of unconditional devotion to the state, with that spirit of cheerful obedience to the ruling house, which is alone able to sustain the shock of severe repulse. The excess to which the centralisation of the state was carried brought about consequences so disastrous to the nation that all the cruel blood-letting of the Revolution could not effect a permanent cure.

Louis' Policy of Aggression

The first step which betrayed the young king's intentions was directed against Lorraine. This province had already passed into the French sphere of influence, as a result of the rights, acquired in 1659, to a military road which crossed the province in the direction of the Rhine. Diplomatic quibbles and finally the employment of force gained the whole district with the exception of one fortress, Maral. The ducal family of the House of Guise were again obliged to attempt to protect their property by joining hands with the Hapsburg policy; but they obtained no material support from the emperor.

The second step had for its object the acquisition of the Spanish "Burgundian" dominions. Louis XIV. was ready to support his father-in-law, Philip, against Portugal—for Philip had designs of uniting Portugal with the country of its origin—provided that he would agree to declare that the renunciation made by his elder daughter, Louis' wife, was invalid, and that she might accordingly lay claim to the inheritance of Franche-Comté and some Netherland territory. Louis' intentions were helped by the fact that the Netherland jurists established the fact of the existence of so-called rights of escheatage as regards Brabant, whereby Maria Theresa could lay definite claim to an important part of Great Burgundy. When Philip died, in 1665, Louis came to an understanding with Charles II. of England upon certain acquisitions which Charles was to obtain, concluded a compact with the Rhenish princes for the security of the passage of the Rhine against any contingents of the imperial troops, and then ordered the Marshals Antoine d'Aumont and Turenne to advance into Flanders and push on to Brabant.

The French Claims on Great Burgundy

The Spaniards were not so completely taken by surprise as had been hoped in Paris. Brussels was too well prepared to be captured by any sudden attack. Dendermonde, the most important strategical point on the Scheldt, was in an excellent position of defence, and could have withstood a siege. But Charleroi, Douai, Courtrai, and Lille were seized before the powers, who had been surprised by this unexpected breach of the peace on the part of France, could agree upon any common action. Louis issued the information that he desired to gain the Franche-Comté, Luxemburg, and certain places on the Netherland frontier, and that if these were left to him he would renounce all claims to any further rights which his wife might acquire by inheritance. Condé, who was entrusted with the conquest of the Franche-Comté, succeeded in this task with surprising rapidity but this was the sole success which fell to the king as a result of this first act of aggression. Sweden joined the convention which had been brought about between England and the states of Holland, resulting in the Triple Alliance on January 23rd, 1668, which recognised the claims of Louis to what he had already seized, on the condition that he should renounce all future attempts at aggrandisement.

Louis XIV. and the Triple Alliance

The king agreed; he restored the Franche-Comté to Spain, and retained his conquests in the Spanish Netherlands. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, to which Spain was obliged to conform, confirmed this settlement on May 2nd, 1668, without raising any discussion as to Maria Theresa's rights of inheritance. Louis' Ministers had urgently advised him not to entangle the finances of the country by prosecuting a war, in which Spain would undoubtedly have found allies against him. Before it was possible to resume the policy of conquest, the work of centralising the forces of the state must be vigorously prosecuted. Meanwhile, the task before French diplomacy was to split up the Triple Alliance and to prevent any future union of the so-called "sea powers."

AUSTRIA AND THE EMPIRE

AND GERMANY'S FALL FROM GREATNESS

THE German Empire, the old Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, once the greatest power of western Christendom, had renounced its position as a great power by the Peace of Westphalia. It had been deprived of territory, population, and wealth, its economic resources were inadequate, and its moral strength proportionately weakened. Moreover, its constitution had undergone changes, which entirely removed the possibility of that union of national force, that civil centralisation, by which alone national strength can manifest itself in action.

Limiting the Power of the Monarch

The feudal system had in this case run a course entirely different from that taken in England and France. The throne was based upon election by the freemen; and though the power of election was limited to a constantly diminishing body, yet it could not be entirely set aside by any member of the royal house, which, both on the nearer and further side of the Alps, maintained the exercise of the royal prerogatives with the consent and the support owed by law from the great vassals. When finally the princes who had the right of choice—that is, the electors—received the commission to place a ruler on the throne under conditions contractual in their nature, then their rights and their peculiar position gained a constitutional sanction, and the power of the monarch was so far limited that he could never attain to absolute sovereignty.

The Church Strong in Germany

The classes excluded from the electorate were also protected from oppression, for on the one hand they were indispensable to the bearer of the crown as a counterpoise to the electors, and, on the other hand, the latter might find their help useful should the sovereign meditate any attack upon their own political existence. The many-sided interests which king and emperor were bound or found occasion to represent claimed their whole power and attention. The inadequacy of the revenue which the head of the empire, as such, had at his command made them dependent upon the goodwill of their vassals; and whenever the latter gave their assistance they found opportunity to increase their rights and to strengthen their influence upon the life of the nation. Nowhere was the position of the Church so independent or endowed with such high temporal powers as in Germany; nowhere without the German Empire could ecclesiastical princes be found with the position of an Archbishop of Mainz or Cologne, a Bishop of Würzburg or Münster, bishops who could style themselves Dukes of Franconia or Westphalia.

The Reformation had diminished their number, but the property of the dispossessed had not accrued to the crown, as might very well have been the case if the head of the empire had been able to guide the movement directed against the constitution of the Church. A Protestant emperor who could have been a national emperor at the same time might have emerged in triumph from the battle with the feudal powers, which apparently fled for protection behind the sheltering bulwarks of the old belief; the ally and voluntary steward of the papacy handed over the portion of the empire which had been torn from the old Church to the princely houses, which thereby enriched themselves and assured their political position.

Germany's Religious Struggles

The Thirty Years War had shown that this state of affairs was impossible. It should, however, be observed that the German religious wars might have had a different result if a tax-gatherer had held the throne in place of Charles V., or if Ferdinand II. had been inspired with the spirit of a Henry of Navarre, or even if this weak-minded pupil of the Jesuits of the Ingol towns had had at least the moral strength to use the talent and the mercilessness of a Wallenstein in the interests of a ruling imperialism based upon force of arms. As a matter of fact, that strong personality, which might have changed the semblance of imperial power into the reality, was not forthcoming from the House of Hapsburg; in spite of the Divine assistance officially promised by the successors of St. Peter, it was equally incapable of performing the task laid upon it by the papacy—the subjection of the schismatics in the empire to the Roman Church. Indeed, the ecclesiastical princes themselves contributed not a little to retard the progress of the army of the Catholic emperor; they went over to the side of Maximilian of Wittelsbach when at Regensburg he had wrested the order for the release of the Friedländer from the emperor. The certainty was then made absolute that Germany could not be a monarchy.

The Paradox of Germany's Sovereign

And Philip Boguslav of Chemnitz was entirely justified, in 1640, when in his famous "Dissertatio de ratione status in imperio nostro romano-germanico" he described the form of the German monarchy as essentially aristocratical, entrusting certain departments of administration to the supervision of a monarch; the monarch, however, had no special rights appertaining to him as princeps, except such as his colleagues in the administration were willing to concede to him. "This person of supreme rank bears the old Roman title of 'Kaiser,' but the title does not express the position which a monarch holds in other states. Sovereignty or majesty is not to be found with the Kaiser, but only with the general assembly of the members of the empire crowned in the Reichstag."

In accordance with this conception of the state, representatives of the German Reichstag carried on negotiations for Münster and Osnabrück, and by the Peace of Westphalia the sovereignty of every component member of the empire was recognised, from the electors and dukes to such towns as Dinkelsbühl and Bopfingen. The empire thereupon ceased to be a state. It no longer corresponded to the demands of a feudal state; for in such the vassals were not and could not be equal with the overlord, but must be in personal subjection to and dependence upon him. But the empire was also incapable of providing from its own resources for the protection of its people against enemies from without or injustice within, and still more incapable of carrying out the organisation necessary for culture and prosperity.

When the Empire Ceased as a State

The fulfilment of these obligations belonging to the state devolved upon the Orders, the owners of territory, who were forced to develop gradually into separate states or to disappear; as the decision upon the religion to be adopted lay in their hands, they were in possession of the most important of all instruments for moulding the social spirit of their territory. But the German Orders differed greatly in extent of dominion, in composition, and in power of action, and, in consequence, only a small number of them was capable of forming a political unity, there being 158 members of the Reichstag, whereas there existed nearly 300 governors with forms of administration peculiar to each.

During the period from the Peace of Westphalia to the dissolution of the old kingdom the history of Germany embraces not only the struggle of the Orders to maintain their sovereignty as against the attempts of the emperor to limit it, but, even more, the struggle for means to found a body politic—that is, for extent of territory, increase of the population, and strengthening of internal relations. A process of centralisation embracing the whole empire was impracticable, being excluded by the existing scheme of disunion and disruption; such centralisation was possible only within the narrow boundaries of territorial lords, and was therefore confined to the German principalities. Strong and fortunate dynasties, where vigorous personalities could make their mark, succeeded in founding states with vital force sufficient to enable them to preserve their independence in spite of every collapse or political bankruptcy.

The Fate of Weak Dynasties

The remainder met with the inevitable fate of the weak who oppose the will of the strong—namely, destruction; or else they maintained a very modest existence, having no greater extent or power than the estates of a private landowner, and owing their continuance to the silent forbearance of their neighbours, and to a respect for tradition, which had long since been void of all political content, and had no meaning save for the historical antiquarian.

Of all the royal houses of Germany, that of Hapsburg stood first in importance and external power; but its possessions and interests had come to it from without the boundaries of the empire; the Casa d'Austria had been of and by itself a world power. It is true that Charles V. was the only ruler to govern the whole of the immense territory which he had inherited; the division into the Spanish and German lines resulted from the fact that the two geographical groups were inevitably forced asunder by the necessities of their very existence, and the immediate cause of the separation was the exercise of those family rights which had brought the union to pass in the face of every political and economic law. The Spanish state with its Italian and Burgundian dependencies and its American colonies had been unable to maintain its position as a great power, and had been forced to yield to Holland and France. The claims of the reigning dynasty, which thought it unnecessary to set any bounds to its ambition, and had frittered its strength away on every battlefield during the Thirty Years War, diverted attention from home affairs, so that ruin came upon the kingdom of Philip II. both from without and from within. The fact that the brothers Rudolf and Matthias left no children prevented the otherwise unavoidable subdivision of the German line; Spanish influence enabled Ferdinand II. to become sole ruler, Spanish money supported the army with which the Austrian defended his territory. But the consequence was that the German Hapsburgs found themselves obliged to take up the heavy and embarrassing burden of the emperor's crown. The looseness of connection between the different members of the Roman Empire within the German nation must have proved a help to a reigning dynasty which attempted to unify the subject states by means of personal government and a uniform administration; especially was this true of the House of Hapsburg, which had been able to reinforce its rights of possession by the further influence resulting from uniformity of religion. The spiritual bond of union between the Hapsburg territories, which now began to receive the general name of Austria, and the chief centres of culture in the rest of Germany, had been almost entirely destroyed by the counter-reformation in the Alpine territories, by the victory over the Bohemian disturbances, and by the consequent subjection of intellectual and moral education to the control of the Jesuit orders. Economic relations between the two countries were also cut off at their very source by the stoppage of trade and intercommunication consequent upon the poverty in which the Thirty Years War had left the country.

THE GERMAN EMPEROR LEOPOLD I.

He succeeded his father, the Emperor Ferdinand III., in 1658, and ruled his Hungarian subjects with such severity that they rebelled. The War of the Spanish Succession broke out during his reign as a consequence of the struggle between him and Louis XIV. of France for the heirship to the crown of Spain. Leopold died in 1705.

Thus Samuel Pufendorf, writing in 1667, under the pseudonym of Severinus de Mozambano, "De statu imperii germanici," had spoken of the constitution of the Roman Empire as irregular and monstrous, and instanced the position of the Casa d'Austria, which had been able to separate from the empire without difficulty and to set up as independent on its own account. Upon this fact he founded the opinion that the House of Hapsburg must be supported in its imperial position, because, if the crown went to another family of princely rank the Hapsburg territories would inevitably be separated from the empire, which would thus be weakened and risk suffering the fate which had come upon Italy. Moreover, no other house was then in a position to bear the expense of keeping up the imperial court and ceremonial in proper form.

Ferdinand Maria Declines a Crown

The inference was so inevitable that no other prince of the empire was found who would have accepted the crown when Louis XIV. was looking out for a fresh candidate after the death of Ferdinand III. in 1657. When Count Egon of Fürstenberg made the proposal in the name of the French government to the Elector Ferdinand Maria of Bavaria, he declined it with the remark that he was not disposed to receive the imperial position as a favour from France, and that he did not care to endanger the security and permanence of his young electorate for the sake of the unstable and transitory dignity of the emperor's crown.

It was Brandenburg that finally decided the choice of Leopold I., an election vigorously opposed by France. With the exception of this elector and Bavaria, all the electors and their Ministers were silent. The ambassadors Gramont and Lionne, who were sent out to attend the election, had received credit from Mazarin to the amount of 3,000,000 pounds, and considerable sums from this source found their way into the pockets of influential personages at the courts of Cologne, Mainz, Trèves, and Heidelberg. Austrian and Spanish money was also readily accepted, and the latter commanded great influence in Dresden. In any case, to take presents from both sides was to be under obligations to neither.

Frederic William of Brandenburg enjoyed a reputation greater than any that his forefathers had possessed. When Sweden, Poland, and Austria were struggling for the supremacy in Eastern Europe they could not afford to leave his power out of their calculations; within the empire his neighbours had to be careful how they opposed a coalition of which he was a member.

The Power of Frederic William

Before the meeting of the electors, Frederic William plainly declared his opinion in a despatch to the Elector of Cologne, and spoke in favour of the Austrian candidate, for he was of Pufendorf's opinion as to the welfare of the empire, and therefore laid it down as necessary in view of the threatening state of affairs "again to elect such a house as is capable by its own power of upholding the Roman Empire."

However, when it became necessary to draw up the terms of election and to lay down the principles upon which the chosen emperor would have to conduct the policy of his government, Brandenburg declared decisively for that party which was opposed to any amalgamation of German and Spanish affairs, and was anxious that the emperor should not involve the empire in a quarrel with its western neighbour on account of the Franco-Spanish war. In brief, the desire of this party was that if the House of Hapsburg took the German crown, it should not employ the additional power thus gained to avert the fall of Spain.

Co-operation by the courts of Vienna and Madrid invariably favoured Catholicism, a religion which Brandenburg had no inclination to strengthen. The majority in the college of electors was gained by the adherence of the Palatinate under the influence of the ecclesiastical princes of Cologne and Mainz, who were brought over to his side by the dependence upon France, whereas Protestant Saxony seceded through her jealousy of the Catholic parties—Bavaria and Trèves; however, the fact remains that the position assumed by Brandenburg materially helped to secure the safety of Protestantism.

Leopold I. Elected Emperor

Leopold was obliged to undertake to abstain from any interference in the wars which France was waging in Italy and Burgundy, to give no help to her opponents, and further to work in the interests of peace between France and Spain. If the emperor as head of the empire desired to enter into alliance with foreign powers, the consent of the electors must first be obtained, and this not by writing, but after full discussion in the electoral assembly.

For the execution of an imperial decree in the case of any one state of the empire the general consent was also necessary. The electoral character of the empire was thus most strongly emphasised by the election of Leopold I., and the terms of election which explained the main features of the constitution were practically an amplification of the Golden Bull in the year 1356. The election of the House of Hapsburg had been a concession to the necessities of the general policy of the empire; it implied no greater coherence in the relations of the imperial princes to the emperor and his house. The republic of princes had chosen a wealthy and excellent representative, and had laid additional obligations upon the state, which was desirous of preserving the balance between the powers influential in the south-east of Europe; but the several members of the empire were entirely convinced that the imperial dominions and the voluntary union of the German rulers did not together constitute any political unity, and that they were severally at liberty to pursue their own course of policy regardless of the emperor.

Princes Combine for Peace

This idea found open expression in the formation of a confederacy of the princes on the Rhine, a movement which followed almost immediately upon the election. If we consider merely the formal wording of the convention concluded upon August 14th, 1658, we may call the confederation a movement of the friends of peace—with such emphasis is the statement made that "the confederates, whether differing in religion or not, will provoke no foreign power to hostilities, but will preserve the friendship now existing among themselves, and will use the remedies of law to remove any causes of quarrel that may occur." However, this organisation could not be considered as remarkably formidable, inasmuch as the whole of the standing forces which the members were able to provide amounted to only 4,700 infantry and 2,370 cavalry.

Beside the electorates of Mainz, Cologne, and the Palatinate, of Neuburg, the Lüneburgers of Brunswick and the Landgrave of Hesse also joined the confederation, which was modified conformably to its convention with France. France undertook to protect the rights and possessions of the confederates, who on their part promised to maintain the Peace of Westphalia together with the concessions then made to France, and held themselves in readiness to help the king with their military contingents if he should be attacked in any of the territories which had been assured by the peace.

Dexterous Diplomacy of Mazarin

The estimate of troops mentioned in the French proposals was sufficiently modest, amounting to 1,600 infantry and 800 cavalry; the political confederates were bound to act only in cases when the German princes reckoned upon French help; they were not concerned with the rights of France to represent her own interests with such means as might seem necessary to her within the territory of the confederates. In the war against Spain and the States-General, Louis XIV. had gained considerable advantage by making practical use of these rights, which had been established in theory by the dexterous diplomacy of Mazarin. Brandenburg also took part in the early stages of the negotiations, but she abstained from joining in the compact; she made many changes of front which were not compatible with the policy of reinsurance against the growing power of the empire adopted by a number of petty German states. Brandenburg-Prussia had already become a body politic which was quite capable of leading an alliance, but could never have been an earnest, loyal member of a confederation under French guidance.

The imperial court fully recognised that the formation of the Rhine confederation was directed immediately against its position in the empire, and foreboded an interference on the part of France in the affairs of the empire which might become extremely serious. The emperor therefore did his utmost to sever the constitutional representatives of the provinces, who made up the assembly of deputies when the Reichstag was not sitting, from such influence as the Rhine princes might exert. There was some dispute upon the question whether the assembly of deputies should be held in Frankfort or in Regensburg; and the Rhine confederates demanded the summoning of the Reichstag, which had been prorogued for two years in 1654.

Germany's Lost Opportunities

The German Reichstag, which was in correspondence with the assembly for maintaining the Peace at Nüremberg, might have extended its activity in an unusual degree. It might have dealt with the means of realising the principles of the imperial constitution as laid down in the Peace of Westphalia, with measures necessary for securing the frontiers, with the organisation of the imperial army, with the means desirable for increasing the prosperity of the country, for reviving trade and industry. However, one of the most remarkable phenomena among the consequences of the Thirty Years War is the fact that all the misery and all the losses which had befallen Germany during that period could not arouse the people to the absolute necessity of co-operation for the protection of their real interests. In wide sections of the population some dull sense of that necessity may have remained, millions of sufferers may have hoped that help would come from the emperor and the empire, but of these desires no outward manifestation ever came to be expressed in political action.

The Sad Condition of Germany

The truth of the saying that "poverty brings weakness" was never so strikingly illustrated as in the case of the German Empire, which the great war had deprived of half its inhabitants, four-fifths of all its domestic animals, and of building materials and articles of daily use to an incalculable extent. Starving men, in whom all feeling for the benefits of society is dead, who have sunk to the degradation of cannibalism, as was constantly the case towards the end of the war, cannot be expected to fight for political rights; they are utterly incapable of grasping the connection between political rights and their own struggle with the stern necessities of nature. The misery of the masses merely promotes the wealth and the power of a few self-aggrandising selfish natures, who know how to possess themselves of those means by which political power can be grasped and held.

In the sixteenth century, when the demand for the Christian community of property arose over a great part of Germany, and became almost a war cry, the German peasants were generally in a state of prosperity which amounted almost to luxury, and were thus capable of striving for social equality with the territorial lords; even after the subjection of the bloody revolt in Thuringia and Swabia, they did not lose so much in point of political rights as they lost during the two decades in which the German lands were under the rule of soldiers, and suffered alike from friend and foe.

German Lands under the Rule of Soldiers

Within the land-owning class great changes had taken place; many ancient families had been extinguished, had been driven out from castle and court, or had found themselves unable to keep up their establishments, owing to want of capital and scarcity of labour; their place had been taken by the military aristocracy, which had appropriated to itself most of the hard cash in the country. "The new masters had no mercy upon the poor dependents, for they had not learned to know them by centuries of life among them. The rights and privileges which the old families had left undisturbed were now altered, and altered in favour of the masters, with the help of adroit masters of Roman jurisprudence, who were always ready to lend a hand in any doubtful business for cash payment; free courts were broken up or suppressed."

But the men who had in this manner become great landowners could not forthwith give up the habits and vices which they had indulged during the long period of war. In the castles, which were restored and splendidly furnished with foreign money, a wild life went on; drunkenness and gaming were unbounded, and were interrupted only by the rough pleasures of the chase. In the villages the disbanded soldiers who tramped the country took from the peasants the little which they had been able to wring from the soil with their inadequate appliances. In many places there was neither priest nor schoolmaster; the rich intellectual treasure which scholars had spread abroad throughout the hearths and homes of the people had vanished entirely. Ignorance, superstition, the belief in witchcraft, dominated their minds; habits of begging had destroyed even their sense of shame.

An Age of Ignorance and Poverty

In consequence of the want of money among the lower and middle classes, wages and the prices of raw stuffs were lowered in every part of the country; industrial activity was limited to the production of such articles as were absolutely necessary, capital was wanting for the maintenance of artistic manufactures; capital in the hands of a limited number of rich men went abroad in exchange for an increase of imports, which came in chiefly from France, but also from Amsterdam, London, Lisbon, and Venice. "From the courts, great and small, ecclesiastical and civil, in which had been heaped the plunder of the generals and captains of every nation and creed, the taxes paid by the vassals flowed into the coffers of the Parisian manufacturers, who then laid down the fashion of the day for the whole of the Continent. Thus it was that

France's economic triumphs increased her political advantage, and thus Germany's misfortunes conduced to the enrichment of her western neighbour." Dutch and English had absorbed the trade which was once the mainstay of the Hanseatic houses; trade in South Germany was absolutely dead. Many of the powerful patrician families had become counts and landed lords, others took official posts as a possible sop to their ambition, most had disappeared altogether. There was no incitement to the spirit of enterprise; in trade over seas the name of Germany was almost unknown.

This state of affairs did not, however, weigh heavily upon the councillors and syndics who represented their rulers at Regensburg, and spent most of their time in the presentation of extensive reports upon fruitless negotiations and in the study of injunctions, which generally contained occasion for setting aside any proposition which might have been generally beneficial. The "Recess of the Imperial Diet," which was the name given to the collective report of the resolutions passed, contains the text of the Peace of Westphalia and the practical resolutions of the Nüremberg assembly, a decree concerning the reform of the imperial chamber court, some proposals for improvement in the division of the empire into circles, and unimportant regulations upon the payment of outstanding debts. The parties had been fighting under arms for thirty years, and continued to regard one another with mutual distrust; the general welfare of the nation was neglected in spite of the fact that public opinion, as shown by a stream of political pamphlets, had set in steadily in the direction of a more enlarged and enlightened policy. The fear that the emperor would attempt to extend his powers was so overpowering that none could recognise the unifying force of resolutions by the majority in the college of electors. Count George Frederic of Waldeck, who obtained at that time greater influence upon the imperial policy of the Elector of Brandenburg, warned him not to submit in any way to the decrees concerning imperial taxation, upon the regular payment of which the imperial party rightly laid great stress; should the elector submit, "instead of being a king's equal, he would become a dependent, a treasure-bringing—that is, a tributary—lord, of less power and resource than a landed proprietor of Bohemia or Poland." In view of the experience which Ferdinand III. had had of the Reichstag, Leopold could not expect to gain very much by re-opening negotiations with the states of the empire, for he could hardly expect any great support of his own interests from them. It was only the recurrence of the danger of an attack by the Turks upon the territory which he had inherited which had induced him to summon the Reichstag. The territory of the House of Hapsburg, great though it was, had not yet been organised as a state, and lacked the internal strength which would have enabled it successfully to resist the powerful force which the Sultan could bring against it; German money and German troops were necessary for its defence, for it was justly to be considered as a bulwark of the kingdom against the East. The kingdom of the Magyar nationality had proved unequal to this task; since the disaster of Mohacs it had fallen into disruption and had become the scene of party conflicts, which greatly facilitated the Ottoman advance.

The Nation's Welfare Neglected

Germany in Danger from the Turks

FREDERIC OF WALDECK
This count, who had great influence upon the imperial policy of the Elector of Brandenburg, advised him not to submit to the decrees concerning imperial taxation.

It is possible that affairs in Hungary would have run a different course if the powerful dynasty of the Hunyadis had remained in power; but even then it would have been impossible to say with any certainty that the Magyar feudal nobility would have been ready as a whole to make the heavy sacrifices demanded for a long war with the Turks. Since the Ottomans had possessed themselves of the Balkan Peninsula, thoughtful Magyars were no longer set upon preserving the complete independence of their kingdom; they recognised the advisability of forming a close alliance with neighbours who were powerful, and considered personal union to be the surest guarantee of confederations. This opinion came to open expression in the compacts with Hapsburg, in 1463 and 1491, and also in the election of the Bohemian king Vladislav; the Reichstag at Ofen, 1527, also took the same point of view, after the terrorism of John Zapolya and his dependents had been crushed.

Hungary Between Two Evils

The nationalists, who passed the resolution in 1505 that no foreigner should be elected king, never seriously hoped for the absolute independence of Hungary. Having to choose between two evils, they preferred dependence upon the House of Hapsburg to dependence upon Turkey. The position adopted by Hungary, the centre of the opposition, was largely influenced by the religious policy of the Hapsburgs, whose permanent union with the papacy and the Jesuits formed a continual danger to the freedom of Protestantism, which had taken root both in the Carpathian highlands and in the plains of the Theiss. The national movements under Bocskay, Bethlen, and the Rakoczy were in each case attempts to protect Protestantism, and gained strength from union with the corresponding religious parties in Germany. The House of Hapsburg had hoped to be able to make its territories coherent by the maintenance of religious unity. But its stern opposition to the fundamental principle of religious freedom hindered the internal coherence of the population, shattered all confidence in the respect for justice which had been attributed to the dynasty, and secured the adhesion of the religious fanaticism, which was very strongly developed among the Magyar Calvinists, to the political parties.

The Chief Factor in Austria's Fate

The policy of the Hapsburgs was not founded on religious intolerance in itself; the grandsons of Maximilian I. regarded the Reformation from a political point of view. Resistance to the Reformation was a matter that touched neither heart nor conscience in their case; they thought that they could not afford to lose the support of the ecclesiastical princes and the clergy against the encroachments of the secular Orders of the empire. However, political views are unstable; they have to be adapted to change of circumstances and a proof of this fact is to be seen in the altered attitude of Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II., and even in the case of Rudolf and Matthias. The fate of Austria largely depended upon the supremacy of the inner Austrian line, in which the Bavarian Wittelsbach blood and temperament of the Archduchess Maria had become preponderant. We must leave the investigators of the psychology of families and races to decide why it was that Jesuit Catholicism should have gained so strong a hold upon the Bavarians in particular; at any rate, its influence during a period of 400 years is unmistakable, and cannot be neglected if we would understand the history of Austria.

The Jesuits were the primary founders of that system of centralisation which impeded the different countries possessed by the Hapsburgs in their natural development to a strongly organised federal state, brought about hostility between the several populations, and set their interests in opposition to the interests of the state. In the countries of the Bohemian crown the Jesuits exercised a Germanising influence; on the other hand, in the duchies of the Alpine districts, the acquisition and the union of which had formed the kernel of the power of the Hapsburg family, Jesuit influence prevented any close sympathy on the part of the people for their blood relations in the Protestant territories.

Decay of Intellectual Culture

The consequence was the almost entire destruction in those countries of that intellectual culture which had been a splendid characteristic of the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. Phrase-making, empty and superficial, was the dominant feature in literature; in countless cases the spirit of intellectual society was broken, subservience was praised as a virtue, sycophancy and jealousy became habitual.

At the instance of his Bavarian relatives, and with the help of Jesuit advice, Ferdinand II. proceeded to oppress the Protestant Orders, and was resisted with empty words instead of strong action; in cowardice and hesitation the Protestant landowners retired within their castle walls before a few gangs of peasants, and quietly looked on at the process of turning shopkeepers and peasants into Catholics. Until the edict of restitution in 1629, they had at least succeeded in preserving the right of freedom of worship in their own homes; but after that period their liberties were nearly blotted out.

The Roman clerics advanced, secure of victory, and with them the overbearing bands of Friedländer soldiers, while distinguished families who would not renounce their faith, retreated before them, and left their houses, courts, and country, to await the time when the German Empire and their Christian fellows could assure them religious freedom and enable them to return to the possession of their ancient inheritances. With unparalleled obstinacy the Emperor Ferdinand III. fought against the attempt, during six years of negotiation at Münster and Osnabrück, to extend the conditions of religious toleration to his own territories; during that period he failed to avail himself of many favourable opportunities, as he was employed in offering an obstinate opposition to the attack made by Sweden in favour of the Austrian Protestants.

Where the Empire was Weak

After the peace the chief power in the empire was concentrated in the person of an emperor who was chief only in name; but the religious unity of the territories of the House of Austria had been preserved. The Protestant Orders made further attempts to remove or to lighten the heavy yoke laid upon their Austrian co-religionists; but these efforts were unsuccessful, the more so as they were never seriously prosecuted. The Reichstag and the election of Leopold as emperor would have provided opportunity for the exertion of greater pressure; but no one took the trouble to seize the occasion, because no one took any permanent interest in the fate of the Austrian territories. Nowhere was the weakness of the empire more conspicuous than at that point where the emperor was also a territorial prince; the imperial support, which had been so earnestly requested and desired, about which so many words and documents in the Reichstag had been spent in vain, bore a miserable appearance upon the frontiers and could make no impression upon the land-owners, who were alarmed at the incursion of the Turks, from which they had suffered loss.

The custom grew of considering the title of emperor as one attaching *ipso facto* to the local prince, and no special stress was ever laid upon the fact that the prince's lords were part of the Roman Empire of the German nation. The only people to take any real part in imperial affairs were the high nobility, who were aiming at paid official posts under the empire, or whose social position would be improved by admission into the colleges of imperial princes and counts. The Austrian could no longer entertain the idea that he was himself "within the empire"; the phrase "beyond the empire" began to grow more and more habitual. The separation of the Hapsburg possessions from the rest of Germany has been a steadily growing fact since the Peace of Westphalia, so much so that the legislation establishing their separate existence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was brought about without difficulty, and the full significance of the step was probably never realised by the majority of the population. The common action necessary to meet the attack of the Turks was no check upon this process of alienation; the German princes, with whom the emperor negotiated in the Reichstag for some means of support, had no intention of demanding that the ties uniting the empire should be further strengthened by way of recompense for their aid; nor did they attempt to insist that the Reichstag should have more power to deal with affairs within the Hapsburg territories.

The Independence of the German Princes

On the contrary, their efforts were concentrated entirely upon the task of making themselves more independent of the emperor by their wealth, their troops, and their personal service in war; thus they were in favour rather of weakening the cohesive power of the empire. The more they could free themselves from subjection to a superior power, the less they regarded the efforts of the emperors to make their own territory, by the introduction of all kinds of administrative measures, a self-contained province separate from the empire. Federal relationship was the natural result of the circumstances of the time; imperial federation had no real existence.

Hungary Raided by Turks

However, the manifestations of popular feeling were of a totally different character; the nation had been roused by the reports disseminated concerning the cruelty of the Turks in Transylvania and Upper Hungary, and would gladly have joined in offering a vigorous resistance to their hereditary foe. The heroic defence of Grosswardein in the summer of 1660 increased the interest which the people took in the fate of their co-religionists in Hungary and Transylvania. But the court of Vienna had no ears for popular outcry, and not the smallest desire to turn the crusading spirit to account, as it might lead only to the further strengthening of Protestantism.

The Aims of the "Union of Princes"

In spite of the many difficulties in the way, the diplomacy of the time continued to discuss the questions of equipment and defence. For six months had the Archbishop of Salzburg, as the emperor's chief commissioner, awaited the arrival of the provincial ambassadors in Regensburg; in January, 1663, when the session of the Reichstag could be opened, it became plain that not only the special desires of the electors would require consideration, but that an opposition to the princely houses had been set on foot, and an opposition which offered its assistance on conditions impossible to accept. It was due to the concurrence of France, ready to pull the strings of any number of intrigues, that William Philip of the Neuburg Palatinate, together with Brunswick, Hesse, and Würtemberg, had founded the "union of princes," which was directed against the preponderance of the electoral families; their chief demand was that the council of princes should be allowed to partake in the election of the emperors, a privilege which had hitherto been claimed by the electors alone. So this party desired to make their help against the Turks conditional upon an alteration in the constitution, which the emperor had no power to grant upon his own initiative.

COUNT MONTECUCCOLI

Count Raimund Montecuccoli, the imperial field-marshal, who entered the Austrian service in 1625, distinguished himself against the Turks in the Thirty Years War.

At length the union of princes was overruled: it was decided to make an immediate grant of fifty "Römermonate," there was to be exemption for no one, and the ten imperial departments were all included in the demand for 6,400,000 guldens—in reality, only the half of them. The next question was how this sum should be raised. The imperial towns, which had long been groaning under the weight of the payments imposed upon them, now demanded a revision of the imperial rolls; moreover, the members of the Rhine confederacy, upon the advice of France, declined to limit their action to a monetary payment, but desired to resume their original character of imperial auxiliaries by sending contingents of troops. France considered that such pecuniary resources would always be entirely at the emperor's disposal when once they had been tapped; whereas the co-operation of troops in the campaigns proposed would be contingent upon conditions constantly changing, and in the last resort excuses might always be found for the recall of the troops. During the debates on the subject of "emergency help," a proposal emanated from the Court of Brunswick to the effect that in future special provisions should be made for the security of the empire; this business occupied the attention of the Reichstag to the end of the session, and many well-meaning proposals were brought forward. However, no definite military scheme was evolved, as it was found impossible to guarantee the measure of support necessary for this purpose.

In the course of the summer of 1663 the Turkish intentions became plain; they had invaded Transylvania, and proposed to use the party struggles brought about by the Rakoczy family for the purposes of a great campaign, and to secure their power on the Central Danube by a crushing blow to be directed against the Austrian territory. The Grand Vizir Ahmed Koprili led one hundred and twenty thousand men to the Waag, giving out that he proposed to march directly upon Vienna. Fortunately for that town, his military incapacity was equalled only by his pride; instead of advancing straight upon his mark, he halted until September 27th, 1663, to besiege the fortress of Neuhäusel, which made a heroic defence under Adam Forgach; upon the capitulation of the place he retired to Gran, and there sent his troops into winter quarters.

Montecuccoli a Match for the Turks

The imperial field-marshal, Count Raimund Montecuccoli, was one of the foremost strategists of the age; he was careful and cunning as well, and he had so cleverly manœuvred his scanty forces as to give the Grand Vizir a wholly erroneous impression of their numbers; and the Turks accordingly hesitated to attack the imperial position at Altenburg. Hungary herself took but little share in the defence of her own territory. The militia, the levies of the nobles and comitati, amounted to 11,000 men, who were of use only in guerrilla operations, and would not stand firm in the open field. Not only were the operations of the imperial field-marshal inadequately supported, but supplies of provisions and men for the auxiliary forces were diminished by the self-seeking of individuals. The town of Pressburg declined to admit Montecuccoli within its gates, and only garrisoned the walls when the enemy were in sight of them. The Landtag declined to permit the imperial army to enter Hungarian territory before the militia had assembled, and the authorities were obliged to transport their reinforcements from Vienna by the Danube to the points threatened by the enemy.

The emperor was convinced that Ahmed Koprili would renew his attack in the following year, and appeared in person at Regensburg in December, 1663, being most anxious to secure the vigorous support of the imperial provinces. He found a zealous partisan in the Elector of Brandenburg, who further placed at the emperor's disposal such of his own troops as he could spare from the forces in preparation against Sweden and Poland, Bavaria, Saxony, and Mainz also contributed. The Rhine confederation supplied a body of 7,200 men under the command of Count Hohenlohe, who was not, however, permitted to join in any operation until the emperor should have consented to the junction with the French division. Brandenburg brought foward a proposition in the Reichstag that an imperial army should be raised amounting to 60,000 men. But the other provinces would not pledge themselves to a special number of troops; they agreed to the so-called Triplum—that is, the triple computation of the rolls of Maximilian or of Worms—which would theoretically have produced an effective force, but had never yet done so.

Germany in Need of an Army

During the winter of 1663-1664 the Rhine confederates had marched on their own initiative to the Drave, and had undertaken an aimless attack upon Essek, which had ended in heavy losses to themselves. Naturally, the emperor, in spite of his disinclination, could no longer refuse the help of the French contingent, and in view of the approach of the numerous bodies of the enemy was forced to accept any help which offered itself. Montecuccoli would have been very glad to form a central force of 50,000 men and 124 guns on the Danube. But the council of war at Regensburg demanded the formation of three armies; one for Upper Hungary and Transylvania, under Louis Rattwich, Count of Souches, another on the Drave under Strozzi and Nicholas Zrinyi for the conquest of Kanizsa, and a third under Montecuccoli on the Danube and Lake Platten with no special object in view.

The Turks Badly Beaten

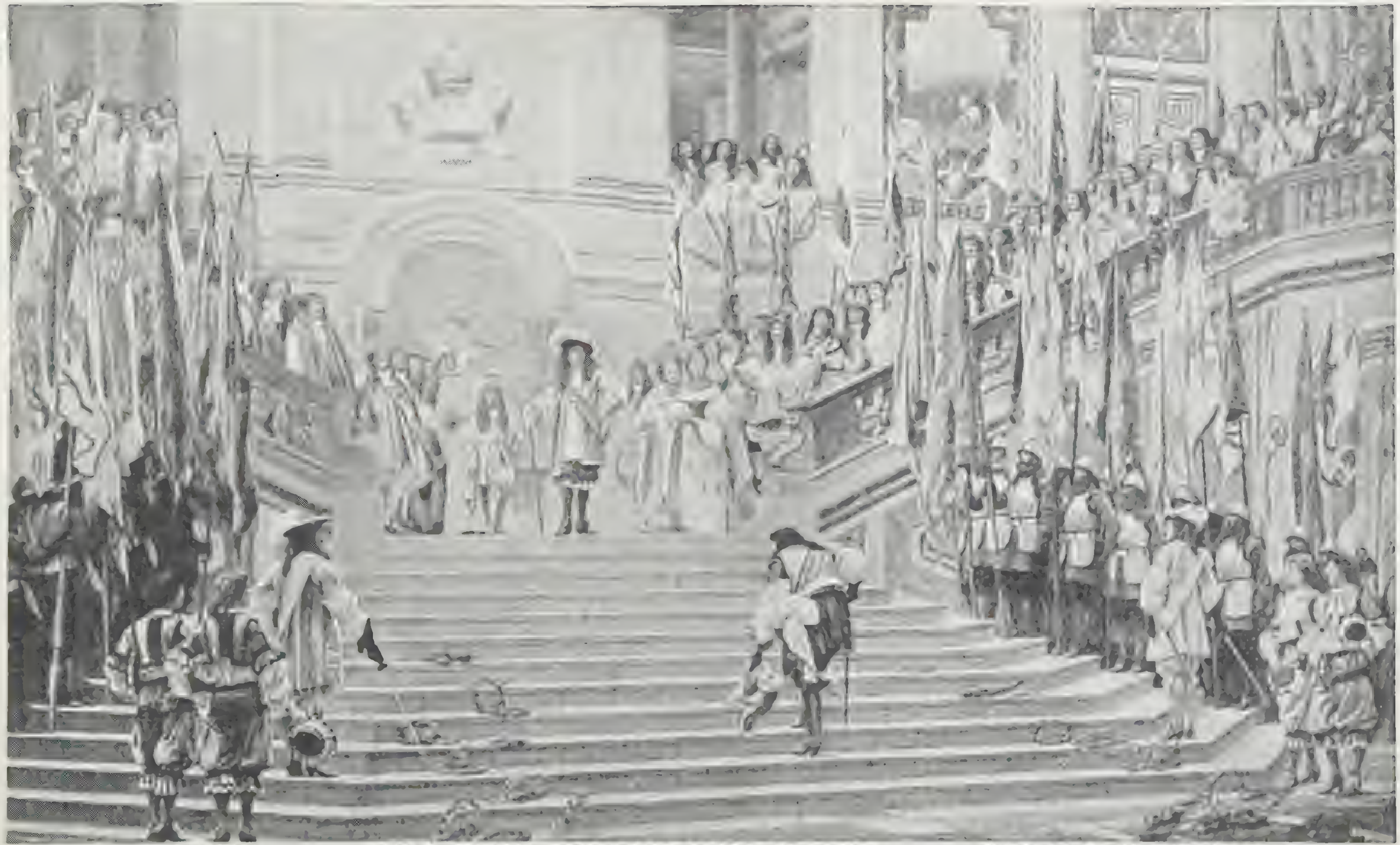
The Turks left their real line of attack to relieve Kanizsa, and Montecuccoli found time to effect a junction of his own army with the Rhine confederates and the French troops on the Raab, and gave battle on August 1st, 1664, at Sankt Gotthard, which ended in the defeat of the Turks with the loss of 14,000 of their best troops.

The Grand Vizir was obliged to give up the attack, as the condition of his troops was not such as to inspire confidence. At Altenburg, Montecuccoli brought 40,000 men and sixty guns against him, and might have been able to take the offensive had the imperial troops and the French been willing to place themselves unconditionally under his command. In order to bring the Turkish war to a victorious conclusion, French and Spanish affairs should have been left temporarily to themselves, and Brandenburg, the best armed of the German states, should have been brought over by co-operation in Silesia. Eastern Hungary and Transylvania would have had to be propitiated with the full recognition of religious freedom.

But such energetic measures proved too extreme for the authorities, and it seemed preferable to conclude the Peace of Vasvar, Eisenberg, with Turkey, on August 10th, 1664, a dishonourable peace which was really no more than an armistice of long duration. It brought contentment neither to the empire nor to Hungary. A few years after the conclusion of peace the conspiracy of Zrinyi, Nadasdy, Frangipani, and Tattenbach broke out, the object of which was the disruption of Hungary from Hapsburg. The conspiracy was discovered and the leaders punished with death, but dissatisfaction in Hungary only increased in consequence.

Hungary's Desire for Separation

Turkey could count now, as previously, upon the adhesion of the magnates. It was for her to say when the war should be renewed.



THE RECEPTION OF THE GREAT FRENCH COMMANDER CONDE BY LOUIS XIV. AT VERSAILLES IN THE YEAR 1674

From the painting by Jean Louis Gerome in the Metropolitan Art Museum, New York

ENGLAND AND THE NETHERLANDS AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH LOUIS XIV.

DURING their eighty years' war of liberation against Spain the Protestant people of the Netherlands had not only struggled for religious freedom and political independence, but they had also become the greatest merchants and capitalists of the world. The struggle between the Romance and Teutonic races had lasted a thousand years, and after the seventeenth century it was not only a leading feature in European history, but was also an important factor in the political changes which took place in every habitable part of the globe; and during that struggle there is no more brilliant example of Teutonic superiority in the spirit of business enterprise, in boldness of commercial designs, and in determination to make the most of any advantage, however small, than is presented by the rise of Dutch commercial life.

Enterprising Dutch Merchants

After Spain and Portugal had begun the era of geographical discovery, it was the merchants of Holland who were the first to grasp the commercial advantages opened by the discovery of the ocean routes to both Indies, and to draw full profit from them; for the great influx of precious metal, which had given Spain so long a period of political power, was to be proved by no means a necessity, and very possibly a danger, to national prosperity.

It is possible that the Germans would have anticipated Holland by absorbing a large portion of the world's trade, or have become a commercial power contemporary with her; but German relations with Portugal, who had begun her East Indian commercial career upon capital borrowed from the Fugger, Welser, Vöhlin, Höchstetter, and others, had been interrupted by the opposition of Hapsburg interests and the first religious wars, which had exercised a destructive influence upon commercial activity in Southern Germany.

The political condition of the German Empire after Charles V. was totally incompatible with mercantile development, and the Netherlands had, therefore, no competition to fear in this direction. On the other hand, they were utterly beaten by the Hanseatics in the competition for the Baltic trade. The latter obtained their imports at so cheap a rate that they could afford to underbid any middleman; they supported Russia in her wars with Poland by shipments of guns and military stores, in return for which they exacted enormous quantities of raw material at ridiculously low prices. As they were always ready to pay cash down, they easily outstripped all competitors in the Baltic corn-markets; they monopolised the herring fisheries on the Scotch coasts by their greater cleverness in the curing of the fish, their methods being unknown to the English.

Markets Held by the Hanseatics

In 1642 a special board was appointed for the development of trade in the Levant. Venice and Genoa, who had been working for that trade for centuries, now had to put a good face on the matter and try to secure their retail trade in dried fish and colonial produce by means of special conventions. Venetian textile goods, which had been so famous, and for which Smyrna was a special market, were now entirely ousted by Dutch and French productions. French goods were carried in Dutch vessels to every European coast; in the year 1658 their value was estimated at £42,000,000. The discoveries on the coast of the Australian continent, in New Guinea, and New Zealand must not be forgotten, together with the settlements in North America, where corn-growing and horse-breeding made great progress in a short time. The brilliancy of the life of the aristocracy, the self-confidence of the citizens,

Commercial Triumphs of France

have been immortalised in the Dutch school of painters, who attained to a higher pitch of artistic power during those days of commercial and political ascendency than any of their contemporaries. The admirable likenesses of their councillors and merchants bring before our eyes those men who exercised for half a century a domination which extended over every part of the world.

JACOB FUGGER
He was a member of a Swabian family famous for its commercial enterprise and prosperity, and whose grants of money made the development of trade possible.

However, their power was but short-lived; at the moment when they seemed to have reached the highest point they were already tottering to their fall. The settlements, which their sea-power had enabled the Dutch to found after a hard struggle, lay open on the landward side to any attack, and extraordinary efforts were demanded to make their defence secure; but the nation of whom these efforts were demanded was incapable of any further development. They had brought their carrying-trade to the highest possible pitch, but they were not sufficiently populous to become a producing people, and to add to the body of calculating, speculating merchants a creative, manufacturing class, which might have given the state a reserve of power; for no such reserve was to be found among the clever but narrow-minded individuals who sat in the council chambers of the "Staden." The unbounded pride displayed by the capitalists towards the landed proprietors, who took no share in commerce, eventually deprived the city aristocracy of all co-operation on the part of the nobles in the further development of the state; the House of Orange, which had raised the standard of freedom and independence during the hardest periods of the fight, was thereby deprived of that position in which it had been able to render the greatest services to the common fatherland. The young stadtholder and captain-general, William II., was carried off by an untimely death on November 6th, 1650; and it was not till a week after his funeral that his heir was born to the English Princess Mary, on November 4th, 1650. This event gave the "aristocracy of wealth," as the regents of the state of Holland called themselves, the opportunity they had desired for establishing their sole supremacy, which rested upon two main principles: first, that the Orange party should be excluded from any share in the government; and, secondly, that the freedom of the small towns and the poorer classes of the population should be withdrawn.

THE PORTRAIT OF A DUTCH NOBLEMAN
From the painting by Franz Hals in the National Gallery, Edinburgh

There is no pride like the pride of the business man who has made his own way in the world, and there is no administration so selfish and oppressive as that which would provide for the good of individuals and the welfare of the state upon the principles demanded for the working of a counting-house. With the hypocrisy of priestcraft, the members of the new republic compared their state to the Jewish kingdom of antiquity. But when, in order to find some cogent reason for the abolition of the hereditary office of stadtholder, the republicans began to add up the account of what the House of Orange had cost the state, not forgetting the presents made to the children of their generals and statesmen, then it was that the peddling soul of the Dutchman showed all the characteristics of the degraded Jewish usurers who had increased abundantly in previous centuries, and proved that their political ideas were absolutely devoid of that element of greatness which was always a feature of the home and foreign policy of the chosen people during their period of prosperity.

THE SYNDICS: REMBRANDT'S PICTURE OF A GROUP OF DUTCH MERCHANTS

In the seventeenth century Holland rose to a position of great commercial supremacy, the domination of its enterprising merchants lasting for half a century and extending to every part of the world. The above picture, reproduced from Rembrandt's painting, shows us what type of men they were who made their country famous in the world of commerce

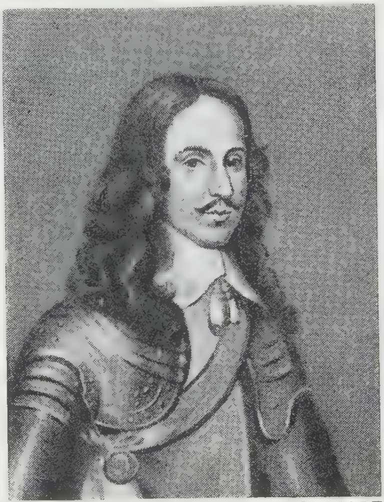
During the wars with England, which were the natural result of commercial rivalry, the Dutch fleet had in no way tarnished the reputation of the Low German seafarers; the final triumph of the heroic spirit of the great Orange period took place when De Ruyter, in 1667, made a descent upon the Thames, and burned or carried off the first vessels of the astounded British under the very guns of the Tower. The fortresses on the frontier were in a sad condition by contrast with this display of vigour. The internal dissensions and jealousies of the two parties ruined the spirit of the army, and destroyed the zeal of the officers, whom the government refused to pay because they were suspected of Orange inclinations.

However, the chief councillor of Holland, Jan de Witt, a dry, calculating machine, a man of some common-sense but with all the passionate narrow-mindedness of the republican citizen, was of the opinion that his lofty wisdom had saved the state from all danger when he had succeeded in forming the Triple Alliance with England and Sweden against Louis XIV. His mathematical knowledge had brought him the reputation of a savant, but had not enabled him to grasp the political combinations which the King of France set on foot when he found it necessary to break up this confederation of the maritime powers. De Witt thought that he had firmly bound the interests of England to those of his own country, and that he would be able to execute that great political design which was reserved for the powers of the Prince of Orange, whom he bitterly persecuted, and whom he was anxious to reduce to the position of a mere dependant upon the "aristocracy of wealth." But the design became possible only when the positions of the actors had been reversed, when the English people had come to a full development of their political power, and were able to take the lead in the movement to save the Teutonic world from subjection to the great King of France. At the moment when Louis XIV. was making trial of his diplomatic skill in his preparations to deal a crushing blow against the Netherlands, the condition of affairs in the British Isles was not such as to justify any expectation that the salvation of European freedom might be expected from that source.

England's Recovery From Republicanism

England had speedily recovered from her attack of republicanism, which was short though sharp, for the population which was represented in the two Houses of Parliament was composed of far happier elements than that of the Dutch states. But when she restored the monarchy which Cromwell had removed, she had been unfortunate in setting up an utterly worthless ruler, and was consequently not in a position to take that place in the political world which belonged to her by right. One of the hardest trials of a people to whom monarchy is a necessity, and who are inspired with the sense of its dignity, is to see a worthless ruler upon the throne, a man who is personally incapable of dealing with the responsibilities of his office.

The Stuart Charles II. had no conception of the relations that should subsist between the state and its ruler, between the monarchy and the representatives of the people; in his opinion, the government of England was a possession that was naturally his, which might afford him the opportunity of leading a life of debauchery. Of national pride or of ambition he had nothing. So it was not difficult for Louis XIV. to bend and turn him to his own purposes; Charles was more than willing to sell his country for the gold which his Parliaments would not provide with sufficient lavishness, and which alone might finally enable him to dispense with Parliament altogether. The royal civil list had been drawn up by the Convention Parliament, which had made its stipulations with the Stuart before the Restoration, and the king's allowance did not err on the side of generosity; however, though £1,200,000 would have been quite enough to keep up all the necessary splendour of the court, it would not suffice to satisfy the excessive demands of the king's mistresses, who surpassed each other in the extravagance of their requests. Business between Charles II. and Louis XIV. began with the sale of Dunkirk, for which France paid £400,000, partly in cash, partly in bills, from the discounting of which King Louis probably profited.



WILLIAM II., PRINCE OF ORANGE
Ruler of the United Provinces, William II., Prince of Orange, married Mary, the daughter of Charles I. of England, and their son, born after his father's death, in 1650, subsequently ascended the English throne as William III.
From the painting by Honthorst

The so-called Cavalier Parliament, which had been returned in 1661, was as loyal and devoted as any monarch could desire; but it held tenaciously to the important powers of voting supplies and controlling expenditure, and by voting separately the amounts required for special purposes it was able to preserve some proportion of authority in the several departments of public business. The vicious and unscrupulous character of the king enabled the Parliament to exercise its legislative powers without restraint, and to mould the growing kingdom as it pleased. As regards the centralisation of power, the strong hand of the Puritan dictator Cromwell had accomplished a great deal, and his place was now taken by the Parliament, which looked into religious as well as economic affairs, and also worked carefully to maintain the relations of Britain with foreign powers and to raise her prestige in Europe, for which task the house of Stuart had shown itself wholly incapable. The religious party of the Parliament

Parliament in Place of the Dictator

was intolerant to the point of cruelty. Crime and constant judicial murders were the result; dissent was persecuted with a severity almost unexampled even during the fiercest struggles of the Reformation. The supremacy of the Anglican Church was considered so inseparable from the unity of the state, and the uniform subjection of every citizen to the civil authority, that ecclesiastical supremacy was therefore especially protected by legislation, and any attempt of Papists or Presbyterians to overthrow it was immediately checked by the enforcement of the severest penalties.

By the Act of Uniformity in the year 1662 every form of worship was forbidden which differed from that of the established Episcopal Church; holders of livings were dispossessed if they refused compliance, and 1,800 dissenting clergy were driven into poverty. The king, who had leanings to Catholicism, did his best to check the Papist persecutions; but terrifying rumours of conspiracies, which readily found credence among the people, kindled the fire anew; death-warrants were issued against members of the nobility, against whom the most groundless suspicions were entertained. All this, however, was not the doing of Charles; these acts marked the rapid growth of the centralisation of the civil power in the hands, not of the crown but of an intolerant Parliament.

THE CONSORT OF WILLIAM II.
Mary survived her husband by ten years.

At the same time the spirit of commercial enterprise began to make itself apparent. The example of the Netherlands had exercised a reviving and stimulating influence upon English commercial activity, which had progressed but little since the voyages of Walter Raleigh in the time of Queen Elizabeth. With the exception of London there was but one seaport with any extensive trade—namely, Bristol, which was in constant communication with Virginia and the Antilles. Manchester imported every year for her textile industries only 2,000,000 pounds of raw wool, which was brought from Cyprus and Smyrna; among the largest imports were the wines of Spain and Portugal, for the wine trade became important by reason of the reaction to luxury which followed upon the stern morality of the Puritan government. In no case had manufacture risen to a higher level; British products could not compete with those of France or Belgium either in quantity or quality. Even the best hardware was then imported from abroad. The output of iron was restricted by the scarcity of coal, and amounted to little more than 10,000 tons. In the North American colonies were some 30,000 settlers, who were working with energy and forethought for the development of their community, without concern for the party conflicts of the mother country; but their economic development had not sufficiently advanced for the mother country to derive any advantage from them.

Bristol as a Great Seaport

England at the Restoration

At the period of the Restoration the landed nobility were still the ruling class in England; they were but seldom in communication with the capital, as the badness of the roads made travelling both expensive and dangerous. As regards education and culture, they were probably on the same level as the petty nobles of Auvergne or Limousin; even in the remoter districts of Germany men might be found of greater experience of the world and with better knowledge of the manners of the best European society than any of the nobility in Somersetshire or Yorkshire. Scarce more than half of the level land of the kingdom was under agriculture, but the products were valuable and were sufficient to maintain the middle-class farmers, whose requirements were generally of a moderate nature.

However, even the richest nobles had but a very modest capital at their disposal; among them incomes of £20,000 sterling were the exception rather than the rule. After the fall of the Puritan tyranny and the disbanding of the Parliamentary army, with which Cromwell had maintained his power, it became possible to make special efforts to increase the prosperity of the country. The lords and city aristocracy formed business companies, which were to develop commercial and carrying trade upon the principles which had been successful in Holland. Much of the carrying trade had already been captured by the Navigation Act of 1651. The East India Company was already in existence, and an African Company was now formed with the object of providing the Antilles with negro slaves. Gold dust was imported from Guinea, and with this the first guineas were coined.

The Dutch Jealous of England

But wherever the English ships appeared they found jealous enemies in the Dutch, who did their utmost to spoil the English trade. In 1664 surprises and attacks had occurred in the distant seas, though no open declaration of war between the two states had yet been made. The interruption of friendly relations and the formal declaration of war in the year 1665 were only the inevitable recognition of that hostility which had originated in state rivalry and had long ago broken out in the colonies. Upon several occasions during the war the English fleet was able to display its excellence in brilliant and successful actions; but it was unable to maintain a permanent predominance over the Dutch. The efficiency of the navy declined considerably during the war, although Parliament showed no parsimony in voting naval supplies, however little inclined it might be to improve the land forces or to take in hand the organisation of a standing army. But of the £1,250,000 which was voted for purposes of the war, £400,000 went into the king's private purse, and money was lacking to provide the shipwrights with proper timber and materials for building. The favourites of the king's mistresses became naval commanders, capacity or experience being disregarded.

JAN DE WITT
He was the chief councillor of Holland, and succeeded in forming the Triple Alliance with England and Sweden against Louis XIV. He tried to avert war with England.

After De Ruyter's last attack on Gravesend and Chatham, the hope of inflicting a humiliation on their bold rivals was abandoned. It was recognised with bitter disappointment that a man had been chosen for king who had no particular interest in the fate of the country. "On the night when our ships were burned by the Dutch," writes the good Royalist Admiralty official Pepys in his diary, "the king did sup with my Lady Castlemaine at the Duchesse of Monmouth's—the wife of his natural son, whom he had legitimised—and they were all mad in hunting of a poor moth."

By the Treaty of Breda in 1667 England made peace with the Dutch; she determined to limit rivalry with Holland to the sphere of commerce; she recognised the common danger threatened by France who had now freed herself from the anxiety of the war with Spain, and therefore she readily agreed to the conclusion of the Triple Alliance. Charles II. cared nothing whatever for the political and moral forces which were working within the people. The direction of party movements which might happen to be popular with the city magnates or the county members was nothing to him, except in so far as he might be able to use it to increase his income. He and his brother, James, Duke of York, contributed, it is true, to the capital which was raised for the reorganisation of the African Company, which had become bankrupt during the war; but this action was not the result of the desire to set a good example, and to promote the spirit of enterprise among the moneyed classes; it was impelled by covetousness and the instinct of speculation. The investment of £5,000 in the African Company was a very small deposit for a king, one of whose mistresses lost £25,000 in one night at cards. Such insignificant sums went for nothing in his financial plans, even though there were times when he had not money enough to buy himself new underclothing. The Stuart king's respect for the new-made Triple Alliance and for the Constitution of his country was not strong enough to prevent him from entering upon the course of political dealing proposed to him by Louis XIV., by which he was the more attracted as the propositions of Louis promised him a far greater and surer reward than did the trade in spices and negro children. His royal cousin of France also displayed considerable politeness and prudence in entrusting the

Financial Schemes of Charles II.

HOLLAND'S WAR WITH ENGLAND: THE DUTCH FLEET IN THE THAMES

Meeting near the mouth of the Thames on June 11th, 1666, the fleets of Holland and England—the former commanded by De Ruyter and the latter under the direction of Prince Rupert and General Monk—fought for four days. Victory rested with the Dutch, but it was dearly bought, as many brave officers and about 800 soldiers and sailors lost their lives. The English had 6 [illegible] men killed, and lost twenty-three vessels. In the following year the Dutch commander [illegible] English shipping in the Medway, and sailed up the Thames to Gravesend final conclusion of this piece of business to the hands of two ladies, Henrietta of Orleans, Charles's sister, and her companion, Louise de Quérouaille, who became Duchess of Portsmouth, and gained an influence upon the king nearly as strong as that which the Countess of Castlemaine had up to that time exercised.

HENRIETTA OF ORLEANS
She was the youngest child of Charles I., being born on June 16th, 1644. In 1661 she was married to Philip, Duke of Orleans, the only brother of Louis XIV. of France.

In the convention of Dover, on May 22nd, 1670, Charles II. promised to go over to the Roman Catholic Church, to dissolve the Triple Alliance, and to form a confederation with France against Holland; in return for this, Louis promised him an immediate present of £200,000, and further support by way of so-called yearly war subsidies to the amount of £300,000. Six thousand French troops were also to proceed to England should the king find it necessary to defend his royal prerogatives against the Parliament. Moreover, Louis did not confine his operations merely to securing the king's adhesion; he gave large sums of money to be spent in bribery, the division of which among Ministers and members of Parliament was entrusted to Colbert's brother.

THE DUCHESS OF PORTSMOUTH
The companion of Henrietta of Orleans, Louise de Quérouaille, afterwards the Duchess of Portsmouth, became a favourite of Charles II., and wielded great influence over him.

In England the king had dismissed the grave and unpopular chancellor Clarendon, and so stifled criticism upon the increasing immorality of court life; public opinion was entirely at fault concerning the intentions of the government, which was now carried on by the so-called Cabal Ministry—Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. The Cabal obtained £2,500,000 from Parliament for purposes of coast defence in the event of a war between Holland and France, and then prorogued the assembly. As there was thus no Parliament in session, they seized the opportunity of defrauding the creditors of the Treasury, in particular the London goldsmiths, who then undertook banking business; to these they refused repayment of the capital which they had borrowed. Charles also issued a declaration of indulgence removing the penalties to which Papists and Presbyterians were liable. By these acts the powers of the Prerogative were exceeded, and suspicions of Papistry began to be aroused. The seed of further discord had thus been sown and was rapidly germinating when Louis XIV. raised his hand to deliver the blow which he had long prepared against the Netherland states, in order that he might destroy the opposition of the most dangerous enemy to his plans of expansion.

Sweden had also been bought by France; she had undertaken to enter into the war with 16,000 men on the side of France if the emperor or the empire should espouse the cause of Holland; the price for this promise was 400,000 thalers in the event of peace, 600,000 in case of war. The Emperor Leopold I. had already come to an agreement with Louis XIV. in the year 1668 concerning the future division of the Spanish monarchy, by means of his Ministers Auersperg and Lobkowitz. Auersperg was possessed with the idea that if he were made cardinal he would be a statesman not inferior to Richelieu and Mazarin, and he required the support of the King of France to obtain his preferment at Rome; Lobkowitz hated the Spaniards, who lorded it over him at the court of Vienna, although they no longer had at their disposal the money with which some thirty or forty years previously they had brought over privy councillors, princes of the Church, and generals, to their interests.

The German House of Hapsburg had acquiesced in the gains which France had made during the "war of escheatage." It had, moreover, concluded a secret convention with France, which is first mentioned by Grimoard in the "Œuvres de Louis XIV.," published in 1806; this convention was to the effect that, when the Spanish line became extinct, France should have the Franche-Comté, Navarre, Naples and Sicily, the Philippines, and the fortresses on the African coast, while the emperor was to receive Spain, the West Indies, Milan, Sardinia, the Balearic and Canary Islands. Louis XIV. never had any intention of holding to the conditions of this convention; but he had obtained a general recognition of the possibility of dividing the Spanish possessions, the throne of which was likely to become vacant, and he had obviated for a long time to come, any opposition on the part of the Vienna court to his undertakings against Holland. On November 1st, 1671, a compact was signed for the emperor by Lobkowitz, in which the emperor promised to take no part in any war of France which should be waged outside the Spanish and German dominions, and to afford no other assistance to the powers attacked by France than the continuance of friendly relations with them.

Consequently, the efforts of the Austrian ambassador to the Dutch states to persuade the emperor to intervene on behalf of Holland remained without result for the moment. The occupation of Lorraine by French troops, and the expulsion of the duke from his territory, occasioned no change in the emperor's attitude, though it increased the opposition of the Spanish party at the Vienna court.

Of the German states whose attitude towards the French army in its operations against Holland might have been of importance, Cologne, Bavaria, the Palatinate, and the warlike Bishop of Münster had been won over to the side of France: of the Guelfs, John Frederic of Hanover was induced to enter into a compact of neutrality at the price of a monthly subsidy of 10,000 thalers. Celle and Osnabrück stood aside and waited: Mainz declared that all resistance to the French military power was quite hopeless.

THE FRENCH CAVALRY FORCING THE PASSAGE OF THE RHINE ON JUNE 12TH, 1672

The Elector of Brandenburg, Frederic William, who had always been regarded with mistrust by the Dutch regents as being the uncle and guardian of the young Prince of Orange, perceived the serious complications which the victory of France over Holland would produce in the kingdom; he declared that "in the eyes of the present and future generations it would appear an eternal disgrace to surrender the freedom not only of Germany, but of the whole of Christendom." He would neither comply with the requests made to him by the French ambassadors, nor would he shrink before any threats. He was very anxious to form a confederation with the Dutch government; but, dazzled by the power and financial resources of Louis, they hesitated for a long time to accept the conditions which Frederic William was obliged to impose in view of the resources of his territory. But early in 1672 the Netherland ambassadors requested to know the meaning of the French preparations, and received the short answer from the king that he would complete his preparations and use them as he thought proper. Then at length they made an agreement for the putting of 24,000 men into the field; but for their maintenance they paid only 8,000 thalers a month, and not the 100,000 demanded by the elector.

Louis XIV. at War with Holland

Two months later, Louis took the field with 140,000 men. After a short halt before Maestricht, two armies under Turenne and Condé diverged towards the Rhine, marched through the territory of Cologne, and took possession of the fortresses on the Holland frontier, which were in the worst possible condition and garrisoned with helpless, cowardly troops. At the customhouse on the Schenkenschanze, the passage of the Rhine was forced by the French cavalry, who were anxious to give proof of their old prowess under the eyes of the king. Meanwhile, the Bishops of Cologne and Münster made the most cowardly excuses for withdrawing their troops into Friesland and Oberyssel, and permitted the occupation of a number of towns, among them Deventer, Zwolle, Harderwijk; the province of Oberyssel readily submitted to the protectorate of the Bishop of Münster. The English fleet under the Duke of York, with very insufficient support from the French, had meanwhile, on June 7th, 1672, fought an action with De Ruyter in Southwold Bay, the result of which was indecisive; the proposed landing of the English in Zealand was fortunately frustrated by an unusually low tide and a violent storm. None the less, affairs in the seven provinces were in an unsettled condition. The rich merchants with their families and treasures, jewels and works of art, fled to Hamburg, Denmark, or even into hostile England; after the flight of the garrisons the citizens seized the power in the towns, in order to save their property by capitulating with the enemy, even at the loss of their freedom.

WILLIAM III., PRINCE OF ORANGE
The son of William II., Prince of Orange, and ruler of the United Provinces, he married, in 1677, Mary, daughter of James, Duke of York, afterwards King James II. He was subsequently called to the throne of England.

The government of the aristocratic republicans had ended in anarchy; destruction menaced the existence of the state, the constitution of which was not national, and was, moreover, entirely subversive of freedom, being intended solely to secure the domination of the insolent Mynheer. But the deep feeling of the unspoiled classes, who still clung to the old faith and the old traditions, found expression in the cry for the strong guidance of a royal personality, and for the reinstatement of the last survivor of the House of Orange in the hereditary office of stadtholder and captain-general. To the great historical events which contributed to strengthen the belief in the importance of the individual, an addition has now to be made; the assurance and the hope which impelled that cry for guidance were addressed to a personality worthy of the confidence reposed in him. In the towns and marshes of the Low German mariners there was but one man who possessed the special qualities of which the fatherland had need—firm conviction, unshaken courage, strong faith, devotion to the idea of German independence; and this man was no other than the young Prince William of Orange, now twenty-two years of age, whose princely heart and nature had not been spoiled, despite the endeavours to that end of his republican guardians.

As is invariably the case when the passions of the masses have been aroused by some unexpected calamity, the manifestations of love for their national leader were accompanied by outbursts of hatred against the enemy and the oppressor. A few weeks after the States-General had removed the Permanent Edict by which the brothers De Witt in the year 1668 hoped to have made the restoration of the House of Orange for ever impossible, this feeling broke out in wild rage against the brothers, who were tortured and murdered by a furious mob on August 20th, 1672. Historians with leanings to republicanism reproach the Prince of Orange for not having used his popularity to save them; but they forget that at that moment the stadtholder had to unite all the forces which were then freely offered for resistance against the enemy, that at no price could he have afforded to permit the growth of discord among those men who were ready to sacrifice person and purse to save their country.

Thus in Holland the impression made by the resolution of the prince restored the confidence of the nation in its own power; inundations caused by breaking down the dykes put a stop to the advance of the French army, which had already gained possession of Utrecht. Meanwhile the opinion began to gain ground among the European powers that it was not wholly wise on their part to remain passive spectators of the conquest of the republican states and the victory of France. In Spain the war party gained the upper hand, and used all possible leverage to induce the emperor to break with France. In the German Empire the Elector of Brandenburg consulted the general feeling in the Protestant countries, and also his own inclinations and political principles, when he determined to take up arms in favour of his nephew. However, he considered that it would be useless for him to take the field alone with his own troops, as the French armies would be able to prevent his junction or even his co-operation with the forces which the Prince of Orange had collected; from the other princes of North Germany he could expect no assistance worth mentioning. Thus the only remaining resource was to remind the head of the empire of his duties, and to induce him to lead a general military operation of the German people. The elector desired an alliance between Brandenburg-Prussia and Austria, on condition that the former should be recognised as the ruling power in evangelical North Germany, and the latter in South and West Germany, which were Catholic; but the plan proved to be wholly premature, and it was impossible of discussion with men like Lobkowitz and Hocher, the vice-chancellor of the empire, who considered it impossible to renounce all hope of resuming the struggle against Protestantism.

MARY, PRINCESS OF ORANGE
This portrait, from the painting by Wissing, represents Mary when she was the Princess of Orange. She ascended the English throne with her husband, William III., after her father, James II., had lost his crown.

None the less, Frederic William thought that he ought to lay great stress upon the importance of the emperor's co-operation in the campaign against France; through John George of Anhalt in Vienna he vigorously pushed the proposal for an offensive alliance. On June 12th, 1672, it was agreed that each party should march with 12,000 men to protect the boundary of the kingdom and repel the French from German soil; also that the provinces of the empire and the Kings of Spain and Denmark should be invited to join the alliance. But both parties approached the subject with intentions and from points of view exactly opposed. The French party at the Vienna court was convinced that they would gain far greater gratitude from the King of France if Austria joined the alliance, and thereby obtained the right and the opportunity to place obstacles in the path of the Elector of Brandenburg, than they would if she were to decline alliance with the elector and thereby force him to act upon his own initiative. Frederic William, however, considered that he would be able to induce the Austrian forces to make some sort of strategical movement, and would thereby draw off the attention of the larger part of the French army. The imperial marshal Raymond, Count of Montecuccoli, was at first by no means disinclined to fall in with the elector's plans and to operate on his side against the French upon the Rhine; however, even during the march to the proposed scene of action he was obliged to observe

French Troops on the Rhine

the instructions which he had received from Vienna—namely, to avoid any possible collision with the enemy whom it was intended to befriend. The duty imposed on him was to await the attack of Turenne, to whom the defence of the Lower Rhine had been entrusted, and on no account to begin hostilities on his side.

Turenne's Success in Westphalia

Although Frederic William could not induce Montecuccoli to advance with him even as far as Coblenz, a movement which he had especially recommended to the Prince of Orange, he insisted upon the union of the two armies. But it became impossible to join hands with the Dutch and Spanish troops which were stationed at Maestricht, as Montecuccoli declined to cross the Rhine with the elector. When, toward the end of the year 1672, the allies marched to Westphalia, Turenne followed them and cut off their union with the Netherlands troops, which had gained a position in East Friesland.

The elector was no longer in receipt of subsidies from the States-General, as he had not fulfilled his obligations at the seat of war; he did not venture to make any attack on Turenne's strong position at Soest, and, lest he should find himself the object of an overwhelming assault, determined to conclude an armistice with France. In view of the emperor's wavering policy and the weakness of the contingents furnished by him—Montecuccoli's successor, Bournonville, had scarcely 10,000 men all told—this step was for the moment the best that could have been taken, for in no other way was it possible to avoid defeat.

By the Peace of Saint-Germain, on April 10th, 1673, Frederic William engaged to enter into hostilities neither against France nor against her allies—England, Cologne, and Münster. In the Convention of Vossem, on June 16th, the King of France promised him £800,000 by way of compensation for the loss of the payments from Holland; there was, however, no stipulation against his fulfilling his duties to the empire in the event of an imperial war. When the Dutch ambassadors made reproaches to Frederic William for his secession, he plainly informed them that his retirement was entirely due to the premature cessation of the war subsidies which they had been paying; that, should they fail to bring about a general peace, he would be ready to renew his action on behalf of the states. The fact that it was his action and his influence upon the emperor which had alone prevented the destruction of the Dutch republic is in no way affected by the Peace of Saint-Germain.

Secession of Frederic William

The retirement of Brandenburg from the scene of operations, though but temporary, was unavoidable in view of events in Poland; it implied only a momentary interruption in the foreign policy of the elector and inflicted no permanent damage upon the cause of the Netherlands. On the contrary, it obliged the emperor to give up his temporising policy, and to show greater decision in defending the independence of his empire and in preserving the security of his frontiers, if he did not wish to run the risk of entirely losing in the eyes of the empire a prestige which was in any case greatly impaired.

A convention was arranged on August 30th, 1673, between the United Netherlands, the emperor, and Spain, whereby a monthly subsidy of 95,000 thalers for the army was assured to the emperor. Montecuccoli again took the command, and Turenne, who had penetrated to Rotenburg on the Tauber, was forced back to the Rhine by a series of strategical movements. William of Orange besieged and took Bonn, after obliging the marshal Luxemburg to abandon the right bank of the Rhine. When the winter brought operations to a close, France had lost her advantage and was acting upon the defensive. She was, moreover, unable to prevent the secession of her allies; England, who had not added to her reputation in the maritime war with the Dutch, was obliged to conclude the Peace of Westminster on February 19th, 1674, as she would otherwise have lost her Spanish trade; her example was followed by Münster and the electorates of Cologne and Mainz.

How England Saved Her Spanish Trade

The campaigns of the year 1674 were fraught with great dangers to Louis XIV., who was now confronted by a strong confederation of European powers, and heavy subsidies had to be paid to keep England from joining their number. Condé defended the northern frontier of the kingdom from a foreign invasion in the bloody battle of Seneffe in the Hennegau, on August 11th, 1674, which was fought against the Dutch, Spanish, and imperial troops. Turenne's military powers had never been displayed to greater advantage, but all that he could do was to preserve Alsace, upon which the main attack of the imperial army had been directed. The Elector of Brandenburg had also appeared in that direction with 16,000 men under the general field-marshal George of Derfflinger, for Louis XIV. had delayed the payment of his subsidy, and the elector had gladly seized the opportunity of treating the convention of Vossem as dissolved.

The German troops, among which those of Lüneburg and Brunswick were distinguished by the excellence of their equipment and by their bravery, were unable to inflict any decisive defeat upon the enemy; the miserable cowardice of their leader, Alexander, Duke of Bournonville, who was thought to be treacherous as well as incapable, entirely neutralised the excellence of the forces at his disposal.

In November, 1674, Turenne was forced by the superior strength of his opponents to retreat from Alsace to Lorraine. There he obtained reinforcements to the extent of 13,000 men, which brought his army to the number of 30,000, and by dividing it into several columns he succeeded in reaching Belfort unobserved; from that point he suddenly swooped down upon Mülhausen towards the end of the year 1674, and, surprising the allies, who had gone into winter quarters, he scattered and drove them back. After the indecisive battle of Türkheim, on January 5th, 1675, the allies were forced to give up Alsace and to retreat once more to the right bank of the Rhine.

Disputes had broken out between the imperial generals and those of Brandenburg, as a consequence of the constant failures in the handling of the army. The elector's son Emil had succumbed to typhus fever in Strassburg during the campaign. The elector himself withdrew his troops no farther than Franconia, in order that he might be able to take his share in the general plan of campaign upon the resumption of hostilities. During the winter he was hard at work at Cleves with the Prince of Orange, arranging plans, and inducing the emperor to place a proper proportion of fresh troops in the field.

But, though the Minister Lobkowitz had fallen, there was no inclination in Vienna to great sacrifices or vigorous measures; the government hesitated even to make fitting preparations to protect Brandenburg and Pomerania against the attack of

THE GREAT NAVAL BATTLE BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND DUTCH AT AGOSTA IN 1676
In this naval battle between the French and the Dutch, fought on April 2nd, 1676, the latter gained a notable victory, but lost their commander, De Ruyter, the hero of many fights and a tower of strength to his country in its wars.

the Swedes, who had again become allies of France. On May 30th, 1675, these restless neighbours actually began the campaign against Brandenburg by invading the Mark, and the only course of action open to the elector was to withdraw his contingent and its reinforcements from its position in Franconia, to return to his own country by way of Magdeburg, and to concentrate his efforts upon the task of defending his frontier. After the departure of the Brandenburg forces, the imperial army on the Rhine would have been reduced to the worst extremities had not Turenne, whose strategical talent, experience and daring made him a host in himself, been killed in the fight of Sasbach in Baden on July 27th, 1675.

Turenne Killed in Battle

From that time onward the progress of the war in the Palatinate and in the Breisgau was marked by no special occurrence, though the important fortress of Breisach was captured. In the Spanish Netherlands, the French under Luxemburg made great progress, defeating the Prince of Orange at Saint Omer, and capturing Ghent and Ypern. The king ordered Vauban to extend and complete the fortifications of Condé, Valenciennes, and Cambray, and in his hands these places became first-class strongholds; it was plain that he had no intention of surrendering them.

But the greatest surprise was excited by the appearance of France as a great naval power; her gifted admiral, Abraham, Marquis du Quesne, beat the united fleet of the Dutch and Spaniards at the Lipari Islands and at Catania; in a previous conflict, the battle at Agosta, on April 29th, 1676, in which they were victorious, the Dutch had lost their famous naval hero De Ruyter. The preponderance thus gained by France in the Mediterranean, and her acquisitions in the Spanish Netherlands, created a most painful impression in England. After a lapse of fifteen months, Parliament was again summoned in the year 1677, and obliged the king, whom Louis XIV. was still subsidising, to form a new alliance with Holland, and to agree to the marriage of the daughter of the Duke of York, who had been brought up in the Protestant faith, with William of Orange. The personal attitude of Charles towards Holland had changed when the power passed into the hands of his nephew William, the son of his sister Mary. The reserve funds of the French state had now been expended, its credit was strained to the utmost, and Colbert was most earnestly urging upon the king the necessity of putting an end to the war; Louis, therefore, after protracted negotiations at Nimeguen, came to an understanding with the republican party and the leaders of the English Parliament as to the principles which should form the basis of a pacific settlement.

The Marriage of William of Orange

Louis' aims were, on the one hand, to relax the close union existing between the Prince of Orange and the "States," and, on the other, to put an end to the highly inconvenient demands of the Stuart for further subsidies. In these objects he was successful, for he induced the Dutch to abandon Spain, and to allow France to indemnify herself at the expense of Spain in the Spanish Netherlands and in the Franche-Comté. On August 10th, 1678, the treaty between France and the Republic was concluded; on September 17th, Spain was forced to agree to the disadvantageous conditions imposed upon her; in February of the following year the German emperor also accepted the peace. The Elector of Brandenburg, with the support of Denmark, had won victory after victory in his war with Sweden; he had now to bear alone the full brunt of the attack of the whole French army, which advanced to Minden in June and proceeded to march upon Berlin. Brandenburg was obliged to give up her conquests in Pomerania, and to agree to the distribution of territory settled by the Peace of Westphalia. Louis XIV. had gained his desire; but it was easy to perceive that of all his adversaries he had the greatest respect for Frederic William, and before the year 1679 had expired he had won him over to alliance.

France's Brilliant Outlook

As the ruler of Brandenburg had been abandoned by the emperor and the empire and above all by his Guelf neighbours, so was the Prince of Orange abandoned by the Hollanders and by the regents of the states, which he had preserved from disruption and loss. In the days of Nimeguen, Europe bowed to the will of the monarch who purposed to restore to the French the position that the Franks had held under Charlemagne. It seemed that with the exception of the Padishah of Stamboul there was to be but one great power in Europe—the French kingdom.

FRANCE'S WARS OF AGGRESSION

AND THE STAR OF GERMANY IN ECLIPSE

DURING the two final decades of the seventeenth century the seeds lying dormant in the historical life of the European peoples gradually came to maturity; the ground had already been cleared for the most important changes in the territorial areas and in the mutual relations of the powers. In this light we must regard the conquests of France and her repeated attacks upon the German Empire, the eastern developments of the German-Hapsburg policy which were brought about by the favourable result of the Turkish war and the recovery of Hungary and its neighbouring territory; the War of the Spanish Succession; the renewal of complications in the East through the rivalry of Sweden and Poland; and finally the rise of Brandenburg-Prussian influence and the recognition of her sovereign position, which was marked by the rise of Prussia to the status of a kingdom. The transference of the policy of the House of Orange to England and the permanent connection of that country with Holland must be regarded as an additional factor in the problems under consideration. A new member entered the European political world in the Russian state, whose mission was to educate healthy and vigorous Slav races to take their share in the struggle for the blessings of civilisation in the stead of the Polish Lithuanian kingdom, which was hastening to its inevitable fall.

The Doom of the Lithuanian Kingdom

Immediately upon the conclusion of the Peace of Nimeguen Louis XIV. began to take new steps for the acquisition of that territory which, as he was firmly convinced and as French patriots believed, was indispensable for the completion of his kingdom; he proposed a set of entirely new principles as the basis of his national and historical right to what he claimed. In the name of the bishops of Metz, Toul, and Verdun he advanced his demand that the feudal rights of these bishops to lands and possessions within the German Empire must be revived, though they had lain obsolete for centuries, and that the supremacy of France should extend over the districts in question. Upon the conclusions of the Peace of Westphalia concerning the withdrawal of the Austrian wardens from the Alsatian towns he placed such an interpretation that it was possible for France to claim the whole country, including Strassburg. The representations of the emperor and the Reichstag did not prevent him from annexing, piece by piece, the country which he claimed; at the close of September, 1681, he surprised the old imperial town of Strassburg, and obliged the citizens to do him homage, after he had been informed that the emperor was proposing to garrison the town.

Strassburg's Forced Homage to Louis XIV.

It is superfluous to spend time in pointing out the absence of justifiable reason for these "reunions." Justice is dumb when questions of national interest are at stake; the most brazen injustice, the most outrageous demands, are acclaimed as righteous by patriots so long as they can thence draw food for their vainglory. This is a fact of which the historian as well as the politician must take account, for he will generally find himself in the wrong if he attempts to account for state policy on principles other than "might is right." Louis XIV. continued to proclaim that his state must be increased just so long as he found himself able to brush aside all resistance to his will; his example was followed by every succeeding government in France, whether monarchical or republican, until the neighbours whom she had trampled on trampled on her in their turn.

How France Treated her Neighbours

Not for a single moment was the imperial court inclined to compliance, nor did anyone imagine that the arts of diplomacy would ever induce Louis XIV.

to retire from his advantageous position. The only possible course of action was to gain time to prepare for the struggle and to find allies against France. Of alliances, however, the prospect was exceedingly small. It now became clear how fatal had been the mistake committed in neglecting Brandenburg, for without her troops the collective forces of the empire were no match for the French king's army. It cannot be denied that the change in the Great Elector's policy after the Peace of Nimeguen was largely the cause of the "reunion" movement, but it is equally certain that King Louis would have had far less hesitation in aggrandising himself at the expense of the empire if Brandenburg had exhausted her strength in a hopeless war against Sweden and France, and had sacrificed to no purpose the army which she had just created. The mere fact of her existence as an ally on one side or the other was a ground of security for the empire in the last extremity. Moreover, Frederic William would have been quite ready on proper terms to throw in his lot again with the emperor. But he was anxious, first of all, to see for himself that the emperor was capable of taking up the war with France; then he demanded certain compensation in return, the cession of districts in Silesia, where the rights of inheritance possessed by the Hohenzollerns were not wholly secure. The Vienna court did not think it necessary to meet these advances half way; it looked to other sources of help.

The Empire no Match for France

JOHN GEORGE III.
The Elector of Saxony from 1680 till 1691, John George III. played a leading part in the struggles of the period, and his secession from the French party was a sore blow to it.

The members of that mighty confederation which resisted the foundation of a universal supremacy of France in later years existed side by side, even at that period; but they were not then sufficiently developed and had not the resources necessary to enable them to withstand the energy and the will of the French king. Around William of Orange was grouped a number of Dutch and German statesmen, who were constrained by necessity to thwart the ever-widening plans of Louis XIV.; among them was also to be found George William of Waldeck, sometime minister and general of Brandenburg, who had been in the service of Holland since 1672. He was confident that he could undertake the military organisation of the empire after he had secured the adherence in 1679 of some of his compeers from the Central Rhine, from the Wetterau, Westerwald, and Eifel, to a scheme for their mutual defence. This "union" was joined by Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Darmstadt, Fulda, Bamberg-Würzburg, and the Frankish district, and shortly afterwards by Saxony-Gotha.

Waldeck was able to create such a strong impression in Vienna of the importance of his scheme of mutual defence that the emperor, on June 10th, 1682, concluded the "Laxenburg Alliance" with the "union," and it was hoped that others of the imperial provinces might be induced to join. They were to take up the defence of the empire, of which scheme the main features had been sketched out by the Reichstag at Regensburg, which had now become a permanent assembly. However, their intentions did not issue in practical results. Of more importance was the union of Bavaria and Hapsburg, which was closely cemented by the marriage in July, 1685, of the young elector, Max Emanuel—Ferdinand Maria had died on May 26th, 1679—with the Archduchess Maria Antonia, the daughter of the emperor; important, too, was the secession of the Elector of Saxony, John George III. (1680-1691), from the French party, and the readiness of the Duke of Hanover, Ernest Augustus I., to send an army of 10,000 men to the Rhine to support the imperial troops. Leopold and his council, which was then led by the Freiherr von Strattmann, were consequently obliged to admit that the interests of the House of Hapsburg with respect to Spain demanded an unconditional resistance to the encroachments of France; to this they remained firm, even though the danger of a new Turkish war grew more imminent.

New Turkish War Threatened

The Hungarian policy of the Vienna court was invariably unfortunate. The leaders did not appreciate the necessity of smoothing over religious differences by gentle treatment of the non-Catholics;

MOLIERE DINING WITH LOUIS XIV., WHO IS INTRODUCING THE FAMOUS DRAMATIST TO HIS COURTIERS

[illegible] painting by H. J. Vetter in the Luxembourg their treatment of personal and family affairs was also ill-considered. The claims of the Rakoczy family, to which the Transylvanian magnate Emerich Tököly belonged, had been set aside by timely offers of compensation, bestowal of titles, and opportune marriages; but time had never been found for proper attention to these affairs, and the attitude of rejection that was too often adopted helped to bring powerful adherents to the opposition. Stern and harsh in time of peace, weak and careless in time of war, the Austrian House did not gain either the respect or the confidence of the Magyars.

The Turks On the War Path

After their fruitless war with Poland and Russia the Turks thought that they had found a haven of rest upon the Danube, and the state of affairs in Transylvania and Upper Hungary seemed eminently suited to further their aims. The Grand Vizir Kara Mustapha required to secure his position by some military success, and, having persuaded the sultan to permit the further chastisement of the infidel, he marched in person upon Vienna at the head of an army of 200,000 men. The Vienna statesmen had actually brought matters to such a pass that Austria found herself obliged at one and the same time to carry on the war against France upon the Rhine, and to resist the attack of an enormously superior power upon the hereditary territories of the ruling house.

The unprincipled Elector of Brandenburg took the opportunity to advocate the conclusion of an armistice with France, which would imply the temporary abandonment of the "reunion" problem; if some such arrangement could be made with Louis XIV., his ally, he was ready to send 16,000 men and more to Hungary. But in the course of these negotiations he again advanced his claims to Jägerndorf, and the emperor declined to accept help from Brandenburg, which appeared the less indispensable as the King of Poland had promised to lead his army against the common enemy without any stipulation of reward. The Pope Innocent XI. persuaded Louis XIV. to cease for a time the hostilities which he had already begun against the House of Austria, and the king complied with his request in the expectation that in case of necessity his help would be

THE PALACE OF VERSAILLES AS IT WAS IN THE TIME OF LOUIS XIV.
From the painting by J. B. Martin in the Museum of Versailles

Madame de Maintenon Madame de la Vallière Madame de Montespan

THE WOMEN WHO INFLUENCED LOUIS XIV.

The morals of Louis XIV. were notorious. In 1685 he was privately married to Madame de Maintenon, a woman who was under the influence of the Jesuits, but was no mere courtesan; the Duchess de la Vallière bore the king four children, and retired into a convent when she was supplanted in the royal affections by Madame de Montespan.

demanded, and that when he had saved the country from the Turks he might, with the assent of Brandenburg, make any terms he pleased for himself.

COUNT RÜDIGER

Count Rüdiger of Starhemberg made a magnificent defence of Vienna while it was undergoing the siege of the Turks, which was raised on September 12th, 1683.

The magnificent defence of the imperial capital offered by Count Rüdiger of Starhemberg, the endurance of his troops and of the more sensible part of the population of Vienna, and finally the glorious battle which raised the siege on September 12th, 1683, in which Kara Mustapha was utterly beaten by the Polish army under John Sobieski, entirely upset Louis' calculations and raised the emperor's prestige to an unexpected height. The supreme command had been given by agreement to the Polish king, but the real conduct of the battle was claimed by Duke Charles of Lorraine; and on this memorable day two German electors, John George III. of Saxony and Maximilian Emanuel of Bavaria, had voluntarily placed themselves under the orders of the duke, as also had the imperial field-marshal, the Count of Waldeck. This was Poland's last intervention in European politics. The emperor had not succeeded in raising an imperial army; the empire had not yet found time to take the measures necessary for the fulfilment of military exigencies. The help which had averted the fall of Vienna had been given to the emperor by the allied "armed provinces," in which the Frankish district was included as well as the electors. Hitherto standing armies had been set on foot only in such North German territories as were forced to protect themselves; besides the Elector of Brandenburg, who was more powerful than any other German prince, the dukes of Brunswick and the Bishop of Münster had troops on a war footing at their disposal, capable of being used for independent operations. The system of individual armament now began to prevail throughout the empire, so that military affairs entered upon a new phase of development.

It was a considerable advantage to the greater territorial princes always to have their own troops ready, and to send them beyond their provinces only upon special occasions of concerted action. But the maintenance of these standing armies was an extraordinary expense, and one which could not be met from their ordinary sources of income; princes were therefore ready to employ their troops outside the somewhat narrow sphere of their own interests, and lent them to other powers, which were armed insufficiently or not at all, in return for corresponding pecuniary returns, which went into their war chests. This was a business which had been carried on by the captains of regiments during the period of vassalage, and during the Thirty Years War, by such great "contractors" as Mansfeld, Christian of Brunswick, Wallenstein, Bernhard of Weimar, and others. It now passed into the hands of the princely war lords, who gained far greater profit from it and were less easily exposed to the danger of a conflict of political interests. The complaints concerning the so-called "sale of the country's children" first arose at a later period, and resulted from the failure to appreciate the close connection between the fundamental idea of "armament" and the arrangements for defence existing in earlier times. In most cases the soldiers who were thus lent out were themselves entirely convinced that in no other manner could the special military qualities which made their services of value be kept at a high level of perfection.

Soldiers Who were Lent Out

The smaller provinces of the empire, which did not possess sufficient territory or population to enable them to embark upon such undertakings, generally came to some arrangement with the "armed" powers, if they were ordered to prepare for war by the empire or their allies; districts in which there was no lord of dominant power formed compacts offensive and defensive and added to the number of the armed powers. But such a movement was for the most part of short duration.

As soon as the most pressing danger was over, these imperial districts withdrew their contingents, because their maintenance was not imperative upon them as upon their more powerful neighbours, and because the expenses of war had an effect upon their home life more immediate and heavier than in the case of a populous state, where there were many shoulders to bear the burden. From 1670 to 1680 and through the following decades German military strength was represented by the forces of the "armed" provinces. Alliance and convention were the only means of calling great national armies into existence. The policy of the emperor and the statecraft of every dynasty that strove to attain success abroad resolved itself into a series of attempts to effect alliances with the armed provinces of the empire; consequently the threads of the diplomatic history of the period became so tangled, owing to schemes and plots, that during no other epoch have we the same difficulty in unravelling their confused complexity. The defeat of the Turks at Vienna induced Louis XIV. to renew and to increase the pressure upon the two Hapsburg courts and upon the German Empire.

The Tangled Threads Of History

In addition to Strassburg he had quickly annexed two other important strategical points—Casale on the Po on September 30th, 1681, and Luxemburg on June 4th, 1684. He now demanded an armistice for thirty, or at least twenty-five, years, the status quo to be maintained. During that period the empire would be able to devote her whole energy to the struggle with her hereditary enemy. The Elector of Brandenburg exerted his influence in Vienna and in Regensburg to secure the acceptance of this proposal, as it offered him personally a possibility of escape from the embarrassing position into which his relations with France had brought him.

It was clear to him that he could not safely take up a position of hostility to the emperor at a moment when the majority of the Germans looked upon the continuance of the war with Turkey as a national duty. He had cynically admitted the difficulty of his position to the French ambassador, the Vicomte de Rébenac, and had appealed through him to the generosity of Louis XIV., asking him not to make capital out of the "desperate necessities of the empire." Rébenac was in full possession of the elector's confidence, and it was through his ready influence that the king was induced to confer a special mark of friendship upon the elector, which consisted in the raising of his subsidy to 100,000 livres per annum, a sum which was to be doubled in the event of war, and did not include personal presents. The elector was ever vigilant when his personal interests were concerned.

Louis' Friendship for the Elector

The views entertained at the court of Vienna underwent a change during the progress of the campaign. A few weeks after he had marched into his sore-tried capital the emperor's confidence in his Polish ally was seriously shaken. Sobieski, who despised the German time-servers, as he called them, considered that his Polish nobles had suffered disproportionate losses in the battle of Parkany on October 9th, 1683. At the storming of Gran on October 27th, he allowed them to take no active share in the operations, and afterwards marched them home. If the war in Hungary was to be continued it was necessary

VICTIMS OF RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION: HUGUENOTS MAKING THEIR ESCAPE FROM FRANCE IN 1685

The Protestant community in France underwent long and cruel persecution at the hands of the Catholics. In 1685 the Edict of Nantes was revoked by Louis XIV, and at once the Huguenots were subjected to worse persecution than ever. Many of them made their escape from the country to find in other lands the liberty which was denied to them in their own

From the painting by G. Sheridan Knowles, R.I., by the artist's permission to procure more and more reliable troops, and such Germany alone could provide. If war were to break out with France in the following spring, there would be very small numbers of German troops, perhaps none at all, at the emperor's disposal. Thus the Emperor Leopold was confronted with the dilemma whether he should again conclude an unsatisfactory peace with the Turks, and resume the struggle with France, or should put off the solution of the French question and at once undertake the conquest of Hungary. On the one side the position of the whole House of Hapsburg as a European power was at stake; on the other, the special interests of the German ruling line. Leopold decided in favour of the latter.

The Empire's Armistice with France

The Hungarian campaign of the year 1684 was carried on with inadequate forces, and led to no definite result. The mission of an ambassador-extraordinary, Count Lamberg, in February, 1684, to buy off Brandenburg from France, had been a failure, and for these reasons the emperor gave his consent to the conclusion of an armistice for twenty years with France, which was concluded on August 15th, 1684, at Regensburg.

This event marks a turning-point in the relations of the two hostile parties, because from that time begins the gradual separation of the Great Elector from Louis XIV. A number of other occurrences in the year 1685 contributed to set him against French policy, and to prepare the way for that great federation which was destined eventually to ruin the far-reaching plans against the freedom of Europe which Louis XIV. had conceived. Of these the most important were the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the suppression of the Huguenots and of religious toleration in France, and the accession of the Stuart James II. in England, who had become a Catholic and openly introduced a counter-reformation into England, so far as his opportunities allowed. Frederic William threw open his territory to his exiled co-religionists, the refugees, and came to a close understanding with William of Orange to the effect that Louis must be conquered, as his obvious intention was to disturb the balance of the different Christian creeds which the Peace of Westphalia had determined. Though he was quarrelling with the Pope, the king was considered still the most dangerous opponent of the Protestant powers. His efforts to build up a national French policy had been attended with complete success. But the ruinous dissension which eventually shook France to her very foundations proceeded from the king's fatal opinion that the centralisation of the constitutional power was incompatible with the existence of different religious creeds, and that universal toleration would impair the strength of the kingdom.

Brandenburg's Open Door for the Huguenots

As soon as the Great Elector had made up his mind to dissolve his connection with France, in spite of the subsidies which had been paid to him through Rébenac since the year 1680, he entertained no scruples about rejoining the emperor and supporting him in his undertakings. He could not have failed to recognise that Louis was desirous of keeping him in restraint, and even in impotency. He had at one time expected to increase his territory with the aid of France, at the expense of Brunswick-Hanover or of Sweden, and this hope he was now obliged to renounce. None the less, the negotiations with the imperial government would have resulted unfavourably had not the Electoral Prince Frederic, a declared enemy of France, devoted his energy to removing the chief obstacle. His father insisted upon the fact that an inconsiderable accession of territory was owing to himself in view of his hereditary claims to Jägerndorf and some other Silesian estates—the so-called Schwiebus district. What was the loss of twenty-four square miles of territory and a few thousand inhabitants, for the most part Protestants, to the powerful Hapsburg House, which was desirous of conquering the kingdom of Hungary at that moment?

Disappointed Hopes of the Elector

A rigid insistence upon their rights prevented the Vienna statesmen from making a sacrifice which was valueless in comparison with the important alliance it would have brought. Schwiebus was formally alienated from the emperor during the lifetime of the elector. The electoral prince was obliged to undertake to restore the district upon his accession. For this he received a special subsidy of 10,000 ducats, a not unwelcome addition to his impoverished treasury. This piece of baseness was successfully concealed from the old elector; until his death he firmly believed in the uprightness of the Austrian House and of the prince. The

THE NAVAL BATTLE OF TEXEL, IN 1673 BETWEEN THE ALLIED ENGLISH AND FRENCH FLEETS AND THE DUTCH UNDER DE RUYTER
From the painting by Isabey

emperor eventually exacted the return of his twenty-four square miles from the elector's successor; however, he had provided an excuse for Frederic the Great to declare that the promised renunciation of the Silesian principalities by his predecessor was not binding upon himself, and so to give a quibble of legality to his conquest of it.

THE DUKE OF SAVOY AND CHARLES OF LORRAINE

Victor Amadeus, the Duke of Savoy, fought against the French in the battle of Staffarda in 1690, and was overthrown by Catinat; Charles of Lorraine commanded the imperial army, and died in 1690.

On September 2nd, 1686, the fortress of Ofen, the central point of the Turkish rule in Hungary, was stormed by the German and imperial troops. In this brilliant feat of arms some share was taken by the Brandenburg contingent of 8,200 men and after a lapse of 145 years the emperor was again put in possession of the Hungarian Königsberg. The Brandenburger then undertook the defence of the Lower Rhine, and co-operated with the Dutch against France, his late ally, while Max Emanuel of Bavaria and Charles of Lorraine won the battle of Mohacs on August 12th, 1687, and took Belgrade on September 6th, 1688, for the first time, thus breaking down the resistance which the Turks annually renewed. The Field-Marshal von Barfus rendered important service at the battle of Slankamen on August 19th, 1691, with the Margrave of Baden, Lewis William, and helped to win a brilliant victory, which permanently strengthened the position of the imperial troops in Hungary, which had received a heavy blow in the previous year by the loss of Belgrade.

A Series of Important Battles

Meanwhile, an open breach with France had come to pass. Louis XIV. could not behold the recovery of the Hapsburg power in the East and the rise of the imperial prestige among the imperial princes without raising fresh claims on his side, and attempting to assert his preponderance by interference in German affairs. With the death of Charles the Elector of the Palatinate on May 16th, 1685, the line of Simmern of Wittelsbach became extinct, and Louis seized the opportunity to claim the allodial territory of the Simmern family on behalf of his brother Philip of Orleans, husband of the Princess Elizabeth Charlotte, the sister of the late elector. The possession of this territory would have made the French ruler a prince of the empire. In the contest for the archbishopric of Cologne he had espoused the cause of William Egon of Fürstenberg in opposition to Prince Joseph Clemens of Bavaria, and this action had embarrassed the interests of Austria and Bavaria and the rights of the Pope, who had decided in favour of Joseph Clemens. None the less, Innocent XI. made every possible effort to induce the king to accept some peaceful solution of the question at issue, and to restrain him from appealing to force of arms. His efforts were not successful. Louis felt himself threatened on two sides, and was determined to anticipate the formation of a confederacy against him by striking a rapid blow at his enemies. He considered himself as especially threatened by the alliance of Augsburg, whereby the emperor, Spain and Sweden, as allied powers, the Frankish and Bavarian districts, and also certain princes, had pledged themselves to provide a federal army of more than 46,000 men for the defence of the empire until its military organisation should have been perfected. Still more serious was the discord which had broken out between the English and King James II., and the alliance now imminent between the leaders of Protestantism in England and William of Orange, who could now reckon upon the consent of the States-General to such steps as he might consider needful to secure the Protestant character of the government in England.

The Plans of William of Orange

The Prince of Orange had been forced for a long time to postpone the execution of his great plans, as he was invariably confronted with the suspicions of the States-General; the time was now at hand when he was to gain a powerful position, enabling him to undertake the war with the despot upon the Seine who was threatening the freedom of Europe in general, and of the Protestant states in particular. William III. had married his first cousin, Mary, a daughter of James II., who had been baptised in the Protestant faith, of which she was a warm supporter; as her husband, he was summoned by England to bring into order the troubled and confused affairs of that country.

The Whigs had formed the forefront of the opposition to James II.; the majority of the Tories and the whole of the clergy joined them with the object of overthrowing the Papal rule, to which the whole nation was resolutely opposed. It was the impenetrable stupidity of James II. which brought about this revolution, the extent and the radical consequences of which no one could have foreseen. He made easy martyrs of the bishops, destroyed the discipline of his troops by amalgamating the Irish with the English and Scotch regiments, sneered at the well-meant advice of his protector on the French throne, and rewarded his liberality with ridiculous displays of haughtiness. Finally, his disregard of the prescribed court ceremonial gave rise to the rumour that the Prince of Wales, born on August 10th. 1688. was a Jesuit changeling, whose existence was to destroy all possibility of a Protestant successor. A long series of similar provocations forced the opposition to resort finally to resistance, and their decision was taken only with the greatest reluctance, in view of the universal loyalty that the Restoration had at first evoked. The personal stubbornness of the king and of his Catholic followers played a large part in this change of government in England, which was so important in its influence upon the destinies of Europe; so far reaching were its consequences, that even Lecky, a historian avowedly concerned with tracing "the permanent characteristics of national life," is

England's Fear of Catholic Supremacy

A SCENE AT VERSAILLES IN THE TIME OF LOUIS XIV.

From the painting by J. B. Martin in the Museum of Versailles obliged to draw the attention of his readers to the fact that "that issue of the complicated drama was brought to pass more by the action of individuals and by chance circumstances than by general causes."

William of Orange as England's King

After the flight of his father-in-law had laid the road open, William III. did not place his wife in the position of ruler, but succeeded in getting himself recognised as full sovereign and as the ruler whom the will of the nation had called forward. This was the real occasion upon which the Whig spirit first broke its bonds; the prestige of the Parliament was secured, and the highest intellect of a nation provided with the most admirable political capabilities was called to the management of its own affairs. With the passage of the Prince of Orange from his native land to English soil the historical importance of Holland was also transferred to England. The Netherland States had exhausted their ideals and their political strength in the struggle for the victory over Spain, and sank from their former high position in proportion as England rose in the world to a height for which past history affords no precedent and no standard of comparison. It is true that only in the eighteenth century did England take the step from the place of a European power to that of a world power; but it was in the seventeenth century that the foundations for that step were laid. Elizabeth, Cromwell, William form the constellation which has lighted the proudest and the most fortunate of all the Germanic nations upon a path which has progressed upwards without interruption for over two hundred years.

PRINCE EUGENE OF SAVOY
Refused a commission in the army of France, Prince Eugene renounced that country and entered the service of Emperor Leopold, distinguishing himself in the wars against France.

William III. himself recognised that England would become the leader of the maritime powers; he devoted his every care and effort and his unusual political capacities to making the United Kingdom equal to the performance of his splendid task. The distrust of the English toward their new ruler on account of his presumed leanings to Holland speedily proved as groundless as did those insular suspicions of Coburg influence which last century saw. William III. was a stranger and a usurper on the throne of England; if he would maintain his position, he was obliged to prefer his new country before the old. The heavy English customs duties remained unchanged, the Navigation Act was carried out in the colonies; under the rule of the Dutch king two great financial powers arose, the Bank of England and the new East India Company, which proved ruinous to Dutch trade. In the friendly rivalry between the allied peoples England's preponderance rapidly became manifest; the name of "sea-power" became a collective noun among diplomatists, and soon implied, as Frederic the Great was ill-natured enough to remark, "the English man-of-war with the Dutch jolly-boat towing behind."

Devastating French Armies in Germany

The change of rulers in England would not have come to pass so quickly as it did, would perhaps never have been brought about at all, if Louis XIV., in September, 1688, just before the landing of William of Orange, had not declared war upon the German Empire, a war generally known as the third war of aggression. He proposed to strike terror into South Germany by delivering a vigorous blow, and to oblige the emperor, whose best generals and troops were perforce employed in the Turkish war, to permit the armistice to be ratified as a definite peace, which would have secured him in the possession of the Reunions. His action was successful from a military point of view, though, by releasing Holland from immediate danger, it set William free to secure the English crown. The admirably equipped French armies penetrated into the Palatinate as far as Heilbronn, overran the Würtemberg territory, devastated the fertile country on the Rhine, blew up the castle of Heidelberg on March 2nd, 1689, and by the end of the year collected over 2,000,000 livres in forced contributions. But no member of the empire had any intention of being thus bullied into a disgraceful peace. The emperor resolved to undertake the war upon both frontiers simultaneously; his closer allies, Bavaria, Saxony, and Brandenburg, and also Hanover and Hesse, joined the "Concert

THE CONQUEROR OF THE TURKS: PRINCE EUGENE AFTER HIS GREAT VICTORY AT BELGRADE IN 1717

When the empire's war against the Turks was renewed in 1716, Prince Eugene again took the field, and at Peterwardein defeated an army of 150,000 men. In the following year he besieged Belgrade, which was at that time in the hands of the Turks, and after a desperate fight succeeded in gaining possession of the town.

of Magdeburg," which had been concluded by the armed provinces on October 22nd, 1688. Moreover, the Regensburg assembly determined to support the imperial war. Twenty thousand Brandenburg troops were speedily before Bonn, which Cardinal Fürstenberg had betrayed to the French; Charles of Lorraine, who commanded the armies of the empire, retook Mainz on September 8th, 1689, after eight weeks' fighting, and Bonn fell shortly afterwards—on October 13th. During the succeeding years the war in Germany made no decisive progress; the further advance of the enemy was repulsed, but nothing more was accomplished. The Margrave Lewis William of Baden succeeded Charles of Lorraine in the command of the imperial army after his death, on April 18th, 1690.

Victories of the French arms

At the seat of war in the Netherlands, Prince George Frederic of Waldeck lost the battle of Fleurus on July 1st, 1690, and the French took Mons in April, 1691, and Namur in July, 1692. At the battle of Steinkirke, in Hennegau, on August 3rd, 1692, William of Orange was unable to gain any decisive advantage. On the other hand, at the battle of Staffarda, Catinat won a victory over the Duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus, to whose support Max Emanuel marched across the Alps, but was unable to bring about that change of fortune in Upper Italy for which the allies were anxiously longing.

Thus the French armies had the advantage on every side. But on May 29th, 1692, at La Hogue, their fleet was defeated by the combined English and Dutch Navies, under Russell; this was the first of that series of defeats, the almost invariable persistence of which during the next 200 years seems to prove that the Romance nations are no match for the Germanic in naval warfare. Louis XIV. could not flatter himself with the hope of being able totally to overpower the forces opposed to him in the field; he was unable to concentrate his power and to break down the resistance of his enemies at any one point. On May 22nd, 1693, he laid Heidelberg waste for the second time, and utterly ruined the castle, that wonderful monument of the German Renaissance; but this could not be considered a success. The Margrave of Baden drove the devastators back across the Rhine, and found himself able to renew his plans for establishing himself in Alsace. The allies of the Golden Horn also did not accomplish as much as Louis had expected; during the years following the departure of Baden from the seat of war in Hungary the imperial troops gained no advantage, but the operations of the Moslems were of a slow nature. As soon as Louis could with any certainty foresee the possibility of dissolving by diplomatic measures the federation of his enemies, without himself making any disproportionate sacrifice, he accepted the intervention of Sweden, which had been repeatedly proffered, and entered upon the negotiations begun at Ryswick, from which Spain and the emperor, on October 30th, 1697, were unable to withdraw, after he had secured the consent of the sea-powers.

Heidelberg Castle in Ruins

The recognition of the Prince of Orange as King of England was an indispensable preliminary to which Louis agreed with a heavy heart, after previously assuring himself that there was no possibility of forming a party within the United Kingdom for the later restoration of the Stuarts. The death of Queen Mary, on January 7th, 1695, in no way weakened her husband's position; the Whig principle, that the Parliament might bestow the crown outside of the direct line of succession, remained in force. Holland was easily satisfied by the concession of certain commercial privileges. Calculating upon a future understanding, Louis showed himself very accommodating towards Spain, to which Luxemburg and Barcelona, taken during the last stages of the war, were restored. The empire had to bear the cost of the peace. Strassburg, which might have been retaken at the eleventh hour by a rapid assault, had to be abandoned. As a set-off, the Austrian House regained Freiburg and Breisgau, the empire gained Kehl and Philipsburg. The Cologne question was set at rest; the Bavarian prince got his principality; the question as to the Palatinate succession was solved by a moderate payment on the part of the Palatinate Neuburg.

Spain's Restored Possessions

The peace concluded at Ryswick on October 30th, 1697, was but an armistice between France and the House of Hapsburg, which had been struggling for European predominance for 200 years; the division of the Spanish inheritance, a question which was shortly to demand solution, would bring about a resumption of hostilities all along the line. Louis XIV. required time and breathing-space in order to arrange the situation to suit his own interests by means of his unrivalled political insight and diplomatic capacity.

The emperor did not venture, though the peace allowed him to turn the whole of his military power against the Turks, to embark upon a wearisome war in the Balkan states and to make a determined effort to crush his hereditary foe; and yet, even at that moment, circumstances at the seat of war in Hungary had taken an unexpectedly favourable turn.

During the years 1695 and 1696 the progress of affairs in Hungary had been most unsatisfactory. The departure of the Margrave of Baden, Lewis William, had proved almost as disastrous as an actual defeat; his successor, the Elector of Saxony, Frederic Augustus I., had been unskilled and unlucky in every operation which he undertook; the emptiness of the treasury could no longer be concealed, and the discipline and courage of the troops deteriorated accordingly. But a rapid and far-reaching change in the state of affairs was brought about by the nomination in 1696 of a commander-in-chief who was only thirty-three years of age, Prince Francis Eugene of Savoy-Carignan, the youngest son of Mazarin's niece, Olympia Mancini, and the Count of Soissons. Since the election of the first Rudolf the House of Hapsburg could congratulate itself upon no more fortunate occurrence, certainly none more opportune or richer in result, than the fact that the "petit Abbé," whom Louis XIV., with his usual arbitrariness had wished to drive into the cloister, applied to the court of Vienna, following the example of his brother Lewis Julius, for a post in the imperial army.

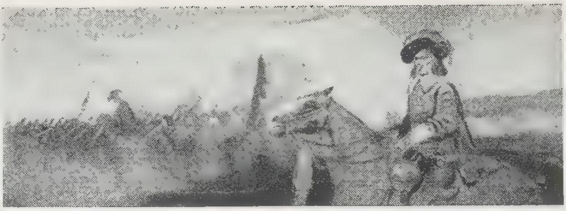
The Military Genius of Prince Eugene

"Who can venture to say," justly observes Alfred von Arneth, "how the history of Europe would have been changed if the prince had applied to Spain instead of to Austria, if he had never fought against the Turks, if he had been on the side of Philip of Anjou instead of against him during the War of the Spanish Succession, if he had fought for instead of against France?" The prince had long enjoyed the full confidence of the imperial veteran troops, and in a few months had so thoroughly reorganised the army that he was able to oppose the powerful force with which the Sultan Mustapha II. (1695–1703) was advancing in person during the month of August, 1697, for the delivery of a crushing blow. On September 11th he attacked the Turks at Zenta on the Theiss; they had been turned back from Peterwardein, and proposed to cross the river and invade Transylvania. They were so utterly defeated as to be unable to recover themselves. A large number of their best officers and 30,000 men were left on the field of battle or drowned in the Theiss; 80 guns, 423 standards, and seven "horse-tails" fell into the hands of the conquerors, who paid but the moderate price of 1,500 dead and wounded for their victory. When the larger part of his army had been sent into winter quarters, Eugene made his famous incursion to Serajevo with 4,000 cavalry, 2,600 infantry, and 12 guns, proving to the Turks that the mountains of the Balkan peninsula, which they had regarded as a sure line of defence against Western armies, were not inaccessible to Austrian cavalry and even to guns. The Porte's strength was broken; not only Austria, but also Poland, had gained considerable advantages. Moreover, Venice under Francesco Morosini, who died in 1694, had overrun the Morea, had taken Athens — when the Parthenon was destroyed on September 26th, 1687—and had proved her superiority at sea. After the heroic struggle for Candia in 1669, the republic seemed to have lost her dominant position on the Levant, but in 1685 the banner of St. Mark triumphed once more, and the position of Venice as the chief Mediterranean power was vindicated.

Turkish Rout at Zenta

Peace was concluded at Carlowitz on January 26th, 1699; Austria obtained the kingdom of Hungary with the exception of the Banat, Transylvania, and Slavonia; Poland was given the Ukraine and Kamanez-Podolsk; Russia obtained the harbour of Asov, and Venice the Morean peninsula, with Ægina and Santa Maura, Cattaro, and some smaller places on the coast of Dalmatia. Europe seemed to have entered upon a breathing space for rest and recovery, the duration of which depended upon the life of the last Hapsburg King of Spain, which was slowly ebbing away in Madrid.

Europe's Rest After War



THE PROBLEM OF THE SPANISH THRONE

PREPARING FOR THE COMING WAR

Women's Rights in Spain

At the outset of the eighteenth century the conception of the state as an entity had not been dissociated from that of the ruling dynasty. National rights were only tentatively brought forward in support of dynastical objects. The surest mode of extending political power remained in the formation of family ties, the creation of hereditary rights, and the enjoyment of them when they fell due. Consequently, upon the extinction of a ruling dynasty of such territorial power as was the Spanish line of the Hapsburgs, a European war was inevitable as being the only way of deciding whether some one European power was to become definitely predominant, or whether the balance of power could be maintained.

Royal Houses Linked by Marriage

In the Spanish kingdom women could usually inherit, failing men. In the House of Hapsburg the rights of female succession and of primogeniture were also recognised. The possessions of the Spanish line and also the estates of the Austrian line formed inheritances, which had passed undivided to the testator's eldest son or to the male representative next in succession, so long as any such survived. For the last two generations the daughters of the Spanish line had intermarried only with Bourbons and the German Hapsburgs, so that these were the only families affected by the failure of male heirs. A point in favour of the Bourbon claims was the fact that the elder Infanta had always married into the French line. Louis XIV.'s mother, Anna Maria, was older than Maria Anna, the mother of the Emperor Leopold. Of the sisters of Charles II., the last of the Spanish Hapsburgs, the elder, Maria Theresa, born on September 10th, 1638, was the wife of Louis; the younger, Margaret Theresa, born on July 12th, 1651, was the first of Leopold's three wives. Maria Theresa, however, had solemnly renounced her right of succession, whereas Margaret Theresa had been specially appointed to the succession by her father's will, in default of male issue. Consequently at the court of Vienna there was no doubt whatever that the succession in Spain must fall to the Emperor Leopold, and that his rights were beyond question.

But at the outset of the War of Succession Louis XIV. had already found a pretext for declaring that his wife's renunciation was invalid. In this position he naturally remained firm, declared himself to be the only legitimate successor to the Spanish throne, and pretended an especial desire to consult the interests of Europe at large by entering into negotiations for the division of the Spanish inheritance.

The Summit of the Hapsburg Ambition

The German House of Hapsburg was at a disadvantage compared with the Bourbons, because its efforts to increase its territory rested upon no national basis and no conception of the state as a whole. The Hapsburgs were limited to a dynastic policy, and their territorial power had no natural solidarity. To them the imperial throne of the German kingdom was the summit of their ambition, as it was in fact the most dignified position in the Christian world. But it was a position which gave no increase of power, and there was no future before it.

The Peace of Westphalia had made any union of the several German powers under a Catholic emperor wholly impossible. No political genius, however powerful, could have dreamed of successfully accomplishing the task of imperial reform with a view to general centralisation. The conception of an Austrian state was non-existent. Hence neither the ruling dynasty nor the privy council ever troubled themselves to consider in what direction their territory could and ought to be extended with a view to the gradual formation of a state.

The Hapsburgs had been forced into the practice of a universal policy by the unexpected reversion to themselves of immense inheritances. They had thus been unable to devote their attention to the formation of a strong confederacy of the lands upon the Danube, or to the introduction of a uniform administration throughout the possessions which had been given into their hands. Their eyes were invariably fixed upon some possible advantage which might be won upon the outskirts of their empire. They frittered away their great resources in fruitless undertakings, and put off the ordering of their house at home, which would have brought them wealth and power. The conclusion of the Turkish war, the conquest of Hungary and Transylvania, had been successfully brought about, and room for colonial expansion was thus provided for at least a century. The greatest problems of political economy were awaiting solution; treasures lay ready to hand such as no other dynasty in Europe possessed. The Balkan territories lay open to the imperial armies, and never afterwards were the conditions so favourable for a rapid success. The Venetian Republic had recovered its strength, and might have been brought over to alliance; its objects coincided with those of the Hapsburgs in every respect; its growth would have implied no loss, but a great increase of prosperity throughout the inner Austrian domains, for the exchange of products and of labour was necessary, natural, and inevitable. The more harbours the Venetians could have gained upon the coasts of Greece, Macedonia, and Albania, the easier and the more advantageous would have been the realisation of the products of the territories under the Austrian rule. The eastern portion of the Mediterranean might have regained its commercial importance; for, of the thousand threads which had united the Levant to the Adriatic in earlier ages, all had not yet been torn away, and many might have been reunited.

PHILIP V., FIRST BOURBON KING OF SPAIN
He was the second son of the Dauphin Louis, and in 1700, when Duke of Anjou, was bequeathed the crown of Spain by Charles II. But it was not till 1713 that, by the Peace of Utrecht, he was left in possession of the throne, after a long struggle with the Archduke Charles.

The death of Charles II., the last prince of the blood in possession of Spain, Naples, Milan, the Catholic Netherlands, and "both Indies," was a misfortune for the Hapsburg House, because it again entangled them in a web of European politics, in which they had but little success in the days of Maximilian and Charles V. Moreover, this event averted their attention from very pressing necessities at home, which they would probably have recognised and dealt with had they been allowed the leisure to do so. All these considerations did not affect the Emperor Leopold: He considered the Hapsburg tradition as implying special duties which he must fulfil at all costs. His unshaken confidence in Divine Providence had been increased by his victories over the infidels. He believed in his rights and in the divine nature of the call which bade him cling to those rights. His determination was in no way influenced by political considerations or practical statecraft. Otherwise it must have dawned upon him that the only successful course open to him was to come to some pacific arrangement with Louis XIV. to divide the Spanish inheritance, and to unite with Louis in resisting any foreign interference. Leopold, however, did not take this course, and troubled himself very little about the precautions which other powers were taking in the event of the demise of the crown of Spain.

It had long ago been plain to William of Orange that it would be most conducive to the peace of Europe if neither Bourbon nor Hapsburg should receive so considerable an accession of power, and if the Spanish monarchy could be kept intact and independent. There was, moreover, an heir whose rights could be justified with but little trouble, the Electoral Prince Joseph Ferdinand of Bavaria, the son of the Elector Max Emanuel's marriage with the Archduchess Maria Antonia, the only daughter of Leopold I. and the Infanta Margaret Theresa of Spain. If the female line of succession in the House of Spain was to be maintained, then Joseph Ferdinand was the legal successor to his mother, who had died in 1692. Louis XIV. discussed the terms of a compact of division with the Prince of Orange on October 11th, 1698, whereby the electoral prince was to have Spain, the Catholic Netherlands (Belgium), and the colonies; the French dauphin, Naples and Sicily; the second son of the emperor (Charles), the duchy of Milan, which was in any case a fief of the German crown. But on November 14th, 1698, Charles II. of Spain signed a will wherein he named the electoral prince as his successor. Louis then declined to recognise the prince, and waited the course of events, confining himself to putting in a word for the choice of his grandson Philip from among the Spanish grandees.

Charles's Choice of a Successor

Once again it would have been highly advantageous for the emperor, who was supporting the hereditary rights of the electoral prince and the testamentary rights of the dying sovereign, to have come to an understanding with Louis XIV. on the subject of a division. Such a course of action might have proved extremely profitable, even if they had taken the Elector of Bavaria into their confidence, for he would have been ready to give up Bavaria in return for Belgium. Thus German territory might have been acquired, influence in Germany might have been strengthened, Milan and Naples claimed as a secondary inheritance for the Archduke Charles, and Spain given up to the Bourbons in return. The Austrian House, instead of expending its power in the War of the Spanish Succession, wherein it actually gained a still smaller success, would have been free to take the offensive against the Turks and to plant colonies on the Lower Danube and in the north of the Balkans.

Opportunities Lost by the Austrian House

But before any course of action had been decided upon, or the first step to negotiations with Spain had been taken, the whole position was altered by the sudden death of the Bavarian electoral prince, on February 6th, 1699, as he was about to take ship from Amsterdam to Spain.

In March, 1700, Louis proceeded to discuss further propositions for division with William of Orange, with the intention of keeping him from union with the emperor. The latter was calculating upon the choice of a Spanish relative, which would have been favourable to his house, of whose recognition by the sea-powers he had no doubt. The Spanish population declined to entertain any proposals for dismembering the kingdom, and for this reason it might have been possible to secure the succession of a German Hapsburg if he had appeared in the kingdom with a force of troops sufficient to offer vigorous resistance to the invasion of the French army, which was to be expected upon the death of the king. But the Emperor Leopold did not think the expense advisable, and in any case the undertaking would have been difficult. He therefore agreed to Louis' proposal that they should mutually agree not to undertake any military operation in Spain during the king's lifetime. The advantages of this arrangement were entirely upon the side of France, for upon receipt of the news of the king's death she could bring an army to the Ebro in as many days as the emperor would require weeks to land a regiment at any Spanish port.

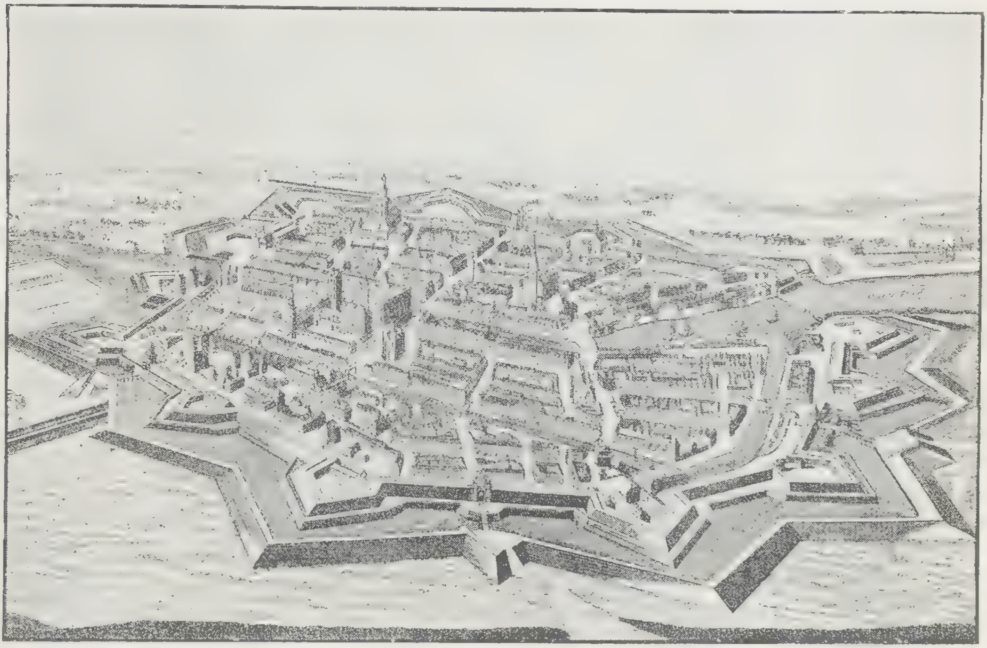
The Dying Hapsburg at Madrid

Under these circumstances it was in vain for the dying Hapsburg at Madrid to form the heroic resolve of naming his relative at Vienna as his successor in defiance of his powerful neighbour's desires; for the peace party in his own country, and chief among them the Archbishop of Toledo, urged upon him that the whole of Spain would be occupied by the French troops long before any German claimant could appear in the field to defend his rights.

Under pressure of these considerations was signed the will of October 3rd, 1700, wherein the hereditary rights of the Infanta Maria Theresa were recognised, and her descendants were called to the succession; in the first place was the second son of the dauphin, Philip, Duke of Anjou; and if he should obtain the French throne, his brother Charles of Berry. After the Bourbons the German Hapsburgs were to inherit, and after them the Savoyards, who were descended from a sister of Philip III. The inheritance thus provided for fell vacant on November 1st, 1700; on that day Charles II., the last representative of that race which for a century had wielded the greatest power in Europe, sank into his grave.

A fortnight later Louis XIV. greeted the Duke of Anjou as Philip V., King of Spain, and gave him immediate possession of all the powers united under that title. He thought that he now had the game entirely in his own hands, for he knew that neither England nor Holland was inclined to further military undertakings or to great expense. He considered that if he could succeed in a very short space of time in getting all the Spanish territories into his possession, the sea-powers would have little opportunity of stirring them up against him. As to the emperor's power, he thought he would not be able to keep in the field the imposing armies which he was able to summon.

The Emperor Leopold naturally could not recognise his brother-in-law's will; on the contrary, as head of the kingdom and as representing the rights of his family, he was bound to offer a forcible opposition to the occupation of Spain by the French troops. His eldest son, Joseph, "King of the Romans," with all his dependents at the Vienna court, had long been fully convinced of the necessity for taking some such step; he brought all his influence to bear upon the emperor, urging him to commission Prince Eugene to open the campaign in North Italy with all possible speed. The determination displayed by the German Hapsburgs was due to the consciousness that they could place an important general at the head of troops then marching to attack, but still more to the fact that they had on their side an ally who was ever ready to strike, whose infantry and cavalry squadrons were the admiration of Europe, the Elector of Brandenburg and King of Prussia. Frederic III., the Great Elector's son and successor, did not possess his father's moral and intellectual qualities. He was a weak ruler, fond of display, of but scanty political talent; but he added a showy exterior to the edifice which his father had built up, by obtaining a formal recognition of its rank as a second-rate European power. For the moment this action appeared only as an attempt to satisfy personal vanity, but in later times it proved a valuable step on the road to further development. It is a point of some importance that this step was taken at a time when the imperial house had made the greatest sacrifices to the old plans of a universal foreign policy. If the



THE STRONGLY FORTIFIED CITY OF BERLIN AS IT WAS IN THE YEAR 1668

From a copperplate print of the period

Hapsburg had not been on the eve of the decisive struggle with the Bourbon rival, it is certain that consent would never have been given to the foundation of a German kingdom, and without the emperor's consent such a kingdom would never have obtained recognition.

A New King on the Throne of Poland

In another direction there was an attempt to make capital out of the elector's earnest desires; his electoral colleague, Frederic Augustus I. of Saxony, had been elected King of Poland on June 27th, 1697, at the price of his Protestantism, his recantation being made at Baden near Vienna, on June 1st, 1697; he would have been glad to see another imitator of his secession, and would have rejoiced if the Brandenburger had requested his advancement to the kingly title from the Pope. For this purpose conversion to Catholicism would have been an indispensable preliminary. The Bishop of Ermeland, Andreas Chrysostomus Zaluski, had already arrived at Berlin with a letter from Pope Innocent XII., which unreservedly announced the readiness of the Curia to assent to the bargain. But on this occasion the Elector Frederic showed that he was made of sterner stuff than his usual manner of life appeared to indicate; not for a moment did he entertain any thought of changing his religion, but he allowed the Poles to speculate upon the possibility of such change so long as he thought their opposition might hinder the advancement of Prussia. He saw that as Protestant champion he would give his house a more assured position while placing his own loyalty to principle in contrast with the facile conduct of the King of Poland.

AUGUSTUS OF POLAND
Frederic Augustus I., Elector of Saxony, was elected King of Poland on June 27th, 1697, taking the title of Augustus II. He was defeated and dethroned in 1702.

Frederic had also recognised correctly that he could not ask the crown he desired from the hand of France. Not dependence, but independence, was to be the meaning of this crown; it was to oblige the sovereigns of Europe to treat with him as with an equal. The new Prussian kingdom was to rise from the Holy Roman Empire not as its enemy, but as a new expression of the power which was yet dormant in that antiquated organism. For that reason the emperor's consent was the most important preliminary, and was a guarantee of recognition on the part of other powers who would naturally adopt the emperor's attitude. The change might have been brought to pass by wholly different means in the confusion of the approaching wars. Brandenburg might have seized some suitable piece of territory and have been able to adopt the title of kingdom.

Frederic's was the sure and certain way, and the one proportioned to his capacities. It cost some sacrifice; but this was comparatively small when compared with the benefits which resulted. On July 24th, 1700, the emperor's privy council had practically given its assent to the negotiations upon this matter; on November 16th the affair was concluded. Brandenburg renounced any obligation of feudal dependency to the emperor as his "creation"; in return for the imperial promise to greet the king after every coronation, he undertook to serve the emperor in the war for those parts of the Spanish inheritance situated within the limits of the empire—tacitly including the duchy of Milan—with 8,000 men, for whose maintenance nothing should be paid in time of peace and 100,000 thalers in time of war. The elector further promised to renounce all claim to arrears of subsidy due from Austria, and to transfer from his successors to the Roman emperor the electoral power of an archduke. On the other hand, the emperor promised the new king the inheritance of Orange after William's death.

Prussia Becomes a Kingdom

On January 18th, 1701, Frederic and his wife ascended the kingly throne in Königsberg, and the duchy of Prussia, which had been acquitted of all feudal obligations since the compacts of Labiau and Wehlau, was thus raised to the status of a kingdom. The Elector of Brandenburg became King of Prussia, even as the Elector of Saxony became King of Poland, as the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein became King of Denmark, and the Elector of Hanover, a decade later, became King of England. The form of personal union and the constitutional relations of the empire to these independent monarchies was the same in all of these cases; but the actual course of events produced many practical differences. Only the Elector of Brandenburg had become a German king; his royal residence was Berlin, and not Königsberg.

The help of Brandenburg-Prussia was all the more important to the emperor, as the Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, who was closely united to him, was now unable to fulfil his promises in the event of a war with France. He was the disturbing cause of a war for the possession of the Baltic territories, which occupied the attention of Europe for a full decade simultaneously with the War for the Spanish Succession—the Second, or Great, Northern War (1700–1721). Of this war, it suffices at this point to say that the impetuous youth upon the Swedish throne, after overthrowing Denmark, attacked 40,000 Russians on the Narwa with 8,000 men on November 30th, 1700, and beat them utterly; but Peter was not to be turned from the prosecution of his designs. This defeat taught him the absolute necessity of completing his military organisation, and he understood very well that "his inexperienced youths were bound to yield before an army so old, so experienced, and so well equipped." The ridicule of Europe at the Muscovite incompetency, of which the most incredible reports emanated from Sweden, was of no long duration. The tsar was able to reorganise his military administration, to found cannons out of church bells, to devise new sources of income, and in a short time to take the offensive again.

Poland's Opposition King

Meanwhile Charles XII. interfered in the affairs of Poland, marched his army up and down the Vistula valley, and by his partisanship of Stanislaus Leszczynski as opposition king in 1704, accentuated the party divisions among the Polish nobility, in which the kingdom expended the remainder of its strength. These Northern complications considerably increased the emperor's difficulties in obtaining a force of troops from his German allies sufficient in number to protect the Rhine boundary; they did not, however, prevent him from making an appeal to arms to secure his rights.

The Greatest Move of Leopold I.

His decision to send an army into Upper Italy under the command of Prince Eugene, for the reconquest of the duchy of Milan, which had now been taken over by the French, was one of the best-advised moves which Leopold I. ever made in the course of his long reign. Eugene's success greatly increased the prestige of the House of Austria, and contributed to encourage those states which were hesitating whether to take any part in the struggle or to allow the Spanish kingdom to pass without opposition to Louis XIV.'s grandson. A general feeling of astonishment was created by the information that Eugene had taken over the army under Marshal Nicolas Catinot, which was waiting in readiness in the fortresses on the Itsch, that he had arrived in Venetian territory by détours through almost impassable Alpine tracks, and that his attack upon the enemy's flank in the battle of Carpi, on July 9th, 1701, had obliged the French to retreat behind the Oglio. The imperial field-marshal then awaited the counter attack of Villeroi at Chiari, on September 1st, and inflicted considerable loss upon the French. Then the open and the secret enemies of France rejoiced aloud, and began to consider the possibility of forming a new confederacy against the king, who was striving to become the master of Europe.

FREDERIC I. OF PRUSSIA AND HIS QUEEN

Born in 1657, Frederic succeeded to the Electorate of Brandenburg in the year 1688. On January 18th, 1701, Frederic and his wife Sophia Charlotte ascended the kingly throne in Königsberg, and the duchy of Prussia was raised to the dignity and status of a kingdom.

Louis XIV. was not anxious for the outbreak of a general conflict, and thought that Holland, which delayed to recognise the position of Philip of Anjou, might be tempted into neutrality, and restrained from any thoughts of hostility which she might have entertained. In February

1701, he ordered Marshal Boufflers to cross the frontier of the Spanish Netherlands, and to demand the surrender of those fortresses in which Dutch garrisons were stationed, in accordance with the terms of a "Barrier Treaty" with Spain. Max Emanuel of Bavaria, who ruled in Brussels as Spanish stadtholder, had already ordered the commandants to hand over the fortresses to France, and in the result twenty-three Dutch battalions became French prisoners. The Dutch States were now obliged to recognise Philip whether they would or not, in order to stave off the further advance of the French, against whom they were entirely defenceless for the moment; but their suspicions had been aroused to the highest pitch, and of this fact they made no concealment to the English Parliament.

France's Strong Hand on the Dutch States

The Parliament determined to send an ambassador to the negotiations which had been opened at the Hague to discuss the conditions necessary to the maintenance of peace. Louis XIV. struggled to prevent the protraction of the negotiations which was thereby involved, but at length gave in, whereupon the States and England went a step further, and demanded power to co-opt an ambassador from the emperor. The danger which France now had to face was lest the execution of the will of Charles II. of Spain should be placed in the hands of a European congress. While the progress of diplomacy between the House of Bourbon and the sea-powers was thus opportunely coming to a head, public opinion in England was gradually swinging to the opposite extreme. The Tories were afraid of losing their influence if they attempted to stem the tide; they therefore withdrew their opposition to the Hanoverian succession.

The news from Italy, and the prospect that England would take a vigorous share in the coming war, produced an immediate effect in Holland. William of Orange arrived in his native land in September, 1701, and concluded the Great Alliance, which declared itself unable to acquiesce in the French prince's possession of the Spanish monarchy. To the emperor was guaranteed at least the possession of the Catholic Netherlands, Milan, Naples, and Sicily, as well as the Spanish islands in the Mediterranean. On their side the sea-powers claimed the right to annex such portions of the Spanish West Indian colonies as were most suitable for their commerce and carrying trade. Spain and France were never to be united, and in no case was the King of France to be ruler also of Spain. It remained open to the Archduke Charles, to whom the kingdom had been devised by his father, to secure possession of it, if he could; but the allies were not bound to support him.

Signs of the Coming War

The formation of this alliance did not absolutely preclude the possibility of a peaceful solution; if Louis XIV. had recognised the critical nature of the situation, an equal partition might undoubtedly have been agreed upon. But his political programme was of far too ambitious a character to admit of any demands for the placing of reasonable limits to the French power. The compact that was concluded on March 9th, 1701, with Maximilian Emanuel II. of Bavaria, whose brother Clemens of Cologne was already dependent upon him, might easily have deceived him with regard to the situation in Germany, and have stimulated the hopes which he entertained of the emperor. Instead of making overtures to the sea-powers, and requesting their mediation with the emperor with a view to settlement, he made the breach with England irreparable by recognising as king the thirteen-year-old James (III.) upon the death of his father James II., on September 17th, 1701; at the same time he provoked the emperor to the bitterest resistance by giving permission to Philip to assume the title of Count of Hapsburg and Duke of Austria.

Indiscretions of the French King

William of Orange survived this change in the relations of the European powers only a few months; he died on March 19th, 1702. His great achievement, the alliance against Louis XIV., remained unimpaired. His sister-in-law, Anne, was bound to support it because her position as ruler was founded upon the general opposition to her relatives who were maintained by France. John Churchill, Earl of Marlborough, the husband of her friend Sarah Jennings, was anxious for a war and therefore busied himself in gaining the strong support of the English Parliament, and also in maintaining the policy of the Prince of Orange in the States, where he found an enthusiastic dependent and a loyal supporter of William's actions in the Council Pensionary, Anthony Heinsius.

WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION AND THE GREAT TRIUMPHS OF MARLBOROUGH

LOUIS XIV.'s hopes with regard to the German Empire remained unfulfilled. The two Wittelsbachs found no party. The associated armed districts of the empire had certainly fallen into the Bavarian trap, and had concluded an agreement of neutrality with him. But they perceived in due time that they were then entirely without defence against the protector of Max Emanuel, and so rejoined the emperor, on whose behalf the Margrave Lewis William of Baden undertook the defence of the Rhine. Hanover and Lüneburg placed 6,000 men at the disposal of Holland, and 10,000 men at England's service in return for the necessary payments. The King of Prussia gave the sea-powers 6,000 men, besides the auxiliary troops which he was pledged to furnish to the emperor.

The First Movements in the War

In the spring of 1702 the war began upon the Rhine and in the Netherlands. At the same time Max Emanuel openly declared for France, overpowered the imperial town of Ulm, and got possession of Regensburg. His task was to maintain his position on the Danube until a French army could advance through the Schwarzwald and unite with him. Then it was proposed to march upon Vienna. However, it was not until May 12th, 1703, that the Bavarian army, in the pay of France, succeeded in joining Marshal Villars, and even then the leaders did not feel themselves strong enough to march upon Vienna until they were secured against the possibility of a diversion from the Tyrol. Max Emanuel also had a subsidiary plan. He desired to get possession of the land which seemed well suited for his retirement in the event of peace negotiations, or even for exchange against Naples or Belgium. He therefore pressed on to unite with the Duke of Vendôme, who was operating in Northern Italy.

Bavarians Defeated at Landeck

Prince Eugene had been so feebly supported from Vienna that he had been able only to prevent the duke from advancing further north at the bloody battle of Luzzara on August 15th, 1702, and could not inflict a decisive defeat upon him. The Bavarians got possession of the upper and lower Inn valley, took Innsbruck, and pressed on across the Brenner Pass. Then the Tyrolese brought their militia against them, which they had kept on foot since the Landlibell of 1511, and drove them back to the Brenner, after defeating them at Landeck. The elector's attempt was a complete failure, for Vendôme did not press his advance upon the Etsch with sufficient vigour. Lewis of Baden had been in position for the Danube for a long time, confronting the French army under Villars with a superior force, and if he had grasped the situation and made the best use of his advantage, Max Emanuel, whose strength had already been broken, would have been in a critical position, and would have been forced to make a separate peace with the emperor. However, he and Villars very cleverly extricated themselves from their perilous situation, and on September 20th, 1703, they even won a victory at Hochstadt over the imperial troops under the Austrian Count Hermann Otto Styrum.

The Fruit of Religious Intolerance

The emperor's cause was in a bad way, mainly through lack of money for the pay and equipment of the troops. Prince Eugene was, it is true, summoned to court to preside over the council of war; but his most zealous attempts to make the necessary provision for the armies remained without result from the time that it became necessary to carry on war in Hungary. Leopold's domestic policy of religious intolerance now brought forth its fruit. Religious toleration should have been granted to the kingdom upon its reconquest, and after the hereditary rights of the Hapsburgs had been recognised in the Presburg Reichstag of 1687 a modicum of self-government should have been granted to the country. Instead of spending time upon religious uniformity, the administration should have encouraged colonisation, have built roads and ships, settled German peasants and artisans in the country, supported the Saxons and the Zipfer, and furthered their material interests. Had this been done, the yearning for the old state of things under Turkish administration would not have been hot enough to serve the ambitious plans of the Bethlen and Rakoczy, who were now able to satisfy their desire for insurrection with French money. Government business in Hungary was carried on principally through the "army Jew," Oppenheimer, with such careless and unsound methods that the credit of the Austrian House was absolutely rotten. The pledging of the crown jewels often produced insufficient amounts to cover the expenses of the most necessary diplomatic missions. Any regular payment of troops, any proper commissariat, or recruiting to supply the losses of regiments in the field, was entirely out of the question.

Slipshod Government in Hungary

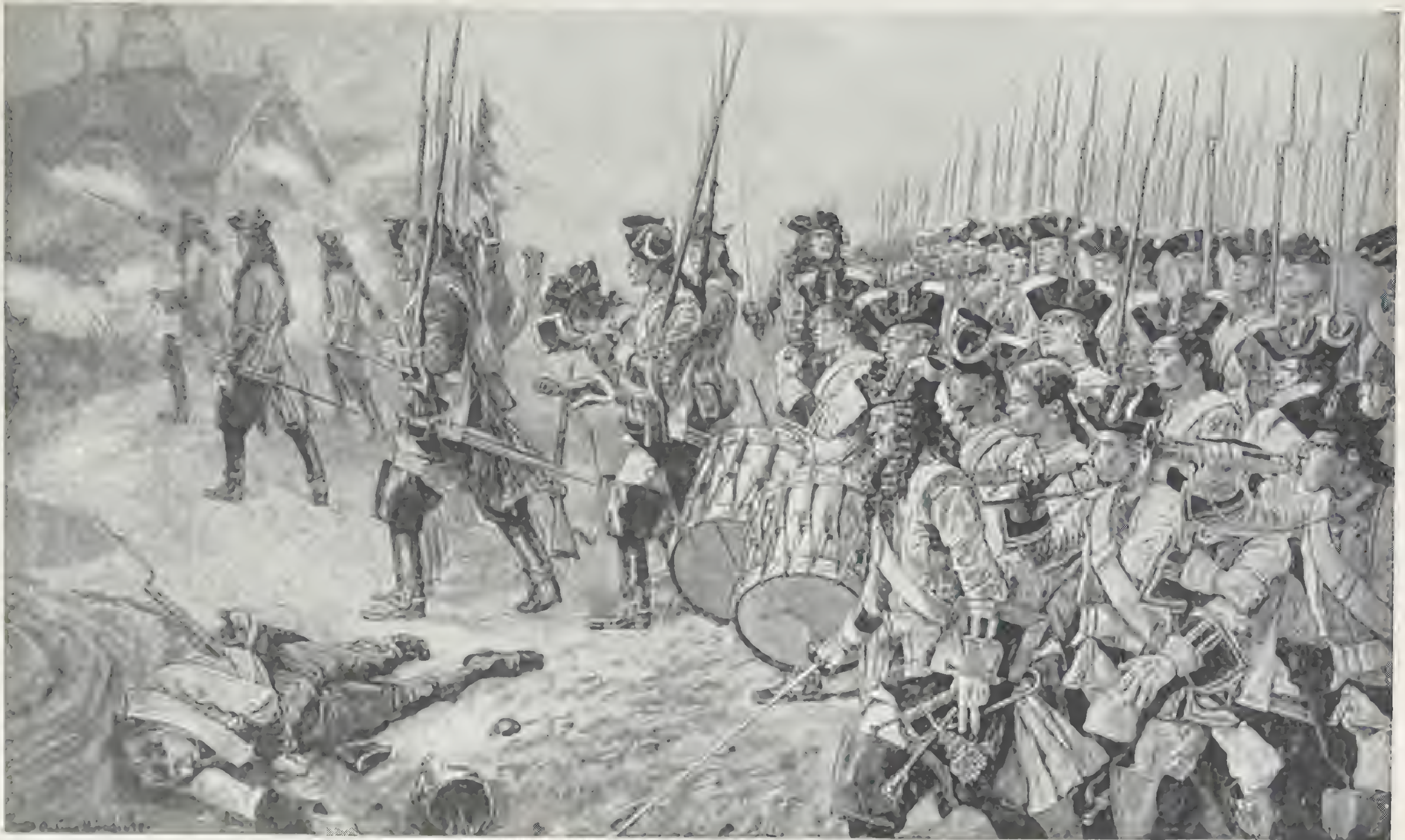
The commander of the Italian army, Count Guido Starhemberg, was so poorly supported from Vienna as to fall into the delusion that his previous commander had purposely and out of jealousy left him in the most difficult circumstances in the face of an enemy of overpowering strength. However, he provided plenty of occupation for his opponent, who had undertaken to join Max Emanuel at Trient, a movement which proved unsuccessful; and at the outset of the year 1704 he began his famous flanking march along the right bank of the Po, crossing the Appennines and the mountainous country of Montserrat to Turin, where he joined Duke Victor Amadeus II. of Savoy, who had gone over to the emperor's side. From this time forward there were two separate seats of war in Northern Italy—one at Mincio, Lake Garda, and in the Brescian Alps; the other on the Upper Po, around Chivasso and Crescentino.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH
Commander-in-Chief of the English and Dutch forces in the War of the Spanish Succession; this great general won brilliant victories at Blenheim in 1704, at Ramillies in 1706, at Oudenarde in 1708, and at Malplaquet in 1709.

Dom Pedro II. of Portugal had also joined the Great Alliance. At his request an Anglo-Dutch fleet conveyed to Lisbon the Archduke Charles, in whose favour the emperor had resigned his rights of succession to the Spanish monarchy. Though there were not resources sufficient for a vigorous campaign into the Spanish peninsula, yet an important part of the French army was there held in check. Marshal René de Froulai, Count of Tessé, began in 1705 a siege of the rock fortress of Gibraltar, which cost him nearly 10,000 men. The fortress had been captured by an English naval squadron under Rooke and Cloudsley Shovel. Louis XIV. still had before him the prospect that the war would turn entirely in his favour, if Max Emanuel with his Bavarian French army could penetrate to Vienna and seize the imperial capital. He had already obliged Passau to surrender at the beginning of 1704, and was advancing toward Linz. The positions of the several combatants at that time form a truly remarkable picture, and the surprising union between these army corps thus scattered about with no apparent connection is one of the most interesting features in the history of this war. They were placed as follows: Max Emanuel in Upper Austria, with 16,000 men; Marshal Marsin, with 20,000 to 22,000 French, in Augsburg, between Iller and Lech, to which must be added some 10,000 Bavarians as garrison troops in Munich, Ingolstadt, Ulm, and many smaller places.

The Armies Engaged in the Great War

Opposed to these were about 10,000 Austrians in Upper Austria and on the Tyrol frontier, and an imperial army under Field-Marshal Thüngen and the Dutch General von Goor, in the Bodensee district, with Bregenz as their headquarters; their strength was 21,000 men, but the departure of 9,000 electorate Saxons brought them down to 12,000. In Franconia was an imperial army under the Margrave of Brandenburg-Bayreuth,



AT THE BATTLE OF BLENHEIM, IN 1704 THE DISMOUNTED 2nd NORTH BRITISH DRAGOONS SCOTS GREYS—STORMING THE VILLAGE

From the drawing by R. Caton Woodville

Christian Ernest — imperial regiments, Frankish troops and Prussians under Leopold of Dessau, not more than 14,000 men altogether.

Marsin's troops were in poor condition, and greatly in want of recruits to complete their strength. To bring these up was the task of Marshal Tallard, who was on the Upper Rhine with 30,000 men. In the Moselle district were 14,000 French under Coligny. Against him and Tallard, the Margrave Lewis William of Baden, whose headquarters were at Aschaffenburg, could oppose 30,000 men, consisting of troops from the emperor and the empire, and from Hesse-Darmstadt and Lüneburg in Dutch pay. He held the so-called Stollhofen line in the Rhine plains, opposite Strassburg and the Schwarzwald passes.

English and Dutch in the Netherlands

In the Netherlands the English-Dutch army, under the command of Marlborough, had been standing for a year in almost complete inaction, confronted by the French under Boufflers and Villeroi. The Dutch commissaries, who interfered in all military affairs as soon as a single company paid by them had taken the field, placed insuperable obstacles in the way of any comprehensive plan of campaign. They were accustomed to wage war on the principles of commercial calculation. They were but feeble, nervous merchants opposed to any undertaking requiring audacity; and so, whenever an attack was proposed, they hesitated and discussed until the advantage had slipped through their fingers.

Under these circumstances, it became plain that the respective superiority of the combatants must be decided upon the Danube. Perhaps the most striking proof of Marlborough's strategical powers is the fact that he recognised this necessity, and at once determined to act upon it. As in all great events, personal ambition here also exercised a most fortunate influence, for this it was which drove John Churchill to seek a sphere for his military energies in which success and honours were to be won. To the Dutchmen he left their own troops and no inconsiderable portion of the auxiliaries hired by England to carry on some unimportant sieges and covering movements in the Netherlands, while he himself executed a surprise movement across Germany with 20,000 English troops. The imperial court also recognised that Austria must be protected on the Rhine and in the Schwarzwald, and sent Prince Eugene into the empire. He undertook to cover the Upper Rhine, while Lewis William of Baden claimed the personal command of the imperial army, which was operating against Max Emanuel and Marsin. The Elector Max retired from Upper Austria to the Lech on hearing that the Schwarzwald passes were more strongly held and that the army was advancing from Franconia towards the Danube. He was afraid, and with reason, that his junction with Tallard might prove impossible of execution, and saw himself already in a desperate position.

The English Leader's Quick Action

If the timid Margrave had been in the least degree competent to perform his duties, the elector would most probably have been taken prisoner before the arrival of the French reinforcements, which were marching in the direction of Freiburg and had already reached Villingen. On May 20th he took over reinforcements from Tallard to the number of 10,000 men, with a long train of supplies, guns, uniforms, and 1,300,000 livres. Tallard then returned to the Rhine. However, thanks to the Margrave of Baden's disinclination to fight, the Franco-Bavarian army escaped from its dangerous position at Stockach, and proceeded to fall back upon Ulm on June 1st, 1704.

Marlborough's Splendid Beginning

Shortly afterwards Marlborough's troops passed through Swabia without molestation, joined hands with the margrave's main army, and a plan of campaign became possible. Prince Eugene also took part in the deliberations, and agreed with Marlborough as to the necessity of attacking Max Emanuel, while their forces were still superior to his. Marlborough and the margrave held the command upon alternate days. On July 2nd Marlborough gave battle with the united Anglo-German army on the Schellenberg at Donauwerth, and in spite of heavy losses—among them Field-Marshal Styrum and General Goor—won a victory over the Franco-Bavarians, who were forced to retire across the Danube and to concentrate upon Augsburg. The elector's hopes of victory were now dashed to the ground; he showed an inclination to listen to the emperor's proposals for peace. Marsin was greatly annoyed at this, and was forced to throw all kinds of obstacles in the way to prevent him

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH BRINGING THE CAVALRY INTO LINE AFTER THE BATTLE OF RAMILLIES, IN 1706

From the drawing by R. Caton Woodville

from negotiating with a view to throwing up the cause of Louis XIV. Tallard and Villeroi were opposing Prince Eugene on the Rhine with three times his strength, but did not venture to attack their dreaded adversary.

Dropping the Margrave of Baden

Tallard, at the call of Marsin, now marched through the Schwarzwald to the help of the elector with 25,000 men and forty-five guns. As soon as Prince Eugene learned this, he collected all the troops which could by any possibility be spared from the defence of the Stollhofen lines, and made his way to that point where the fortunes of the Great Alliance were to be decided—to the Danube. He made a secret agreement with Marlborough, that the Margrave of Baden, who was nothing but a hindrance to their operations, should be left behind to carry on the siege of Ingolstadt, while the two generals confronted the enemy in the open field.

Meanwhile Marsin had induced Max Emanuel to march with him from Augsburg in a north-westerly direction to the Danube, and to cross to the left bank of the river. There they joined hands with Tallard's troops. Marlborough had been covering the retirement of the imperial army at Rain, and now hastened through Donauwerth to the support of the prince, who had been for some days in a dangerous position, as he was liable to be driven out of his post upon the Kesselbach by the Franco-Bavarians, who were vastly superior in numbers.

The French Waiting for Help

The Frenchmen were anxious to await the arrival of the Bavarian reinforcements, for they thought it dangerous to weaken their own forces before the arrival of this accession of strength; the Bavarians, however, did not arrive at the proper time. When Marlborough's battalions appeared on the Kesselbach, the positions of the respective parties for the battle of Hochstadt were already determined. On the morning of August 13th, 1704, the allies advanced: Prince Eugene, with eighteen battalions and seventy-eight squadrons — 9,000 infantry and 9,360 cavalry—undertook to make a march on the right wing for the purpose of delivering a flank attack, and at three o'clock in the afternoon advanced upon the position of Max Emanuel and Marsin at Lutzingen. The former had five battalions and twenty-three squadrons under his command, while Marsin had thirty-seven battalions and sixty squadrons. Tallard had thirty-six battalions, forty-four mounted squadrons and sixteen on foot, with which to meet Marlborough, who commanded forty-six battalions, 23,000 men and eighty-three squadrons, with 10,560 cavalry. The allied forces, as a whole, numbered 57,000 men with fifty-two guns, against 56,000 French and Bavarians with ninety guns.

Brilliant Victory of the Allies

The brilliant victory gained by the allies was due to the complete agreement of the two commanders as to the general idea of the battle and the accurate execution of the movements proposed. Marlborough was twice repulsed by Tallard on the right, while he prepared his unexpected main onset on the centre, but was able to rally for a third onset, while Eugene held the enemy's left wing so firmly that Marsin dared not send a single battalion to Tallard's support. The battle in this quarter was finally decided by the "indescribable valour" with which the ten Prussian battalions under Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau stormed the position of Lutzingen, after the imperial cavalry had retreated before the Franco-Bavarian horse. Max Emanuel and Prince Eugene fought in the hottest part of the attacks. Tallard did not understand how to make the best use of his superiority in infantry; the greater part of them he placed in Blenheim to defend the place, and kept only nine battalions and 1,200 dismounted cavalry for use in the open field. Marlborough made the utmost use of his masses of cavalry; 109 squadrons were employed in the tremendous charge at Oberglauheim in the centre of the line of battle between Lutzingen and Blenheim. Having broken the centre completely, Marlborough was now able to envelop the French right and destroy it.

At nine o'clock in the evening the allies were masters of the field; they had lost 12,600 men, a quarter of the forces with which they had marched out to battle. The Elector Max and Marsin retreated with half of the Franco-Bavarian forces, having lost 17,000 dead and wounded, and 11,000 prisoners, among whom were 1,500 officers. The battle of Blenheim marks the beginning of modern warfare, which seeks to decide the contest by destroying the adversary on the battlefield, and not by merely winning the ground or capturing

AFTER THE BATTLE OF OUDENARDE, IN 1708: THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH VISITING THE FRENCH PRISONERS

From the drawing by R. Caton Woodville

fortresses. The strategical principles of Marlborough and Eugene were further developed by Frederic the Great and Gneisenau, and brought to perfection by Moltke. However, at that time the art of following up a success was not understood.

After the Battle of Blenheim

A vigorous pursuit, of which the numerous German cavalry would have been quite capable, would have completed the destruction of the French army before Villeroi could have come to their assistance. But it was contrary to the custom of war to refuse the troops a pause for rest at the conclusion of a great action; moreover, it was thought that the objects of the war might be obtained by diplomacy and continued negotiation with Bavaria. These hopes were not fulfilled. The remnant of Marsin and Tallard's army, together with some thousands of Bavarians sent by Villeroi, reached the left bank of the Rhine and went into winter quarters on the Moselle and in Alsace.

Max Emanuel resumed his post as stadtholder in Brussels, while his troops kept up a guerrilla warfare in their native land with the Austrians, until Prince Eugene occupied Bavaria in the emperor's name, brought about the disbandment of the electoral battalions, and came to an agreement with the Electress Therese, who had remained in Munich, whereby she was assured a maintenance, but deprived of all influence upon the government of the country. However, the extortions of the Austrian administration and the conscription of recruits excited a revolt of the peasants in the following year, which was repressed only on Christmas Day by the battle of the Sendling Gate.

Death of the Emperor Leopold

On May 5th, 1705, Leopold died, and Joseph I. ascended the throne without hindrance. The Great Alliance was now able to take the offensive, but the war made no great progress during this year. The French lines in the Netherlands were stormed by Marlborough on July 18th; on August 16th Prince Eugene fought an indecisive battle with Vendôme at Cassano. It was not until the year 1706 that Marlborough's victory over Villeroi at Ramillies in Brabant on May 23rd made the occupation of the Spanish Netherlands possible. The corresponding victory of Turin on September 7th, where Leopold's Prussians again displayed their admirable military capacities under Eugene's leadership, drove the French out of the north of Italy. On June 27th, 1706, Madrid was won for Charles III. by an Anglo-Portuguese army, but was soon afterwards retaken. Valencia now became the seat of the Hapsburgs, until the defeat of Almanza, which Lord Galway suffered on April 25th, 1707, at the hands of the French marshal—natural son of James II.—James Fitzjames, Duke of Berwick. The southern provinces then fell into the hands of Philip V.

France in Alliance with Sweden

Louis XIV. attempted a change of policy by entering into an alliance with Charles XII. of Sweden, who had advanced upon Saxony from Poland in 1706, and obliged the Elector Frederic Augustus I. to renounce his claims to Poland at Altranstädt on September 24th, 1706. This was a serious matter for the allies, because the Swedes had made demands upon the emperor with which he was not likely to comply, and an adventurous spirit such as Charles might very well have initiated a Swedish attack upon the imperial territory. Had Charles possessed the smallest capacity for diplomacy, the embarrassments of France would have provided him with a splendid opportunity for its exercise. But his action was inspired by the humour in which he happened to be, not by fixed principles; his military success was a surprise for the moment, but it did not contribute to establish the Swedish power, the importance of which was almost everywhere over-estimated.

Thanks to the personal intervention of Marlborough, Charles was induced to throw in his lot with the allies in April, 1707. His quarrel with the emperor was not successfully patched up until August 30th, 1707, when the emperor was led to make certain concessions in favour of the Silesian Protestants. During his stay in Saxony, Charles XII. had collected an army of 40,000 men and nearly 100,000 horse; and with this force he might have imposed any terms upon Germany as the ally of Louis; for the empire had no army capable of resisting him at its disposal. When this army again marched eastward, in September, 1707, it was felt that the terrible suspense of the situation had been relieved. It was marching to its downfall. Charles was persuaded by the revolted Cossack hetman, Ivan Stephanovitch Mazeppa, to make an incursion into the Ukraine, instead of

THE BATTLE OF MALPLAQUET, IN 1709: MARLBOROUGH DRIVING THE GUARD OF THE CORPS OFF THE FIELD

From the drawing by R. Caton Woodville

first reconquering the Balkan districts which the Russians had occupied. The battle of Poltava, on July 8th, 1709, resulted in the annihilation of the Swedish army, forced the king to take flight into Turkish territory, and by securing Peter the Great in the possession of Ingria (Saint Petersburg) gave him the foundations for his future position as a European power. It was only at the cost of the greatest efforts that Louis XIV. could provide means for the continuation of the war. The defeats of Oudenarde on July 11th, 1708, and of Malplaquet on September 11th, 1709, obliged him to open negotiations for peace, wherein he showed himself disposed to renounce his claims upon Spain, if Philip were to be compensated with Naples. The Hague conference arrogantly demanded guarantees on the part of Philip of Anjou for the evacuation of Spain by the French troops. Louis never proved himself better capable of representing the interests of his people than when he rejected this proposal, and determined to continue the war, relying upon the devotion and the nobility of the French.

Louis XIV. Works for Peace

France was now no longer to be feared. In Spain, also, her influence was gone. The national party clung to Philip of Anjou because he consulted their interests in declaring for the independence of the monarchy. All the advantages which the sea-powers demanded for their trade might have been conceded forthwith. There was no reason why Europe should put herself to further loss on account of the kingdom of Charles III.; on the contrary, the ground had been cleared for a peaceful settlement, which might have led to a universal pacification. But one obstacle to this was the "barrier treaty" which Holland had concluded with England, on October 29th, 1709, without informing the other members of the alliance of the agreement. By this convention the States were to receive a number

THE BATTLE OF VILLA VICIOSA IN THE YEAR 1710

This battle, which was fought after the withdrawal of the great Marlborough from the operations of the war, resulted in a victory for the French over the Austrian party, and did much to revive the hopes of Louis XIV.

From the painting by Alaux at Versailles

THE FRENCH VICTORY AT THE BATTLE OF DENAIN IN 1712

The success of the French at the battle of Denain is said to have saved the kingdom, French writers swelling it into comparison with Ramillies. Prince Eugene besieged Landrecies, and the French commander, Villars, pretending to assault the besieging army, made a sudden side march and advanced upon Denain. The French officers called for fascines to fill up the ditch. "Eugene will not allow you time," cried Villars, "the bodies of the first slain must be our fascines." Then storming the camp, the Frenchmen carried it before Prince Eugene could arrive.

From the painting by Alaux at Versailles

of fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands, together with Liège, Bonn, and Guelders. Thus the division of the Spanish inheritance was affected before the heirs had come to any agreement. As soon as Louis learned this fact, he perceived that the Alliance must split asunder. His new peace proposals were offered merely with the object of initiating negotiation; when once the negotiations had been got under way, he felt confident that the relations of the powers would change in his favour.

The Tories in Power in England

This change began in the course of the year 1710, owing to the fall of Marlborough's party in England, and the fact that the Tories gained nearly a two-thirds majority in the Parliamentary elections. Queen Anne had broken with the proud Duchess Sarah and assured the allies of the continuance of her support; but she was anxious to see the conclusion of peace, in order that Marlborough might be removed from his position as commander on the justifiable plea that there was no further need for his services.

Affairs in Spain had taken a course which precluded any prospect of Philip's removal. Vendôme, who had taken up the command of his army, was more than a match for any forces which Charles had at his disposal. He had forced Charles to evacuate Madrid, which he had occupied, and on December 10th, 1710, at Villa Viciosa, he had defeated the Austrians under Starhemberg. Charles was driven back upon Barcelona and some fortresses on the shores of Catalonia. It was not to be supposed that he would ever succeed in getting possession of the kingdom. If, therefore, Philip was left in possession of the country of which he was, in any case, virtual master, favourable conditions in other respects might be expected from France. The road to peace was thus cleared when the Emperor Joseph I. died, on April 17th, 1711, leaving no son, so that the Hapsburg claimant to the Spanish throne became heir to the inheritance of the German line and to the imperial crown.

Eugene's Agreement with France

This entirely unexpected event—the emperor died of small-pox—sealed the fate of the Great Alliance. The Minister in charge of English foreign policy, Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, immediately entered into secret negotiations with Louis XIV., without giving the queen full information as to his intentions. He deceived the emperor's ambassadors and the Dutch by a pretended attitude of firm adherence to existing compacts and to the peace proposals of 1709. But he would guarantee no subsidies, and supported no plan of military operations. Prince Eugene himself paid a rapid visit to London to urge the continuance of the war, but was coldly dismissed. The Duke of Marlborough, who could do as he pleased with the army, might have put an end to a situation intolerable to himself had he determined, on his own responsibility, in conjunction with Eugene, to invade France, which was now quite defenceless.

A special agreement with France on October 8th, 1711, made England's withdrawal an accomplished fact. All that was required of Louis was a solemn declaration that Philip of Anjou renounced his claim to the French throne, and some general promises with regard to the indemnity payable to the combatants. When England invited the Dutch to consider negotiations for peace, the latter did not venture to shake off the Tory yoke and to take up the ideals of the great Prince of Orange. The troops of all the allied princes, the Prussians, Hanoverians, and Danes, marched out of the English encampment.

The Great War at an End

Eugene was at the head of 122 battalions and 273 squadrons, and was ready to march upon Paris; but the Amsterdam merchants were no longer inspired with that spirit which had raised their maritime state to the position of a European power.

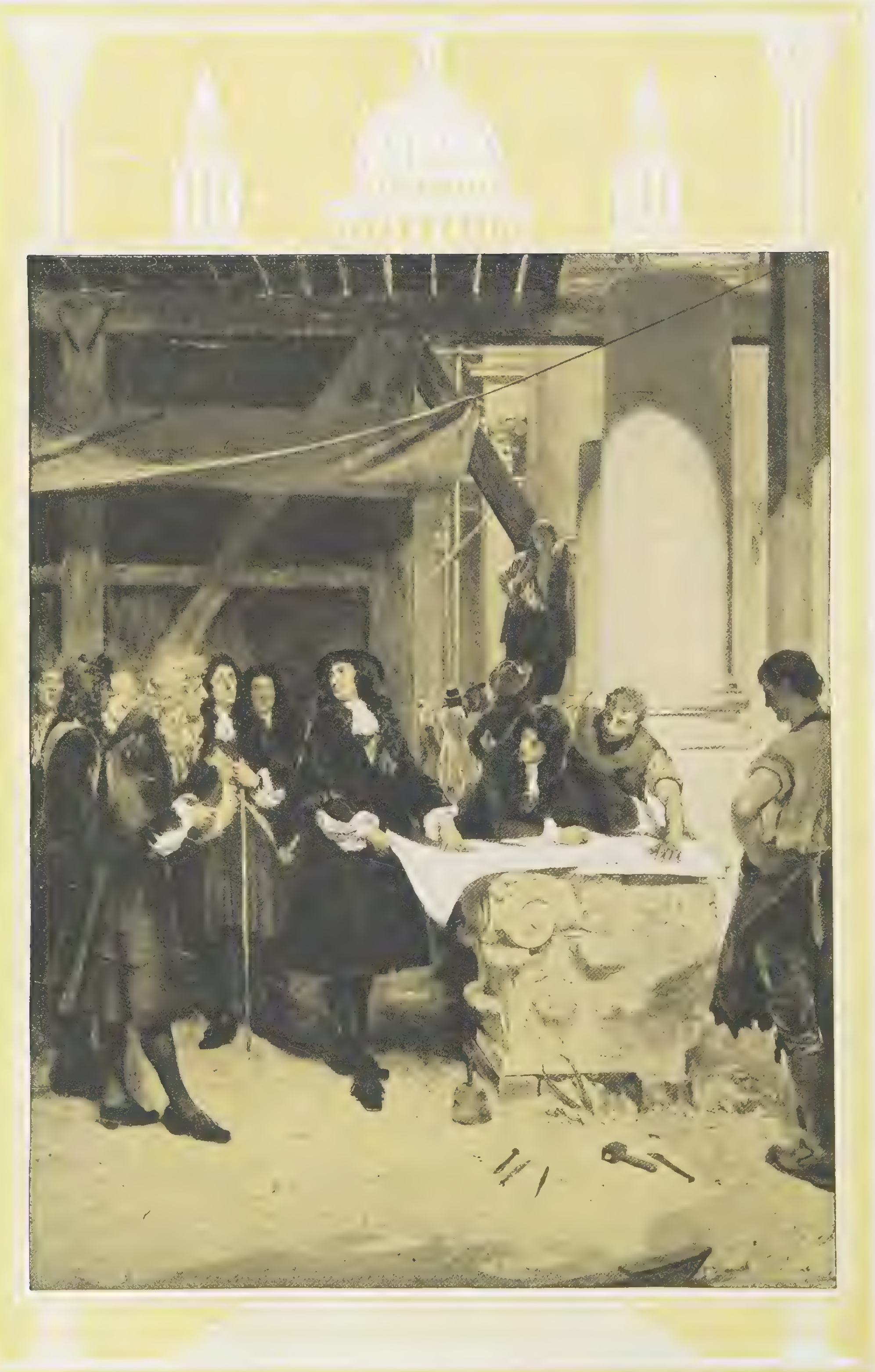
The War of the Spanish Succession was at an end. Louis XIV. dictated the conditions of peace, which was concluded on April 11th, 1713, in Utrecht without the emperor's concurrence. Louis XIV. recognised the succession of the House of Hanover in England, left to England the Hudson Bay territories—in modern British North America—gave Holland a number of "barrier" fortresses on the French-Netherland frontier, and gave the kingdom of Prussia part of the Orange inheritance, the principality of Neuchâtel in Switzerland, the counties of Mörs and Lingen and parts of Guelders. As to Spain and her colonies, a new Bourbon dynasty was founded by Philip V. and his descendants. Portugal obtained the land on the Amazon, the Duke of Savoy got the kingdom of Sicily. To the emperor were left Naples, Milan, and the rest of the Spanish Netherlands. Sardinia and Luxemburg, with Namur and Charleroi, were evacuated in favour of the Elector of Bavaria until his native dominions should be restored.

It was the hardest of all conditions that the emperor and the kingdom should be obliged to receive into favour the Wittelsbach arch-traitor, that they should have to restore to him the lands which had been justly confiscated. The emperor was unable to continue the war. Of this fact

Prince Eugene Yields to France

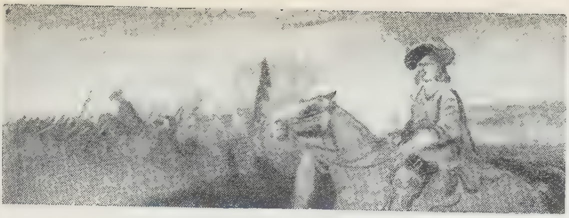
Prince Eugene was well aware, and after continuing the war upon the Rhine for a year, he bowed to the will of France, and concluded the peace negotiations of Rastadt and Baden on March 7th and September 8th, 1714. Of these, the main points were the recognition of the Peace of Utrecht and the reconciliation of Max Emanuel with the emperor. A project of exchange had been seriously considered by these two—the kingdom of the Netherlands with Luxemburg in return for Bavaria. In spite of the protestations of his brother, Joseph Clemens of Cologne, Max Emanuel would have been ready to close with the bargain, preferring to stay amid the gaiety and wealth of Brussels to returning to Munich. It is worth while to remember that affairs in South Germany might have run a very different course from what they actually took. At that time Prussia could never have entertained the remotest idea of thwarting the growth of the Austrian power in South Germany. Fifty years later, when the proposal for exchange was renewed, Frederic the Great was able to prevent its accomplishment by force of protest, without appealing to force of arms.

Hans von Zwiedineck-Südenhorst



CHARLES II. VISITING WREN DURING THE BUILDING OF ST. PAUL'S

From the painting by Seymour Lucas, R.A., in the possession of Mrs. W. G. King, Billingshurst



ENGLAND'S RESTORED MONARCHY

THE REVOLUTION AND THE UNION

ON the death of the Protector his office was conferred by Parliament upon his son, Richard Cromwell, a well-meaning country gentleman who had nothing but his name to recommend him for the first position in the state. The army, however, was determined to assert itself in the settlement. Finding that Richard Cromwell would not allow the military power to claim equality with the civil government, it forced him to abdicate, and invited the Rump to assemble. Forty-two of those whom Cromwell had rejected in 1653 responded to the summons, but were soon discovered to be no more tolerant of military rule than they had been six years earlier.

Monk and the Rump Parliament

A council of officers expelled the Rump for the second time, and made a shift to govern by the commissions which they held from the late Protector. The general indignation of civilians warned them that this system could not be maintained, and once more, on December 26th, 1659, the Rump was brought back to Westminster. All was confusion and uncertainty when Monk, the ablest and most moderate of Cromwell's lieutenants, made his appearance on the scene leading the troops with which the Protector had supplied him for the maintenance of order in Scotland.

Monk's intentions were a mystery to others, and possibly what passed for supreme duplicity on his part was in fact the result of genuine perplexity. He confined himself to assurances that he would maintain the supremacy of the civil power, and took steps to procure a Parliament which would command the general support of the nation. He induced the Rump to recall the Presbyterian members who had been expelled by Pride's Purge; he induced the Presbyterians to give their votes for the final dissolution of the Long Parliament. The stage was thus cleared of the body which had so long pretended, without justice, to represent the wishes of the people.

The Famous Declaration of Breda

A new Parliament, composed of two Houses, was summoned, and the Commons were chosen once more by popular election. The two Houses met on April 25th. They contained a strong Royalist majority; for the arbitrary acts of Charles I. had been obliterated from memory by the still more arbitrary conduct of the Long Parliament, the Protector, and the Majors-General. Within a few days of assembling, the new Parliament—called a convention, because summoned without royal writs—had before it a manifesto from Charles II., who was then living under the protection of the United Netherlands. This document, the famous Declaration of Breda, removed the last fears of those who had resisted the late king. It promised a free pardon to all persons who should not be expressly excepted from the amnesty by Parliament. It promised to tender consciences such liberty as should be consistent with the peace of the kingdom, and expressed the king's willingness to accept an Act of Toleration. It referred to Parliament all the disputes concerning the lands which had been confiscated in the late troubles. Without delay the two Houses voted unanimously for the restoration of the monarchy. In May, 1660, Charles II. returned to his own amid scenes of the wildest exultation.

Charles II. on the Throne

The promises which he had made were indifferently fulfilled, for, as it turned out, no protection for Puritans or Commonwealth men was to be obtained from Parliament; the promises which Charles had made of submitting to the arbitration of Lords and Commons left him free from all but moral and prudential restraints. The Convention Parliament, which contained many moderate men, was dissolved on the king's return, on the pretext that it was irregularly constituted, but in reality because it wished to protect the Presbyterian ministers who were in possession of church benefices, and to make an equitable provision for the purchasers of lands which had been confiscated.

The Cavalier Parliament, which met immediately afterwards, was filled with hot-headed Cavaliers and Episcopalians. It allowed all Royalists who had been punished with confiscation to recover the whole of their estates by ordinary process at law. It declined to hear of any compromise in religious matters, and proceeded to pass a number of disabling Acts which were levelled against the Puritan clergy and laity. This so-called Clarendon Code—which took its name from the king's chief adviser—excluded all Dissenters from municipal office, imposed a more rigid test of uniformity upon ministers of religion, disqualified for preferment all who had not received episcopal ordination, prohibited dissenting conventicles of every description, and forbade nonconforming ministers to come within five miles of a city or chartered borough. With cynical disregard for the expectations which the Declaration of Breda had excited, the king gave his assent to all these measures. His conduct was the more odious because he was himself out of sympathy with the victorious Anglicans. At heart a Catholic, he secretly intended to secure toleration for his co-religionists at the first opportunity. He made some attempt to benefit them, and incidentally the Dissenters, by issuing a declaration of indulgence to suspend the operation of the penal laws.

RICHARD CROMWELL

The son of the great Protector, he had none of his father's genius for government. Though he succeeded his father as Protector, he quietly acquiesced in the Restoration.

GENERAL MONK DECLARING FOR A FREE PARLIAMENT

This able soldier, realising the condition of anarchy into which the country was falling, proceeded to London, where the Rump Parliament had resumed its sittings, and on February 10th, 1660, openly declared himself to be in favour of a free Parliament. The Long Parliament came to an end a month later, and the restoration of the monarchy soon followed.

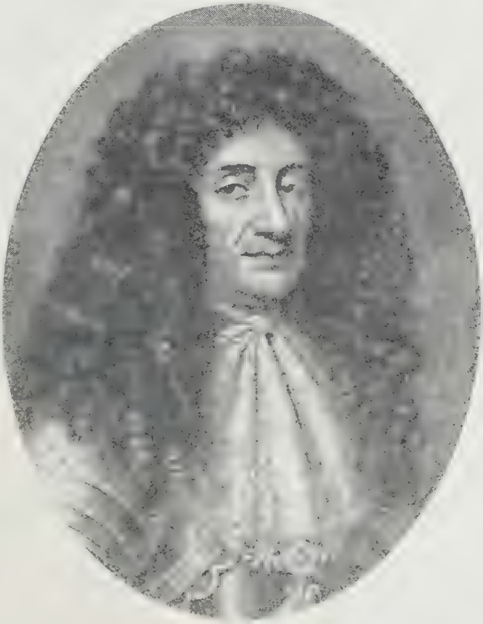
From the painting by E. M. Ward, R.A., by permission of the Art Union of London

THE MONARCHY RESTORED: CHARLES II. RETURNING TO ENGLAND

The son of the ill-fated King Charles I., Charles II. was born at St. James's, London, in 1642. On January 1st, 1651, he was crowned King of Scotland at Scone, and invaded England some months later at the head of an army of 10,000 men. Cromwell met and defeated him at Worcester, and after some adventures he escaped to France. When it was resolved to restore the monarchy, he was recalled to England and placed upon the throne of his father.

From the painting by C. M. Padday, by permission of the Religious Tract Society

But when Parliament protested against this stretch of the prerogative, he at once withdrew the obnoxious manifesto. He feared, as he said, to be sent again upon his travels; the prospect of committing or conniving at injustice had no fears for him.



KING CHARLES II.

He was dissolute and utterly untrustworthy, and while a Roman Catholic in heart, he did his best to conceal from his subjects his adhesion to that faith. His reign was a failure.

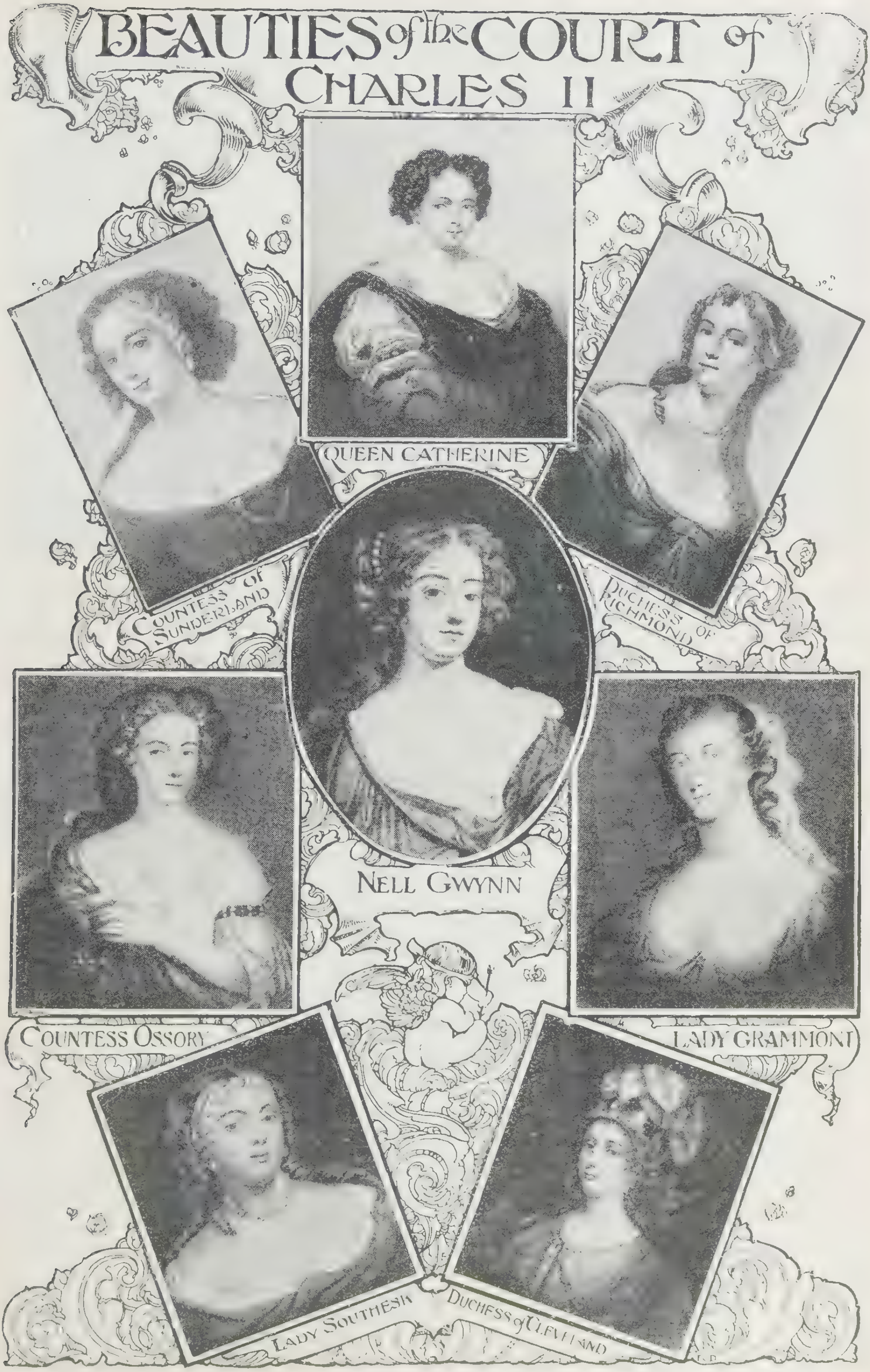
Despite the exuberant loyalty of Parliament, there were many respects in which the power of Charles II. was more limited than that of his father. The legislation of 1641 remained for the most part unrepealed. It was out of the question to think of reviving the Star Chamber and the other prerogative courts. Parliament voted the king a liberal income, but for additional supplies he was entirely dependent on the Commons; nor were they inclined to vote subsidies without demanding a strict account. The experience of the Civil War made the name of a standing army odious, and it was with difficulty that Charles contrived to retain a few regiments of Monk's army. In the debates of both Houses the king's policy and his Ministers were sharply criticised. It is from this reign that we date the formation of a parliamentary opposition well organised and skilfully led; for the opposition in the Long Parliament had soon passed beyond the limits of party war and had become a revolutionary caucus. The king had therefore to walk warily.

The objects which he cherished—independence for himself, toleration for Roman Catholics—were repugnant to the majority in Parliament and the nation. He therefore looked abroad for help, and like Cromwell, but with very different motives, made a French alliance the pivot of his foreign policy. The old commercial feud between England and the Netherlands supplied him with a partial justification. The Navigation Act was renewed in 1660 with the express object of damaging Dutch trade. This facilitated friendly relations with Louis XIV., who had long cherished the idea of absorbing in his dominions the heretical and republican Dutch. In 1662 Charles married Catharine of Braganza, a Portuguese princess. The marriage—otherwise notable, because it gave England, as a part of Catharine's dower, Bombay and a firmer foothold in India—formed a new link with France, which had long affected to support the cause of Portuguese independence. Immediately afterwards the king sold Dunkirk to Louis for a round sum of money. The new understanding encouraged Charles to declare war against Holland in 1665, and English commercial jealousy was gratified at the same time that Louis received a proof of the value of an English alliance. Louis at first played a double game. England stood in the way of his schemes for the extension of French trade and the establishment of French supremacy at sea. For a time he assisted Holland against England; but in 1667 he was won over to a secret treaty with Charles, under which the latter agreed, in return for French neutrality, to further the designs of Louis upon the Spanish Netherlands. The Dutch war, in which the rival fleets had fought desperate battles with alternating fortunes, was then wound up. It

THE LANDING OF CHARLES II. AT DOVER ON MAY 26TH, 1660

From the painting by E. M. Ward, R.A.

BEAUTIES of the COURT of CHARLES II



THE GREAT FIRE OF LONDON IN THE YEAR 1666

Following the Great Plague in 1665, when 100,000 of the city's inhabitants died from the scourge, London, in 1666, was the scene of a terrible conflagration, which cleansed the city of the dregs of disease. The city was practically reduced to ruins, 13,200 houses being burned, and 200,000 people rendered homeless. The above view represents Ludgate, St. Paul's, and, in the extremity of the scene, the ancient and beautiful tower of St. Mary-le-Bow.

The Secret Dealings of Charles II.

had served its purpose, and Charles made no attempt to revenge the disgrace which he experienced from a Dutch raid upon the shipping in the Thames and Medway. On the contrary, in 1668 he consented to the formation of a triple alliance with Sweden and Holland, by which he pledged himself to resist the French designs upon the Spanish Netherlands. But the secret object was still to raise his value in the eyes of France, and an alliance with Louis was effected in 1670 by the secret Treaty of Dover. Louis, swallowing his resentment at the trick which had been played upon him, promised Charles a considerable pension on condition that he should have the help of English troops against the Netherlands. Charles undertook to avow himself a Catholic at a convenient opportunity, and was promised in that case the support of a French army.

Only one or two of the king's most trusted advisers were admitted to a full knowledge of these provisions, and Charles never fulfilled the undertaking to declare himself a Catholic. But for the remainder of his reign he was the pensionary of Louis, and in European politics England usually figured as the satellite of France. In 1672 the English navy supported a French invasion of the Netherlands, and in 1673 bore the brunt of a severe battle in the Texel. The land operations of Louis were foiled by the constancy of William of Orange. The French alliance was thoroughly unpopular, and Charles bowed to the wishes of his subjects so far as to conclude peace with Holland and to bestow on William the hand of his niece Mary of York in 1674. But the secret understanding with Louis remained unbroken. Three years later Charles refused to support the Dutch against a new French invasion; and if at times he appeared to humour the popular desire for a war with France, his object was merely to obtain more subsidies.

Crown and Commons in Conflict

On the other hand, he refrained from entangling himself too deeply in the plans of Louis, and his main efforts were devoted to a conflict with the opposition, led by Shaftesbury. This able party manager had been at first a Cavalier, then a supporter of Cromwell, then an ardent advocate of the Restoration and a member of the Cabal Ministry which was formed in 1668 after the fall of Clarendon. Suspicion of Charles' designs and disappointed ambition soon drove Shaftesbury to resign his office. From 1673 to 1681 he led every attack of the Commons upon the Crown, and spared no artifice to discredit the Ministries through which the king worked tortuously towards an absolutism. In 1678 the revelations of Titus Oates served Shaftesbury as a pretext to spread the alarm of a Popish plot formed to destroy Anglicanism by introducing French troops into England. It made little difference to the unscrupulous party leader that a number of innocent Roman Catholics were in consequence condemned to death. He followed up the attack upon the king's religion by impeaching Danby, the chief Minister, and Danby was saved only by the dissolution of Parliament.

LONDON'S CITIZENS ESCAPING FROM THE GREAT FIRE

From the painting by Stanhope A. Forbes, A.R.A., by permission of Messrs. Hildesheimer & Co.

In 1679 the opposition secured a more honourable triumph in forcing upon the king the Habeas Corpus Act, by which the traditional remedies against arbitrary arrest and detention were made more effectual. Finally an Exclusion Bill was introduced to prevent the king's brother, James of York, from succeeding to the throne. James, unlike Charles, was a conscientious Catholic. There was a probability that he would do his utmost to procure not merely toleration but ascendancy for the oppressed Catholics; and the dangers of a Catholic reaction seemed grave enough to give Shaftesbury the support of many moderate politicians. But there can be little doubt that private aims determined his conduct. He knew that from James he had nothing to hope and much to fear. His complicity in the outcry against papists would never be forgiven by the heir presumptive. On the other hand there was every prospect that if Parliament should follow Shaftesbury's wishes and confer the succession upon Monmouth, an illegitimate but favourite son of the king, and the chief hope of the Anglican party, the Protestant demagogue might reasonably aspire to the post of chief Minister.

The question of the succession was the all-absorbing topic in the next three Parliaments. Shaftesbury's influence procured innumerable signatures to petitions calling on the king to disinherit his brother; and the Protestant faction were nicknamed "Petitioners," in contradistinction to the "Abhorrers," who supported the king. But the king defended his brother's right with tenacity. The old instincts of loyalty reasserted themselves in the country, and after the abortive Parliament of Oxford in 1681 Shaftesbury fled into exile, a beaten man. He had laid the foundations of the great Whig party, but his rash precipitation discredited his followers; in the last two years of the reign they were exposed, without popular disapproval, to a merciless persecution. London and other Whig cities were adjudged to lose their charters, and all municipal offices were filled with royal nominees. Russell and Sidney were executed on a charge of conspiracy in 1683.

THE DISGRACE OF LORD CLARENDON: LEAVING WHITEHALL PALACE AFTER HIS INTERVIEW WITH THE KING IN 1667

Chancellor under Charles II., Edward Hyde, Lord Clarendon, was for many years the king's favourite Minister, but when he remonstrated with his royal master on the licentiousness of the court he immediately fell under his displeasure. After a lengthy interview with the king at Whitehall, Charles emerged first from the audience, and turning his back upon Clarendon, as shown in the above picture, walked along the path by himself. The fallen Chancellor was banished from the kingdom, settled at Montpellier, and died at Rouen seven years later.

From the painting by E. M. Ward, R.A., in the National Gallery

Never had the establishment of absolutism seemed more probable than in the latter years of Charles. Reaction is the dominant note in the domestic history of England between 1660 and 1684, and Parliament in its own way was not less reactionary than the Crown.

In more than one sense, however, the Restoration marks the beginning of modern England. The intellectual attitude of the nation was altering. Some great Puritans lived and wrote under the last two Stuart kings; but Milton and Bunyan, Penn and Baxter, are the glorious survivors of a vanquished cause. The satirist and the comedian are now the characteristic figures of the literary movement. Dryden and the dramatists of the Restoration bear witness to the triumph of French influence over older modes of thought and style. Their work was more than the mere effect of reaction—it was inspired by the ambition to recover touch with the artistic and intellectual society of the Continent, from which England had been entirely estranged by twenty years of fanaticism and warfare.

EARL OF SHAFTESBURY AND DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

A Royalist colonel, who afterwards went over to the Parliament, the Earl of Shaftesbury was one of the commissioners sent to Breda to invite Charles II. back to England; he died in 1683. The Duke of Buckingham had the reputation of being the most wicked man at the court of Charles II. His sad end is pictured on page 4477.

The growth of scientific interests, attested by the foundation of the Royal Society in 1660, was in part a continuation of the native movement which Bacon had initiated, and was largely due to the interest excited by his writings. But the work of Isaac Newton (1643–1727) is closely related to the mathematical researches of Descartes and Pascal on the one hand, and to the astronomical discoveries of Galileo on the other. Newton and his contemporary Robert Boyle, the father of English chemistry, were in the highest degree original; but their enthusiasm for natural science and their conception of method were affected by the example of foreign *savants*. Meanwhile, the mercantile classes were developing new fields of enterprise and laying the foundations of a great commercial supremacy.

The one title of Charles II. to the reputation of a national statesman is to be found in his care for trade, and for the colonies, upon which the hopes of trade depended. He gave up Nova Scotia to the French colony of Canada in 1668, and suffered the island of St. Kitts to

Lauderdale Arlington Clifford

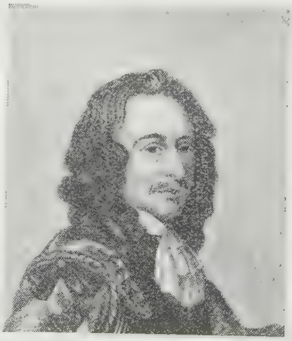
THREE MEMBERS OF THE NOTORIOUS CABAL MINISTRY

John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale, taken prisoner at Worcester in 1651, lay a prisoner for nine years in the Tower, at Windsor, and at Portland; at the Restoration he became Scottish Secretary of State; he died in 1682. Like Lauderdale, the Earl of Arlington was a member of the Cabal Ministry, and earned for himself an evil reputation as a betrayer of trust. The scar on his nose, seen in the portrait, was received at Andover during the Civil War. A Catholic member of the Cabal, Thomas Clifford was, in 1672, created Lord Clifford of Chudleigh. He died in 1673.

be conquered by the navy of Louis XIV. in 1666. But England gained a predominant position in the West Indies; the American colonies of the Dutch were annexed and retained at the conclusion of the Peace of Breda in 1667. Charters were granted to a private company for the exploitation of Hudson's Bay, and to Penn, the Quaker, for the settlement of Pennsylvania in 1680, while the name of the Carolinas records the fact that they were first colonised in this reign. From the Bay of Fundy to Charlestown, the whole east coast of North America was now in English hands. At the same time the decline of the Dutch maritime power, shattered by continual wars and undermined by the Navigation Acts, prepared for the growth of an English empire in India, which had hitherto been the battleground of Dutch, French and Portuguese. The East India Company profited by the exhaustion of competitors and threw out new tentacles. As early as 1639 it had acquired Fort St. George (Madras); and in 1668 it took over from the king the equally important station of Bombay. In 1686, shortly after the death of Charles, Calcutta in the Ganges delta was acquired by a treaty with the Great Mogul. Sensualist and dilettante though he was, Charles watched the growth of trade and colonies with an enlightened interest; he formed within the Privy Council a special committee to handle all questions connected with these interests.

LORD WILLIAM RUSSELL
Third son of the fifth Earl of Bedford, Lord William Russell was a prominent politician in the reign of Charles II.; his fate is depicted on the following page.

The death of Charles II., in 1685, was followed by the peaceful accession of his brother, James of York. The new king had every intention of continuing his brother's autocratic system. But the revenue which Parliament had granted to Charles was not, for the most part, hereditary, and it was therefore essential that the new king should meet Parliament at the first opportunity. The new House of Commons showed an unexpected degree of loyalty. Fear of civil war had brought all moderate men into the Tory party; the king's demands were satisfied without murmuring or hesitation. This success was immediately followed by others of a less peaceful kind. The rising of Argyle in Scotland and that of Monmouth in the South of England were both crushed with ease, and James believed that the Protestant party, in whose interests these rebellions had been raised, was now at his mercy. Not content with a savage persecution of Monmouth's partisans, who were condemned and executed by scores in the course of Judge Jeffreys' Bloody Assize, the king took steps to give the Catholics a legal equality with Protestants, in the expectation that it would then be possible to place the administration entirely in the hands of his co-religionists. The Test Act of the last reign had provided that every public servant should make a declaration against transubstantiation, and receive the Sacrament according to the Anglican rite. In defiance of the Act, James gave military commissions to Catholics, and met the remonstrances of Parliament by a prorogation. The judges decided a test case in favour of the king's power to dispense from the operation of the penal laws; whereupon James issued a declaration of indulgence in favour of both Catholics and Protestant dissenters.



ALGERNON SIDNEY
The second son of the second Earl of Leicester, he was charged with complicity in the Rye House Plot, and was condemned, and beheaded on December 7th, 1683.

This arbitrary suspension of the laws provoked a storm of indignation. Even the Dissenters sided with the opposition, for Louis XIV., by his recent Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, had aroused suspicions of a general Catholic conspiracy against Protestants. Petitions against the declaration poured in upon the king. He endeavoured to repress the agitation by means of the law courts. The Archbishop Sancroft and six of his suffragans, who had joined

AFTER THE RYE HOUSE PLOT: THE TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION OF LORD WILLIAM RUSSELL

On his way to Newmarket, Charles usually passed a farmhouse near Hoddesdon in Hertfordshire, and to the enemies of the king this seemed a favourable place to bring about his death. But in June, 1683, the plot known as the Rye House Plot was discovered, and among the notable people accused of complicity in the conspiracy was Lord William Russell, who was brought to trial on June 13th, 1683. He offered only a feeble defence; the jury returned a verdict of guilty, and Russell was executed at Lincoln's Inn Fields on July 20th.

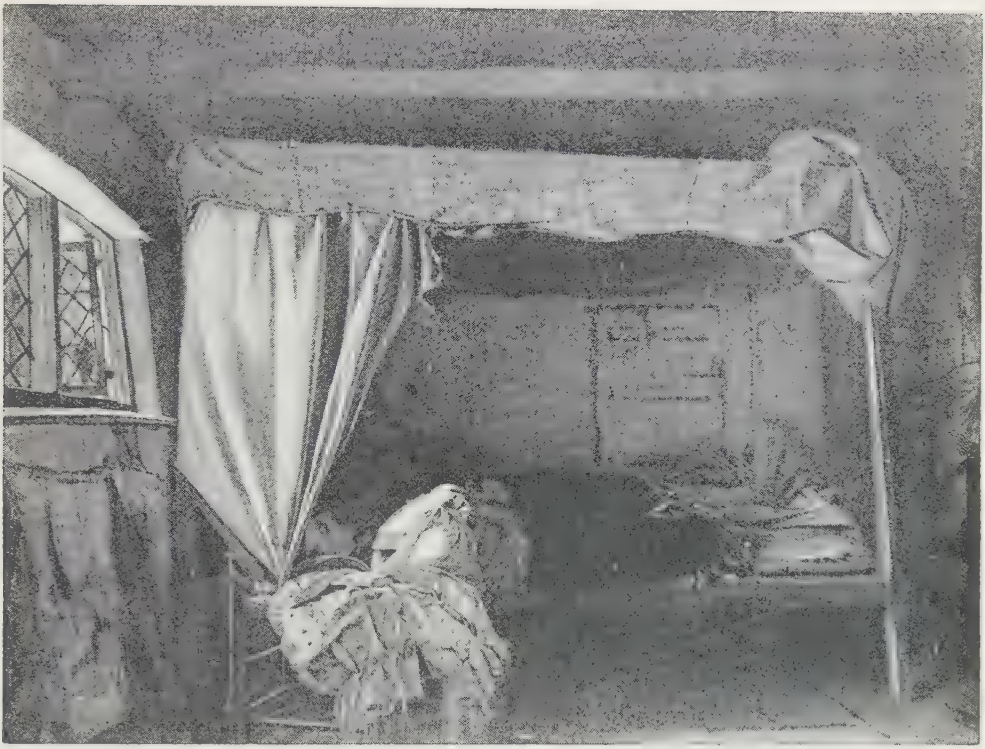
[illegible] picture by Sir George Hayter with him in signing such a petition, were put on their trial for seditious libel. But they were acquitted by the jury, and received a popular ovation when they left the court. There were fears that James would now resort to force, for he had brought over Catholic troops from Ireland, and had quartered them at Hounslow in the neighbourhood of London. But the majority were prepared to wait in patience for the accession of Mary of Orange, a Protestant princess and the wife of the man who had so successfully upheld the cause of the Dutch Protestants against Louis XIV.

These hopes received a rude shock when it was announced that the queen, Mary of Modena, had given birth to a son. The Princess of Orange and her husband professed to regard the child as supposititious, a belief for which no plausible foundation could be discovered. But admitting his legitimacy, it was still certain that he would be educated as a Catholic, and the nation was thus confronted with the prospect of a dynasty hostile to the Anglican Church. The Church had restored Charles II.; it now expelled his brother.

The survivors of the Whig party found themselves at the head of so numerous a following that they had no hesitation in summoning William of Orange to come and seize the throne by force. The stadtholder was willing enough to seize the opportunity of bringing England into the European league which he had built up against the aggressive designs of France. But Holland was already at war with France, and it was difficult to leave the theatre of military operations. Only the mistakes of James and Louis made it possible for the prince to cross the Channel. James in his blind infatuation refused the troops which were offered by his ally; Louis, instead of directing his march against the Netherlands

SIR ISAAC NEWTON
This great natural philosopher did much to widen the bounds of knowledge. The fall of an apple in his garden in 1665 started the train of thought that led to the discovery of universal gravitation.

THE TRIAL OF ALGERNON SIDNEY ON A CHARGE OF HIGH TREASON IN 1683
Algernon Sidney was brought to trial at the King's Bench Bar, four months after the execution of Lord William Russell, for a treasonable libel wherein he asserted the power to be originally in the people and delegated by them to the Parliament, to whom the king was subject, and might be called to account. Though he had not printed, published or circulated his writing, he was condemned to death, and executed on Tower Hill on December 7th, 1683.
From the picture by F. Stephanoff



THE MISERABLE END OF THE GAY DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

Foremost among the courtiers who surrounded Charles II. and participated in his vices was George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, whose gay life came to an unlooked-for end. Broken in health and in fortune by his career of extravagance and dissipation, the reckless nobleman retired to a country mansion at Helmsley, in Yorkshire, and in that neighbourhood, in the house of a tenant, he died in 1684. Fever was brought on as a result of sitting on damp ground after a long run with the hounds, and Buckingham seems to have died comfortless and unattended, without a friend near him.

From the picture by A. L. Egg, R.A.

allowed his attention to be diverted to the Rhine. The Prince of Orange was therefore able to leave Holland unprotected; he landed at Torbay without molestation, and began his march on London. Everywhere he was greeted with enthusiasm. James was deserted by soldiers, officers, Ministers, and private friends. He attempted to leave the kingdom by stealth, but was apprehended by a mob of hostile Kentishmen and brought back a prisoner to London. It was only with the connivance and at the suggestion of William, to whom such a captive would have been a source of great embarrassment, that the king ultimately made good his escape.

THE POET DRYDEN

John Dryden, born in 1631, wrote poems on the Restoration and on the coronation of Charles II., and was the author of many satires on the public men of the time.

A convention parliament assembled after the flight of James to discuss the future settlement. For the moment the Stuart cause had few supporters. Both Houses resolved that the throne was vacant and that a Catholic succession was incompatible with the national safety. There were some who wished to restore James on conditions; and others who would have preferred to leave him the kingly title, appointing William of Orange as regent with the full powers of a king. But these proposals, the work of Tories, were speedily dismissed. The Whigs desired to name Mary as queen and leave her husband in the position of a prince consort, but the objections of William proved an obstacle. The final decision was to recognise the prince and princess as joint sovereigns. But they were elected only on condition that they accepted the Declaration of Right in which the principal abuses of the prerogative for which the last two Stuarts had

THE DYING KING: SCENE IN THE ANTE-CHAMBER AT WHITEHALL DURING THE LAST MOMENTS OF CHARLES II.

After reigning for twenty-four years, Charles II, died in 1685, in his fifty-fifth year. The king had always enjoyed excellent health, and his death, which followed an illness lasting for only five days, came upon the nation with surprise. The above picture shows the scene in the ante-chamber to the king's apartments at Whitehall during the dying moments of Charles.

From the picture by E. M. Ward, R.A., in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool been responsible were enumerated and condemned. The Declaration—afterwards confirmed, with modifications, as the Bill of Rights—settled the crown on William and Mary, with remainder to the survivor; then on the heirs of Mary, then on Mary's sister Anne and her heirs, and in the last resort upon the heirs of William. These arrangements emphasised the elective character of the royal dignity and the supremacy of Parliament. It is, however, remarkable that no steps were taken to provide new means of asserting parliamentary control. The Revolution was but the first step in the process of constitutional reform, which continues for more than a century after 1688. From 1689 until the death of William III in 1702 the strife between the king and Parliament was bitter and almost continuous. The Dutch prince was, in his own fashion, not less arbitrary than the Stuarts, and his pretensions might have produced his expulsion if England could have spared him; for even the Whigs, to whom he owed the throne, complained that he would not be entirely guided by their advice. He was determined to be the slave of no one party in the state, and in foreign policy to act as his own Minister. Whatever the motives of this independence, the results were good. He saved the Tory party from proscription; he would not allow the Dissenters to be cheated of the toleration which they had loyally refused

ROBERT BOYLE

The father of English chemistry, Robert Boyle distinguished himself in that branch of science; he was the inventor of a compressed air pump. Born in 1627, he died in 1691.

THE NOBLE REBEL: THE LAST HOURS OF ARGYLE BEFORE HIS EXECUTION

The Earl of Argyle, associating himself with the Monmouth rebellion, put himself at the head of a Scottish rising, but his followers, dismayed at the increasing force of the enemy, gradually fell away from him. Falling into the hands of his enemies, the brave nobleman was convicted of high treason and beheaded at Edinburgh on May 30th, 1685

From the fresco by E. M. Ward, R.A., in the Houses of Parliament to accept from James II.; and although his persistent hostility to France was censured, the event proved that he had gauged the ambitions of Louis XIV. more correctly than English politicians.

His path, however, was smoothed by the existence of perils which he alone could face. There was a rebellion in Scotland which promised, but for the death of the leader Dundee, to spread through all the Highlands. Dundee fell in the hour of victory at Killiecrankie in 1689, but the Highlands were not pacified for another two years. The resentment caused by the massacre of Glencoe in 1692, and by the commercial jealousy of England towards the rising merchant class of Scotland, made the northern kingdom a source of constant anxiety. In Ireland there was a more prolonged war. The Catholics rallied to James II.; Londonderry, the chief stronghold of the Ulster Protestants, had to endure a three months' siege; the signal victory which William achieved over French and Irish forces at the Boyne in 1690 drove James II. from the island, but left his supporters in the field. It was only late in 1691 that the Irish Catholics laid down their arms and the French auxiliaries of Sarsfield departed, under the Treaty of Limerick

KING JAMES II.
He was the second son of Charles I., and succeeded his brother, Charles II., in 1685. Quite alienating himself from his people, and losing his throne, he ultimately fled to France.

THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH
Said to be the illegitimate son of Charles II., he was created Duke of Monmouth in 1663. When King James II. came to the throne, Monmouth asserted his own right to the crown, but was defeated and beheaded.

At sea, the French fleet which Colbert's genius had produced challenged the English naval supremacy. Admiral Torrington was disgracefully beaten off Beachy Head in 1690, and the south coast experienced a foretaste of the terrors of invasion. But this danger, too, was met. The great victory of Russell at La Hogue in 1691 not only averted invasion—it inflicted a blow on the French fleet which Louis could not or would not afford to repair. Henceforth the ambitions of the Grand Monarque were concentrated upon the land war. In this, too, England's interests were nearly concerned, since the dynastic revolution had linked her fortunes with those of the Low Countries, and she was now a party to the League of Augsburg. This danger lasted longer than the rest. The final settlement was delayed till 1697. But in that year, by the Treaty of Ryswick, France recognised the Revolution settlement of the succession.

Meanwhile the position of William in England grew more precarious. A number of the prominent Whig lords had long corresponded with the exiled king in his refuge at St. Germains. Parliament persistently opposed the maintenance of a standing army, and would pass only an annual Mutiny Bill, voting the necessary supplies from year to year. In spite of the financial reforms of Godolphin and Montague, the credit of the government was bad. The foundation of the Bank of England in 1694, one of the most notable measures of the reign, was a device of Montague for raising a loan which otherwise could have been obtained only with difficulty; and the growth of the national debt, though an inevitable consequence of the French war, provided the opponents of the new régime with an effective argument. The Toleration Act in 1689 was but a mutilated measure; William was foiled by the Houses in his scheme for abolishing the tests, so far as they affected Protestants. The Triennial

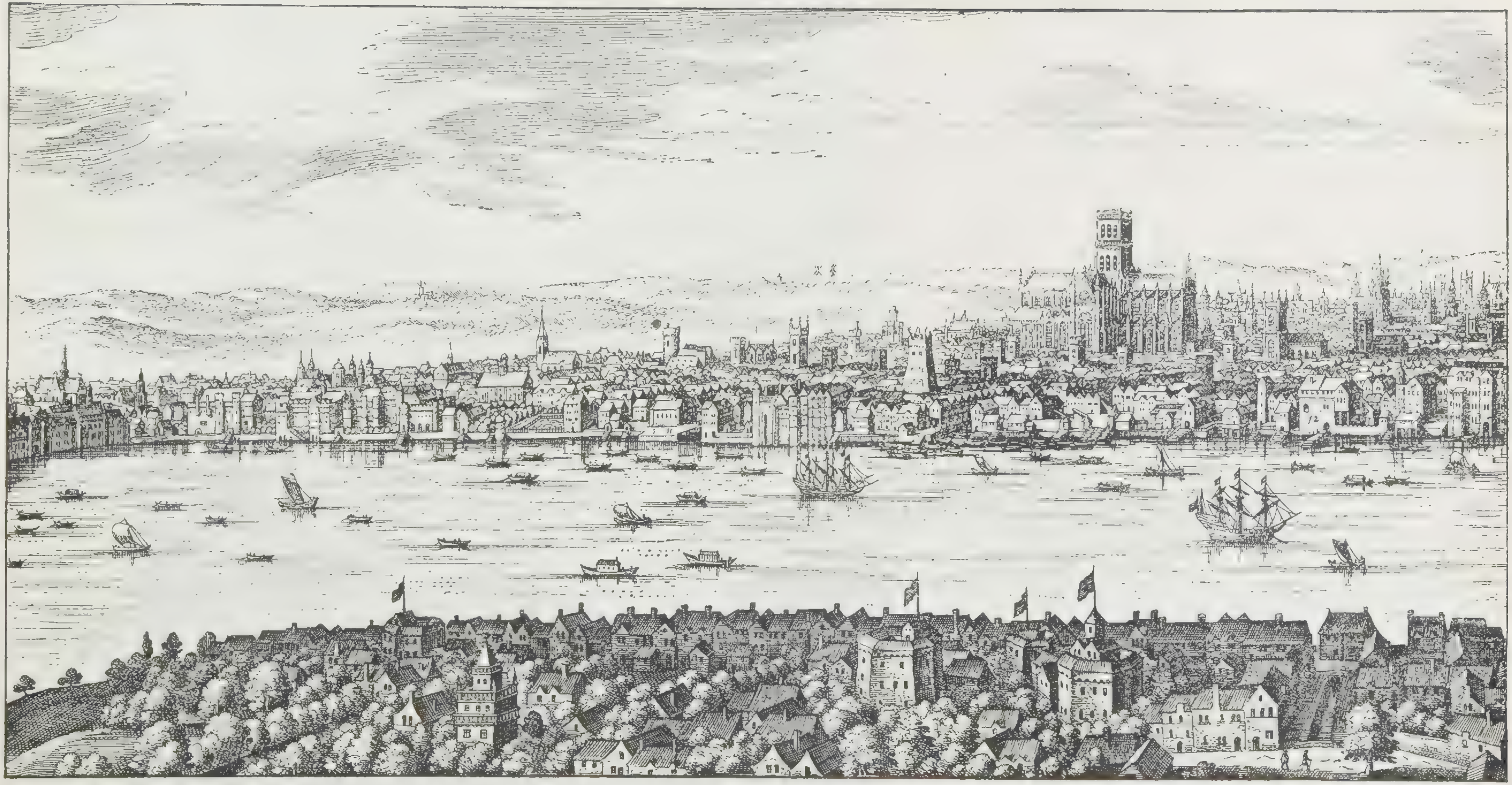
Act of 1694, providing that a new Parliament should be summoned at least every three years, was a limitation of the prerogative which the king accepted with great reluctance. After the death, in 1694, of his wife, whose personal popularity had stood him in good stead, William was compelled to put himself in the hands of the Whigs. More than once he was driven in these years to protect himself by the use of the veto, and by threatening that he would retire to Holland if further pressed. After the Treaty of Ryswick he reluctantly acquiesced in a considerable reduction of the army and dismissed his favourite Dutch Guards; but, in spite of these concessions, the opposition insulted him by examining and partially cancelling the grants of confiscated lands which he had bestowed upon his partisans in England and Ireland. His cold manner, his foreign extraction, his preference for Dutch friends, and his indifference to English party questions, were contributory causes to his unpopularity. But with the Tories the chief motive of attack was their repentance for the desertion of James, while the Whigs felt that Parliament had not attained that paramount position to which it was rightfully entitled. The Act of Settlement in 1701, which was primarily intended to bring the Hanoverians into the succession after Anne and her heirs, expressed in a series of new limitations the mistrust which

THE INFAMOUS JEFFREYS

A monster in human shape, Judge Jeffreys earned a reputation for cruelty which can find no parallel in history. He died in the Tower, where he lay a prisoner, in 1689.

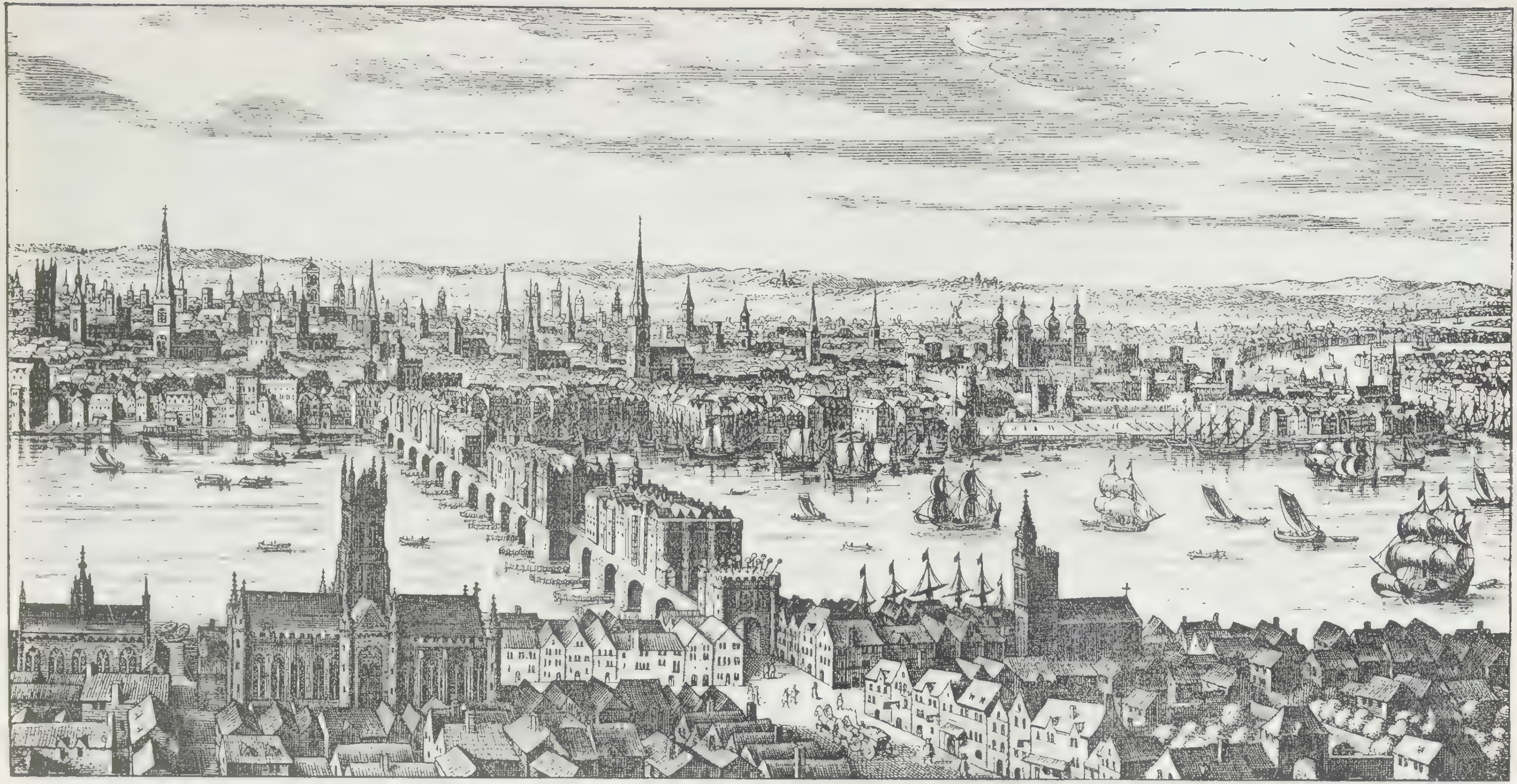
RICHARD BAXTER BEFORE THE DREAD JUDGE JEFFREYS

Lord Chief Justice in the reign of James II., Judge Jeffreys delighted in cruelty, and so inhuman was his treatment of the unhappy people dragged before him that his name became a byword throughout the land. He sent hundreds to death in connection with the Monmouth rebellion in the West of England. This picture represents the learned Dissenter, Richard Baxter, before the bar of the dreaded judge, who, with the view of gaining favour with the newly ascended monarch, James II., is heaping insults upon the head of the preacher, whom he afterwards committed to prison.



GENERAL VIEW OF LONDON AND THE THAMES FROM A PLAN OF THE YEAR 1666

This shows the river from Whitehall to a point in line with the Guildhall. Names of buildings on the north of the river are given in the upper and those on the south in the lower line.



GENERAL VIEW OF LONDON AND THE THAMES FROM A PLAN OF THE YEAR 1666

This section continues that on the preceding page from the Guildhall, part of which is seen on the extreme left at the top of the picture, to a point some distance east of the Tower.

KING JAMES DEFIED BY THE CLERGY: THE TRIAL OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS IN 1688

Desirous of restoring popery to his realms, King James, on April 27th, 1688, published a new Declaration of Indulgence, which he commanded the clergy to read from their pulpits. As this order practically called upon them to co-operate in the overthrow of their own Church, they declined to read the Declaration, and seven bishops, who had presented a written resolution of protest to the king, were thrown into the Tower. These leaders of the Church—Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury; Lloyd of St. Asaph; Ken of Bath and Wells; Turner of Ely; Lake of Chichester; White of Peterborough; and Trelawney of Bristol, were brought to trial before the King's Bench on June 29th, and being found "Not Guilty" were acquitted.

KING WILLIAM III. AND QUEEN MARY

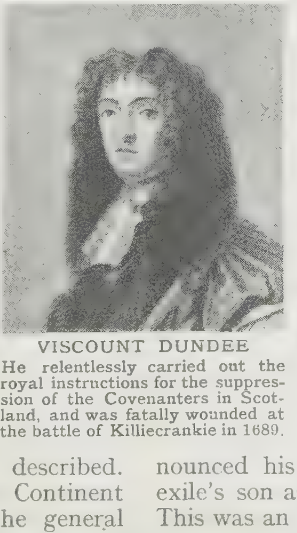
When the nation became weary of the tyranny of King James II., an invitation to come to England and redress their grievances was extended to William III. of Orange, Stadtholder of the United Provinces, whose wife was the daughter of the English king. He landed at Torbay on November 5th, 1688, with an English and Dutch army of 15,000 men; all parties quickly flocked to his standard, and the throne, which after the overthrow and flight of James was declared vacant by the Convention Parliament, was offered to William and Mary.

From the portraits by Sir Godfrey Kneller

the Whigs felt for the prerogative. These precautionary measures were somewhat modified in the next reign, 1706, but the Act in its final shape demanded that the sovereign should adhere to the Church of England; that no war should be opened for the defence of foreign territory without the consent of Parliament; that no alien should sit in Parliament or the Privy Council; that the judges should hold office during good behaviour.

In the last months of William's life a closer union between himself and his subjects was created by the opening of a new French war. It was ostensibly undertaken to prevent the European balance from being overthrown by the union of the French and Spanish Crowns in the Bourbon family. This was a danger which William had long foreseen and feared. The schemes of partition by which he had attempted to avert it have been elsewhere described. The smaller powers of the Continent concurred from the first in the general principle that the balance of power should be maintained by a division of the Spanish heritage. English politicians were not agreed as to the necessity of enforcing such an arrangement by an armed demonstration; Somers and Montague, the chief of the king's advisers, narrowly escaped an impeachment for their share in the treaties of partition. But the merchants were clearer-sighted than the politicians. It was soon perceived that a Bourbon dynasty in Spain would strain every nerve to exclude English trade from the Spanish ports in the New World.

There was considerable excitement when Louis accepted the Spanish inheritance for Philip of Anjou in November, 1700. But it was an accident that induced the whole nation to take up the quarrel of the mercantile interest. James II. died in September, 1701. On his death-bed he received a visit from the King of France, and the latter, in a moment of chivalrous impulse, announced his intention of recognising the exile's son as the lawful King of England. This was an open insult to England and a violation of the Peace of Ryswick. In Parliament and in the nation it produced



VISCOUNT DUNDEE

He relentlessly carried out the royal instructions for the suppression of the Covenanters in Scotland, and was fatally wounded at the battle of Killiecrankie in 1689.

A RIVAL FOR THE THRONE: JAMES II. RECEIVING THE NEWS OF THE LANDING OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE

By his attempts to restore the Roman Catholic religion in the kingdom, King James gradually lost his popularity. When news reached the king of the landing of William, Prince of Orange. he was surrounded by his courtiers in an apartment in Whitehall Palace, and his agitation so overcame him that the letter containing the information fell from his hands.

From the painting by E. M. Ward, R.A., in the National Gallery

MONMOUTH'S BID FOR THE THRONE: THE REBEL BEFORE THE KING

After the death of Charles II., in whose reign he had been exiled, the Duke of Monmouth, natural nephew of King James II., returned to England, and placing himself at the head of a rebellion against the reigning sovereign, soon had a following of [illegible] men. Meeting the king's forces at Sedgemoor, in Somersetshire, he was defeated after a desperate struggle and took refuge in flight. Discovered later on disguised as a peasant, Monmouth, with his arms bound behind him, was brought before James and threw himself at the king's feet. He ended his life on the scaffold

From the painting by John Pettie, R.A

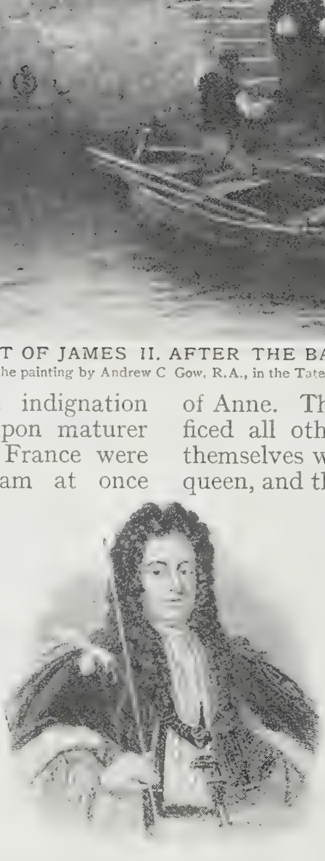
THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE, THAT SEALED THE FATE OF JAMES II.

Forsaken by his people, who turned with enthusiasm to welcome William of Orange, James II. fled to Ireland, where he could still count upon the support of the Roman Catholics. On July 1st, 1690, was fought the famous battle of the Boyne between the armies of King William III. and the ex-King James, his father-in-law. The troops of the latter gave way before the powerful onslaught of the new king's forces, and when James, viewing the battle from a neighbouring hill, witnessed the defeat of his cause, he rode towards Dublin. A few days later he escaped to France

From the painting by Benjamin West, R.A., by permission of Messrs. Henry Graves & Co.

A LOST CAUSE: THE FLIGHT OF JAMES II. AFTER THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE, IN 1690
From the painting by Andrew C Gow, R.A., in the Tate Gallery

an outburst of passionate indignation which the excuses offered, upon maturer deliberation, by the King of France were powerless to calm. William at once proceeded to utilise the favourable opportunity. His life was cut short by a fall from his horse in the spring of 1702; but the Grand Alliance was already formed, and his position as the general of the allies devolved upon a successor who was thoroughly fitted to continue his work both in diplomacy and on the field of battle. It may even be questioned whether William could have achieved the great success which fell to the lot of the Duke of Marlborough.



EARL OF GODOLPHIN
Though this nobleman stood by James when the Prince of Orange landed in England, the new king reinstated him as First Commissioner of the Treasury; he also held office under Anne. He died in 1712.

The new queen had been a cipher at the courts of her father, her sister, and her brother-in-law, and a cipher she remained, except for the fact that upon her favour the ascendancy of Marlborough depended. Marlborough's wife was for many years the chief confidant of Anne. The husband and wife had sacrificed all other considerations to identify themselves with the fortunes of the future queen, and they now reaped their reward. Marlborough became captain-general of the military forces; his friend Godolphin received the white staff of the treasurer and the supreme control of home affairs. Tories by conviction, they sacrificed their party feeling to the exigencies of the war. Their Ministry contained from the first a number of the Whigs, with whom the war was especially popular because declared by William; and after 1708 the two chief Ministers decided to rely altogether on that party. The military events of the struggle with France are related elsewhere. It lasted with little interruption until 1711. The Low Countries, the valley of the Danube, the Spanish peninsula, and the Lombard plain were the chief theatres of the war; but the decisive operations were confined to the first two of these, and are closely associated with the name of Marlborough. The balance of power, which meant little to England, gave Marlborough more concern than her commercial interests, which meant much. He showed a greater anxiety to damage the French than to benefit his own countrymen, and he continued the war long after Louis had signified his willingness to concede everything that England had a right to expect. That Marlborough made war in order to make money was a vulgar slander. The sums which he received from contractors and foreign powers were perquisites of a kind which all generals of the age felt themselves at liberty to take. But the duke undoubtedly reflected that his position would be precarious when peace was once concluded, and it is probable that he would have been more pacific if his doubts on this head could have been satisfactorily set at rest.

CHARLES MONTAGUE

A Chancellor of the Exchequer and a great financier, he instituted the Bank of England; he later became Earl of Halifax, and died in 1715.

It was a court revolution which led at length to England's withdrawal from the war. When the Tories had parted company with Marlborough they gradually coalesced to form a compact opposition, of which Harley was the manager and Henry St. John the controlling mind. Both had been members of the Marlborough and Godolphin Ministry; both were evicted in 1708 to make room for Whigs. Thirsting for vengeance, they turned to Anne, in whom they saw the key of the situation. An ardent Anglican, the queen had quarrelled with the Whigs because they offered opposition to the Occasional Conformity Bill (1702–1706), a measure designed to prevent Dissenters from evading the sacramental tests.

LORD CHANCELLOR SOMERS

He was a recognised authority on civil and constitutional law; in 1692 he became Attorney-General, and was Lord Chancellor from 1697 till 1700.

Repeated quarrels with the Duchess of Marlborough had strained the queen's friendship to breaking point. A new favourite and kinswoman of Harley was therefore able to undermine the position of the war party, which was, in the meantime, discredited with the electorate by the furious attacks of Swift and other Tory pamphleteers. The Whigs, to crown all, made the mistake of prosecuting a popular Tory preacher, one Dr. Sacheverell, who had used his sermons as a vehicle for criticisms of the Revolution and the defence of the doctrine of Non-resistance. The majority of the electorate were High Churchmen, and in theory devoted to the principles of the divine right of kings. The Triennial Act made it impossible to prevent Parliament from changing in composition with all the changes of popular opinion. The elections of 1710 produced a Tory House of Commons; and although, in the undeveloped state of political theory, the queen would have been justified in standing by Marlborough and the Whigs, the elections gave her the opportunity of asserting her personal and religious prejudices. Harley, now Earl of Oxford, and St. John, now Viscount Bolingbroke, came into office. Marlborough was recalled in 1711, deprived of all his offices, and threatened with charges of embezzlement.

The change of government entailed a change of foreign policy. The Tories had for some time past denounced the war as needless, unwarrantable, and ruinously expensive. They could not continue it without employing Marlborough, and they were eager to appropriate the fruits of his victories. Accordingly they opened negotiations behind the backs of the other parties to the Grand Alliance. In their eagerness for a settlement they overreached themselves. The King of France took advantage of their haste to demand terms more favourable than those which he had offered two years previously, and the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 conceded nearly all that he demanded. The territories ceded to England were inconsiderable, and the trade privileges—the Asiento Contract for the monopoly of supplying the Spanish colonies with slaves, and the right of sending one merchant ship a year to Portobello—were equally insignificant. It was natural that such terms should produce intense dissatisfaction with the government which accepted them. Bolingbroke hoped to appease the mercantile classes by arranging a supplementary treaty of commerce with France; he actually obtained the assent of Louis to a reciprocal reduction of tariffs. But the interests threatened made their protests heard in Parliament, and the commercial treaty was rejected. It was suspected that the Ministers forced on the peace negotiations in order to leave their hands free for Jacobite intrigues. This was not altogether true. The Tories knew, indeed, that the Elector of Hanover, who would succeed Anne under the Act of Parliament, regarded them with implacable suspicion. But it would have been madness to think of forcing the Pretender upon the country. His religion alone put him out of the question as a possible successor. Bolingbroke accepted the Hanoverians as an unpalatable necessity; he used the time of grace to strengthen the Tory hold upon central and local administration. He hoped, by a skilful use of patronage, to fortify his position so strongly that the elector would be forced to accept a Tory Ministry. The death of the queen occurred before Bolingbroke had time to complete the execution of his designs. Up to the last he had been hampered by the vacillation of Oxford, who would have preferred to make terms with the Whigs. Oxford was at length dismissed, but only a few days before the queen's death. The accession of George I. was accordingly followed by a proscription of the Tory party. They were accused of corresponding with the Pretender. Bolingbroke fled the country, Oxford was impeached and imprisoned. All offices were put into the hands of the Whigs, and the monopoly thus acquired by one party in the state was retained until 1761.

QUEEN ANNE, LAST OF THE STUART SOVEREIGNS

The daughter of James II., she was the last of the Stuart sovereigns, succeeding to the throne in 1702, on the death of William III., who died without issue. Her husband, to whom she was married in 1683, was Prince George of Denmark. The political troubles of the time gave the queen little rest, and she died on August 1st, 1714.

The union with Scotland, though an episode but slightly connected with the general course of events, is, from our modern point of view, the most momentous result of Queen Anne's reign. The union of the Parliaments had been projected by James I., and, for a moment, realised by Cromwell. Cromwell's experiment had been accompanied by the establishment of free trade between the two countries, a measure which went far towards making the Scots content with the loss of national autonomy. But Cromwell's policy was reversed at the Restoration. Lauderdale and the other members of the clique which managed Scotland for the last two Stuarts were opposed to any measure of union, because it would diminish their power and emoluments; nor was it difficult to create a prejudice against union in the mind of the Scottish Parliament. But the commercial classes suffered by their exclusion from English and colonial trade; the failure of the Darien scheme in 1695, a project for establishing a Scottish colony on the isthmus of Panama, proved that the Scots could not hope to obtain a share in the trade of the New World except under the shelter of the English flag. Many causes combined to prevent them from accepting the union as a commercial necessity. The Glencoe massacre in 1693, a romantic loyalty to the house of Stuart, resentment against the jealous spirit which England had shown in all commercial dealings, the fear of increased taxation, the certainty of diminished national dignity, were obstacles which it took years to overcome. In 1703 the English Act of Succession, which disposed of the crown of Scotland without reference to the wishes of the Scottish people, provoked a storm. Scotland retaliated by an Act of Security in 1704, which provided that on the death of Anne the Scottish succession should be settled by the national legislature, and that the successor to the English crown should be ineligible unless Scotland were in the meantime admitted to full rights of trade and navigation. The English Parliament was thus taught the necessity of securing union by the grant of free trade. The great difficulty that lay in the way was to induce the Scottish Parliament to vote for its own annihilation.

Fortunately there had been no general election since the Revolution; the Anglophile element was larger in the legislature than in the nation. A judicious use of such inducements as peerages strengthened the party of the union. The fears of Presbyterians were removed by emphatic assurances that their Church should under no circumstances be disestablished. The Highland chiefs were pacified by the guarantee of their hereditary jurisdictions. In the matter of taxation Scotland was liberally treated, and she received a sum of £400,000 with which to pay off her debt and to compensate the sufferers of the Darien scheme. Last, and most important, equality in trade and navigation was granted to Scotland. On these terms the Act of Union was passed in 1707. It provided for the representation of Scotland in the united Parliament by forty-five commoners and sixteen elected peers, for the fusion of the executives, for the lasting union of the crowns.

H. W. C. DAVIS

THE EARL OF OXFORD AND VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE

Skilled in parliamentary law, Robert Harley was appointed Speaker in 1701; in 1710 he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was created Earl of Oxford. On a charge of high treason in connection with the Treaty of Utrecht he was committed to the Tower, but was released in 1717. Henry St. John was created Viscount Bolingbroke in 1712. He held office in various ministries.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH AND SARAH JENNINGS

The military exploits of the Duke of Marlborough have been described in the preceding chapter. His wife, Sarah Jennings, had almost boundless influence over Queen Anne, which she employed to procure the professional advancement of her husband. Her power came to an end in 1711, when she was superseded in the queen's favour by her own cousin, Mrs. Masham.

DENMARK'S DESPOTIC MONARCHY
THE NATION'S FAILURE TO ATTAIN GREATNESS

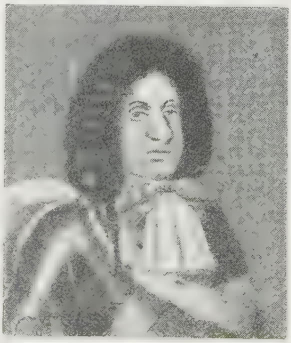
Denmark's Unpatriotic Nobility

At the close of the Swedish war in 1660, Denmark was in a sad plight. She had lost some of her most valuable provinces; her finances were in complete chaos; the whole country had been pillaged and laid waste; poverty and distress reigned everywhere. As a first step towards remedial measures a diet was summoned to Copenhagen in 1660, where representatives of the nobility, the clergy, and the burgess class met together. The burgesses and the clergy had for some time been growing more and more embittered against the nobles. They were indignant at their selfishness and despised them for the poor rôle they had played during the war, while the burgesses, and especially those of Copenhagen, were proud of their valiant defence of the capital. At first all efforts to improve the condition of the country were frustrated by the opposition of the nobles, who were unwilling to surrender any privilege or to pay any tax. Then the burgesses and the clergy, who had capable leaders in the persons of the burgomaster Nansen and Bishop Svane, joined forces.

Seeing that the privileges of the nobility would have to be abolished before any progress could be made, Nansen and Svane, in collusion with the king—who was apparently neutral, though both he and the queen in reality kept secretly in touch with the non-privileged classes—brought forward, in October 1660, the proposal to constitute Denmark a hereditary monarchy. The burgesses and clergy immediately accepted the proposal; and though the Rigsraad opposed, it was forced to give way, whereupon the ceremony of taking the oath of allegiance to the hereditary sovereign was celebrated with great splendour. The conditions of Frederic's election to the throne were now annulled, and the next step was to work out a new constitution. The diet was, however, unable to come to an agreement, and Svane therefore proposed that the king should be empowered to draw up the constitution. Owing to the king's great popularity, which he had gained during the siege of Copenhagen by his courage and self-sacrifice, the proposal was readily accepted.

The King Above Human Laws

Soon afterwards the diet was dissolved, and the king issued a document in which he claimed absolute power for himself. This document was circulated for signature by the representatives, and a despotic monarchy was thus approved by the nation. By the "Kongelov," or King's Law, of November 14th, 1665, which was to be looked on as an unalterable and fundamental law for both of Frederic's kingdoms, the king was placed above human laws and given the supreme power in all affairs of both Church and State. The only conditions imposed upon him were that he must be a member of the Lutheran Church, and that he might neither divide his possessions nor alter the constitution.



KING CHRISTIAN V
The first king of the Oldenburg Dynasty, Christian V. succeeded to the throne of Denmark in 1670, and reigned with a fair measure of success. He died in the year 1699.

The new constitution resulted in a change of administration. The Rigsraad was dissolved and the management of affairs transferred to six government boards, whose presidents formed the king's council of state. Feudal tenure was abolished, and the country was divided into districts managed by paid officials, the "Amtmoend." The parishes were deprived of their rights of patronage, and the town councils and burgomasters were appointed by the Crown. By reason of these changes the nobles lost not only their political power, but, owing to the confiscation of their fiefs, their most important sources of revenue, and were no longer entirely exempted from taxation. Finding themselves unable to accommodate themselves to the new order of things, they gradually withdrew from the court and the state service.

ADMIRAL NIELS JUEL

He commanded the naval forces of Denmark in the "Scanian War," and, defeating the Swedes landed in Scania, where he and his men were welcomed as liberators.

The old nobility had played its part and made way for a new court nobility, consisting for the most part of Germans. To this new nobility, whose function it was to lend splendour to the throne and support to the king, were accorded even greater privileges than to the old. On his estates the nobleman was almost a king; he administered justice, had the rights of ecclesiastical patronage, levied taxes, and raised troops. The Danish despotism was, on the whole, a benevolent one, for the king looked upon himself as the father of his people, and was always anxious for their welfare. Among other things the kings of this period deserve great credit for their legislation—the Danish and Norwegian Laws of 1683 and 1687 enacted by Christian V.—and their administration of justice. They also supported the University, encouraged popular education, and worked for the improvement of economic conditions, especially in the spheres of commerce and manufacture. But their legislation was not always a success; they frequently lacked the necessary insight. Moreover, they were biassed by the prejudices of their time. Unable to refrain from interfering in all directions and making rules and laws for all circumstances, they prevented a free and natural development, and the effect of this was especially marked in the case of manufactures, which they endeavoured, in a strictly protectionist spirit, to assist by

THE FALL OF THE LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR: GRIFFENFELD ON HIS WAY TO PRISON

Count Griffenfeld, whose real name was Peder Schumacher, was Minister of Foreign Affairs under Christian V., and rising rapidly from one dignity to another he eventually became Lord High Chancellor. He opposed the war with Sweden, in spite of the fact that the king was in favour of it, and soon after the outbreak of hostilities his enemies brought about his fall in 1676. Accused of high treason, he was condemned to death, but on the scaffold this sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life. After twenty-two years in prison he was set free, but died shortly afterwards.

From the painting by F. C. Lund

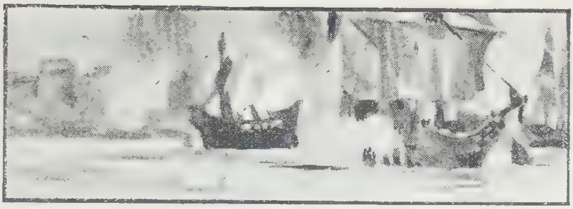
high tariffs and all kinds of prohibitions with regard to imports. It was only towards the end of the eighteenth century that this policy was changed. The maintenance of a costly court, the expenditure on the army and navy, which the sovereigns always strove to keep in an effective condition, and the financial assistance given to manufacturers and trading companies, swallowed up large sums of money; and in order to meet this drain—the taxes, heavy as they were, being insufficient for the purpose—the government was compelled to have recourse to various measures, not always of the wisest, such as hiring out their troops to foreign princes, selling the churches, and the demesnes, etc. But it was all of no avail; the financial position in the eighteenth century was anything but satisfactory, and the kings frequently found themselves in difficulties.

FREDERIC IV. OF DENMARK
He succeeded his father, Christian V., in 1699, and the earlier part of his reign was taken up with war against Sweden. Copenhagen was rebuilt by Frederic, who was a good friend of the peasants.

It was long before the kings of Denmark could resign themselves to the loss of Scania, and Frederic's son, Christian V. (1670–1699), renewed the war with Sweden (the "Scanian War," 1675–1679). The Minister of Foreign Affairs was at this time Count Griffenfeld. His real name was Peder Schumacher, and he was the son of a German wine-merchant in Copenhagen. He had the good fortune to attract the notice of Frederic III. and to win his confidence, was made Royal Librarian in 1663, and in 1665 was commissioned to draw up the king's Law. Under Christian V. he rose rapidly from one dignity to another, was ennobled in 1671, and made Lord High Chancellor in 1673. He was a gifted and well-informed man, energetic and capable in his administrative work; and it was he who carried through the changes resulting from the new form of government and established absolutism on a firm basis. As Minister of Foreign Affairs he was opposed to the war and wished to maintain peace between the Scandinavian states. But at court there was a war party, which was hostile to Griffenfeld, and the king himself was in favour of war. After war broke out his enemies compassed Griffenfeld's fall in March, 1676. In spite of his great gifts he had grave failings. He was mercenary, not above bribery, and arrogant. He was accused of high treason, and the king, weary of tutelage, withdrew his favour. He was condemned to death, but on the scaffold this sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life. After spending twenty-two years in prison he was set free, but died soon afterwards on March 12th, 1699.

The war with Sweden did not fulfil the cherished hopes of the Danish king, although Sweden, as the ally of France, was at the same time involved in war with Brandenburg. At the end of the century Christian's son, Frederic IV. (1699–1730), concluded an alliance with Russia and the combined kingdom of Saxony and Poland against Sweden. This led to the great Scandinavian war of 1700-1721 Frederic began operations by an attack on Duke Frederic IV. of Gottorp, brother-in-law of the King of Sweden, but was obliged by Charles, who had effected a landing on Zealand, to make peace in 1700.

When, however, Charles was defeated in 1709 at Poltava by Peter the Great, Frederic renewed his alliance with Peter and Augustus II., declared war against Sweden, and landed in Scania. He was, nevertheless, compelled to retire after suffering heavy losses, and had to renounce his claim to Scania, while Sweden paid him an indemnity of 600,000 thalers, surrendered the exemption from tolls in the Sound granted her at Brömsebro, and undertook not to assist the Duke of Gottorp to recover his possessions in Schleswig, which Frederic had confiscated on account of the duke's breach of neutrality during the war. By the Treaty of Frederiksborg the long-standing disputes between Denmark and Sweden were brought to an end. Denmark's struggle to become a great power had brought her nothing but loss. Sweden's power had also been broken in the last war, but Denmark gained nothing thereby. The chief power in the Baltic now passed into the hands of two new powers, Russia and Prussia.



THE GREAT NORTHERN WAR

SWEDEN'S BRAVE STAND UNDER CHARLES XII.

THE Regency which became responsible for the government of Sweden on the death of Charles X. did little to improve the state of the country, and totally neglected the education of the young king. The resumption of crown lands was not continued; the regents considered only their own interests and those of the nobles. In their foreign policy they were irresolute and lacking in independence, and even accepted bribes from foreign powers. The Estates were at variance.

At the beginning of 1668 Sweden joined the Triple Alliance against France. Soon after, however, Louis XIV. succeeded in dissolving this alliance and in attracting Sweden to his side by the promise of large subsidies. When Louis made an attack on Holland, in 1672, Sweden was also implicated in the war. As Louis hoped, the Swedes attacked Brandenburg at the moment when the elector was fighting against the French on the Rhine. Every such attempt of the Swedish government to aggrandise itself at the expense of Brandenburg was bound to fail because there was no personality at the head of the government combining, as did Charles Gustavus, political talent with military experience, capacity, and boldness.

The Great Elector's Finest Exploit

This attack became the occasion for the Great Elector's most brilliant and most popular exploit—the battle of Fehrbellin. "It was not a cheerful moment in the prince's life, a life that was a constant succession of care and struggle, disappointment and danger; his eldest son had just died; one of his campaigns had come to a disgraceful termination, and his every opponent was pointing to him as the cause of the disaster; he was tormented by the gout and could not leave his bed; his wife was nearing her confinement; the subsidies had not come which he required for the pay of his brave troops, upon whom, as ever, depended the future of his house and his position in the Councils of the German princes; yet, in spite of all, there was no weakness and no timidity." Frederic William relied so firmly upon himself and his comrades that he must have seen that the Swedes had delivered themselves into his hands. It was soon clear to him that he could expect but little help from the imperial court. Negotiations with Holland were protracted to a wearisome length, although William of Orange kept true faith with the Elector. Denmark was ready to help, but wanted money; only Brunswick was ready and willing to bring up help at once.

Swedish Defeat at Bellin

Frederic William did not wait. With 5,000 horse, 8,000 dragoons, 1,200 infantry, and fourteen guns he hastened into the territory occupied by Sweden, surprised Colonel von Wangelin in Rathenow, and pressed so hard upon General Waldemar Wrangel, the brother of the field-marshal of Charles Gustavus, that he was obliged to give battle at the Ferry of Bellin. The battle opened with a splendid cavalry charge led by Prince Frederic of Hesse-Homburg with an impetuosity perhaps excessive, but, fortunately for the elector, successful in its purpose, for the Swedes, though they made a brave defence, were no match for the troops of Brandenburg.

Germany's Pride in the Elector

The old Marshal Derfflinger, whose Upper Austrian origin did not prevent him from showing the utmost fidelity to the Margrave of Brandenburg, completed the defeat of Wrangel by his clever tactical dispositions, and so overwhelming was that defeat that the marches were freed from the enemy by this one blow. The German people felt that this victory of the Brandenburger was a national exploit, a relief from the weight of a foreign domination which had been borne with growing discontent even by the strongest partisans of Protestantism. Brandenburg was considered for the first time as an integral part of the nation and its elector was looked upon as the man and the prince for whom the heart of Germany had long been yearning. In numerous pamphlets Protestant writers defended his action in defeating the Swedes, who were no longer the champions of the faith. The defeat encouraged the Danes also to declare war against Sweden. For three successive years the Swedes suffered disaster upon disaster. At the battle of Bornholm, on June 11th, 1676, their fleet was almost entirely destroyed by the allied Dutch and Danish, among whom a few Brandenburg ships were to be found; a Danish army occupied Schonen; the elector penetrated to the coast line, and at length, on December 22nd, 1677, took Stettin after a siege which was carried on with splendid tenacity by both sides. The Swedish kingdom was saved from destruction only by the battle of Lund, which the young but discreet King Charles XI. won against the Danes.

Succession of Swedish Disasters

The negotiations which Louis XIV. had in the meantime entered upon at Nimeguen concluded the war in the north by the Peace of Saint-Germain with Brandenburg on June 29th, 1679, and the Peace of Lund with Denmark on September 26th, 1679. The elector had to give up Pomerania. Sweden sustained only the loss of her provinces on the east bank of the Oder. The war had, however, greatly injured the domestic prosperity of Sweden.

CHARLES XI. OF SWEDEN
The only child of Charles X. he was under a council of regency until 1672. He fought with success against the invading Danes, and proved himself a wise and able ruler

The country was impoverished and involved in debt, the provinces on the frontiers were devastated, and the state was helpless to cope with the general distress. The king and his confidential advisers were agreed that the one effectual remedy was to remodel the political and social organisation of the country. The first task of Charles was to reduce the power of the council and the upper nobility; he succeeded in accomplishing this with the help of the other Estates and of the gentry.

The Estates sanctioned a new constitution in 1680 and 1682, by which Sweden was practically transformed into an absolute monarchy. The Riksdag became a royal council, which the king summoned at his pleasure; the king had the power to enact laws without consulting the Riksdag.

The Estates still kept some control over the granting of taxes. At the same time the members of the regency were called to give an account of their administration by decree of the Estates in 1680, who also directed their efforts to a second resumption. The regents were sentenced to pay heavy fines, the resumption of crown lands was effected on a much greater scale, and with the utmost rigour, not only in Sweden itself but also in the Baltic provinces and in the older Danish and Norwegian provinces. These measures resulted in completely revolutionising the conditions of land ownership, and destroyed the power of the nobility by levelling the barriers of privilege which had separated the counts and barons from the inferior nobility, and by securing freedom for the peasants. Property was more evenly divided, and the public revenues increased enormously. The resumption of crown lands had, however, this drawback, that great indignation was aroused in many places by the severe and arbitrary measures through which it was effected. In the Baltic provinces the king's conduct almost occasioned a revolt; there his contempt for private rights was the cause of a fatal resentment.

The abundant means which Charles XI. now had at his disposal were appropriated exclusively to improving the political, military, and economic condition of his country. The land was strengthened against attack by the formation of a navy, and the erection of fortresses and a new naval port at Karlskrona. The reorganisation of the army, which had been begun by Charles IX. and Gustavus Adolphus, and which has partially remained in effect up to the present day, was completed. It was decided that in future the soldiers should be billeted on the estates of the peasants, who in return were exempted from military service in times of peace. Certain crown estates were freed from taxation on condition that they defrayed the expenses of the cavalry, while the

The Swedish Army Reorganised

officers received their maintenance from the crown lands. At the same time Swedish soldiers were levied to defend the foreign provinces. The finances and the administration were subjected to the careful revision which they so urgently required. Charles also turned his attention to all branches of industry. Although his own education had been so deficient, he knew the value of learning, and interested himself especially in the education of the people. He strongly impressed upon the clergy the necessity of teaching the peasants to read.

New life was also infused into every branch of literature. As early as the sixteenth century the literary activity of Sweden, which up to that time had been unimportant, received an impetus from the Reformation, especially as the kings of the House of Vasa took a keen interest in the development of the language and literature and tried to advance scholarship in every way. The earliest Swedish literature was entirely designed for edification, and consisted of devotional and theological controversial treatises. The most celebrated writers were the reformers Olaus and Laurentius Petri, who also made some attempts at writing history from the Protestant standpoint; while the Catholic point of view was represented by the ex-bishops Johannes and Olaus Magnus. These last wrote in Latin, which remained for a long time the language of literary men. In the seventeenth century literature lost its devotional character and became more remarkable for beauty of thought and diction. This transformation

CHARLES XII. OF SWEDEN
Succeeding his father in 1697, he was faced by an alliance of Russia, Denmark, and Poland, and thus there began the great Northern War, which lasted from 1700 to 1721.

THE CAPTURE OF THE TOWN OF MALMÖ BY COUNT MAGNUS STENBOCK
A distinguished general, Count Magnus Stenbock took part in the earlier campaigns of Charles XII., and had a large share in the victories of the Swedish arms. In 1709 he captured the town of Malmö, and had other equally noteworthy successes. He ended his life in a Danish dungeon in 1717, after being defeated by the combined Russians, Danes and Saxons.

was due chiefly to G. Stjernhjelm, who died in 1672, "the father of Swedish poetry," who modelled his writings on the ancient classics and popularised the old metres.

After the death of Charles XI., on April 15th, 1697, his son, Charles XII., became king, and although not yet fifteen years old was declared of age at the end of 1697.

Characteristics of the New King Charles XII.

Charles had enjoyed a good education. Like his father he was noted for an earnest piety and strict morality; his mode of life was temperate and simple. As a child he exhibited that love of honour and audacity, along with that obstinacy and perversity, which characterised him throughout his life. It was generally considered that he possessed only moderate abilities, because he seemed to devote his time only to bear hunts and other equally dangerous pastimes. Accordingly his neighbours, who were jealous of the power of Sweden, thought that this was the best opportunity to recover what they had lost. Russia, Denmark, and Poland formed an alliance, and immediately began the great Northern War (1700–1721).

Once again in this struggle the Swedish military success flared up like some brilliant firework. At one time it might have been thought that under a new hero-king the Gothic peoples were to regain the high prestige which Gustavus II. Adolphus and Charles X. Gustavus had won for them.

But fate decided otherwise; in Sweden's stead a new great power arose in Eastern Europe, a Slav kingdom under the guidance of the Russians, the neighbours of the Poles—a people gifted with admirable political capacities. Having no suspicion of their historical destiny, the Russians, through the agency of a wise prince, were raised in the course of but one generation to a position which enabled them to participate in the constitutional progress which Central and Western Europe had gradually achieved, and to

The Rapid Progress of the Russians

create a vigorous constitutional organisation for themselves. It is true that, even to the present day, their state is based on the will of the Tsar; the limited capacity of the Slavs for constitutional progress is obvious in the case of the mightiest kingdoms of Slavonic nationality.

Take away the personality of Peter the Great, and who can conceive the transition from unimportant Muscovy to the Russian Empire? Who can separate the fate of the monarchy which he created from the actions of his successors? Palace revolutions, revolts, military conspiracies, assassinations—these have been the deeds of special parties in particular cases; they were in no case the expression of national will. The progress of an administration, which could have advanced but very slowly during two centuries if it had not served to strengthen dynastical power, has invariably consisted of borrowings from foreign constitutions.

It was foreigners who were Peter's teachers and demonstrators; in foreign countries he acquired the ideas upon which he constructed his state. The mingling of Romanoff blood with that of Holstein-Oldenburg and Askanien-Thuringen preserved the ruling house from a relapse into the Muscovite character of a Fedor, Ivan, or Alexei, and gave it a European stamp. It was its princes that have made Russia the European power in which the Slav nations have become great and strong. The useful qualities of the Russians have been their capacity for subordination, their obedience, and their invincible confidence in the Tsar

Peter the Great's Work for Russia

as God's vicegerent upon earth. These characteristics have made them superior to the Poles; by these they have been made equal to their great share in the world's history, which the Tsar Peter I. recognised as theirs, and took upon himself and laid upon his successors.

The immediate result of this recognition, which was matured during Peter's travels in Western Europe, was his share in the attack directed against Sweden by Frederic Augustus of Saxony-Poland, which gave him the opportunity of gaining a seaboard on the Baltic. In spite of his victory at Asov in 1696, which his conquest of the Crimea would have enabled him to turn to account by employing means similar to those with which he had to fight the Swedes, he was ready to conclude peace with the Porte on July 2nd, 1700, in order to have a free hand for his undertakings in the north, for he was well aware that connection with the east was of no use to him, but that the opening up of communication with the west would secure the stability of his internal reforms and advance the entry of Russia into the ranks of the European powers.

Denmark attacked Holstein; the Duke of Holstein, Frederic IV., had married Hedwig Sophia, the sister of Charles.

THE FUNERAL PROCESSION OF KING CHARLES XII. OF SWEDEN, IN DECEMBER, 1718

Skilled in the art of war Charles XII. of Sweden was engaged throughout his entire reign in battles with the enemies of his country. He was undaunted by defeat, and when overcome by Russia and his allies in 1709, he immediately organised a new army and fleet. Invading Norway for the second time in 1718, he was killed on December 11th while besieging the fortress of Frederiksten, near Frederikshald. He became the favourite national hero on account of his heroism and his marvellous victories, his morality and his contempt of death.

Peter attacked Esthonia, and Augustus sent an army against Livonia. Charles refused all attempts at reconciliation, and declared that he would not enter upon an unjust war nor would he end a just one before he had humbled his enemies. He first of all directed his attention to Denmark. King Frederic IV. was compelled by the Peace of Travendal, on August 18th, 1700, to retire from the alliance and to acknowledge the independence of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. In the same year he inflicted a severe defeat upon Peter at Narva on November 30th; but instead of following up his victory he first attempted to crush his cousin Augustus, whom he bitterly hated. He accordingly advanced through Courland and Lithuania and conquered Warsaw and Cracow. Augustus was declared to have forfeited the crown of Poland and Stanislas Leszczynski was proclaimed king in 1704.

Poland's King Dethroned

In the meantime Peter had been successful in the Baltic provinces, and had founded St. Petersburg in Ingermanland. Charles, however, remained several years in Poland in order to establish Stanislas in his kingdom, and then pressed on into Saxony, where Augustus the Strong was compelled by the Peace of Altranstädt in 1706 to renounce the Polish crown for himself and his descendants, to acknowledge Stanislas, and to withdraw from all his alliances. Charles stood now at the height of his glory. Louis XIV. made every endeavour to gain his assistance in the War of the Spanish Succession.

Charles, however, wished to overthrow Peter, the Tsar of Russia. But instead of advancing to St. Petersburg he marched towards the Ukraine to ally himself with the Cossack hetman Ivan Mazeppa, and afterwards to proceed to Moscow. Without waiting for reinforcements, which were on the way, he entered South Russia. The Russians had in the meantime laid waste the country and defeated the general, Lewenhaupt, who was to have brought up the Swedish reinforcements; Mazeppa, however, whose treachery was discovered, came as a fugitive to the Swedish army. In spite of this Charles continued his march, and arrived at Poltava in spring. Peter hurried to the relief of the town, and gained a brilliant victory over Charles on July 8th, 1709; the king escaped with difficulty, and fled with 500 followers across the Dnieper and the Bug into Turkish territory. The battle of Poltava decided the fate of the North; Russia had taken the place of Sweden as a great power.

Defeat and Flight of Charles XII.

The power of Sweden had begun to decline even before 1709. After the battle of Poltava, Frederic III. and Augustus II. renewed their alliance with Russia. Augustus drove Stanislas out of Poland. The Danes landed in Scania, which, however, they were soon compelled to leave. Peter, who had completed the conquest of the Baltic provinces, devastated Finland, while his fleet threatened the coast of Sweden. The majority of the German possessions had been lost. In this desperate situation the Council of State, in spite of the prohibition of the king, summoned the Riksdag, where dethronement was seriously considered. On hearing this, Charles, who had been in Turkey for five years, decided to return home. As "Captain Peter Frisch" he rode in sixteen days through Hungary and Germany, and arrived on November 22nd, 1714, at Stralsund, which was the last possession of the Swedes in Pomerania. In the meantime Prussia, which was anxious to obtain Pomerania, and Hanover, which had bought Bremen and Verden—a conquest from the Danes—had attached themselves to the enemies of Sweden. After a heroic defence Charles was obliged to surrender Stralsund, which was besieged by the allies, and return to Sweden.

Charles the National Hero of Sweden

He assembled an army, which he took to Norway, in 1716, but he was compelled to return to Sweden. Two years later he made a second attempt to conquer Norway, and advanced against the fortress of Frederiksten near Frederikshald in Southern Norway. There, on the evening of December 11th, 1718, a bullet from the fortress put an end to his restless life. The siege was at once raised, and his brother-in-law, Frederic of Hesse, led the army back to Sweden. In spite of the misfortunes into which Sweden was plunged by his obstinacy Charles became the favourite national hero on account of his morality and his heroism, his contempt of death, and his marvellous victories. During his stay on the continent, and also after his return home, he worked zealously at reforming the government, and these reforms bear witness to his impartial sagacity.

Hans von Zwiedineck-Südenhorst

THE ENDING OF THE OLD ORDER

THE FIFTY YEARS AFTER LOUIS XIV.

THE BOURBON POWERS AND GREAT BRITAIN

THE Treaty of Utrecht and the death of Louis XIV. mark a definite epoch. For half a century France had pursued an aggressive policy which, if completely successful, would have made her the dictator of Europe. In spite of the disasters of the last great war, Louis so far achieved his primary object that a Bourbon instead of a Hapsburg was seated on the Spanish throne; the old-time fear of a great Hapsburg domination in Europe had given place to the fear of a Bourbon domination. But a Bourbon Union would never come forward as the champion of the papacy; the transition was completed by which commerce was to replace religion as the explicit motive in the contests of nations. Again, in achieving the hegemony of Europe, France had of necessity found the Hapsburgs her great rivals: in maintaining the hegemony, it was now Great Britain which threatened her power.

A New Era in Europe

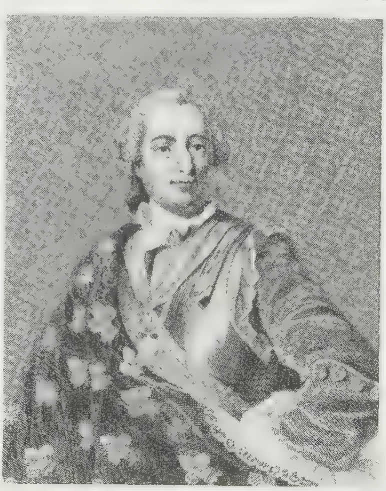
The Troubled Condition Of Europe

It was largely the accident of the ejection of the Stuarts from England, the accession of the Dutch stadtholder, and the support Louis gave to his exiled cousins, that had involved France and England in war; for the next century the most fundamental antagonism was to be that between French or Bourbon and British interests. There remained, indeed, sundry bones of contention, mainly in Italy and the Mediterranean, between Austria and Spain—the German Hapsburg power may now be definitely associated with the name of Austria—but the vital struggle was to be concerned with trans-oceanic supremacy. At the outset, however, the new conditions were not realised. The death of Louis, in 1715, placed on the throne his great-grandchild, Louis XV., a sickly infant. In spite of renunciations, no one could feel any certainty that his uncle, now Philip V. of Spain, would not, after all, assert his claim to the succession if the child died; while under the existing instruments, Philip, Duke of Orleans, now regent, was the heir-presumptive. Orleans wanted his claim secured as against Spain; the Hanoverian king of Great Britain wanted his secured against a Stuart restoration by French help; so the two governments mutually agreed to support each other. The dynastic connection between the two Bourbon thrones did not become a bond of political union till the prospect of an attempt to make them one had disappeared; and even then the helm of state in France, as in Britain, was in the hands of a Minister who had no mind to decide political issues by the arbitrament of war.

The recent struggle had borne much less heavily on the island power than on either France or Spain; but, for all three, peace and financial reorganisation were needed. In England both these ends were procured with success; for five-and-twenty years her warfare consisted in an abortive Jacobite rising and in occasional naval demonstrations, in the course of one of which she incidentally annihilated the Spanish fleet. From 1720 to 1739 Walpole persistently maintained a policy which treated the financial prosperity of the country as outweighing all other considerations, and the national wealth was immensely increased. In Spain, on the other hand, the marriage of King Philip to Elizabeth Farnese introduced a spirited foreign policy directed primarily against Austria in Italy. The Minister Alberoni endeavoured at the same time to revive the Spanish sea power, but his efforts were wrecked by a premature collision with the British squadron in the Mediterranean, off Cape Passaro. In consequence of this war, the Sicilies passed under Hapsburg dominion in 1720; though a few years later, in the course of territorial exchanges springing from the war of the Polish succession, a branch of the Spanish Bourbons was established on the Neapolitan throne. But this general misdirection of Spanish activities did not tend to strengthen resources which required to be carefully husbanded.

Britain's Check To Spain's Naval Ambitions

Meanwhile, France, like Great Britain, was avoiding wars of an exhausting kind. The Orleans régime was demoralising to the character of the upper classes from its extreme licentiousness; the noblesse was very distinctly on a downward grade, and in this respect matters were not improved when the king himself was old enough to become the real centre of the court. About 1727, the septuagenarian Cardinal Fleury became first Minister. In conjunction with Walpole, Fleury directed his efforts to maintaining European peace, but he was less successful than the English Minister in keeping his country entirely clear of war. He, however, accomplished the rapprochement with Spain which was expressed in the secret Family Compact of 1733, directed against Austria and Great Britain, of which the primary design, based on the knowledge of Walpole's intense aversion to war, was to act diplomatically or otherwise against Austria, and then take in hand an isolated England.



LOUIS XV. OF FRANCE

He was little more than an infant when the death of his great-grandfather, Louis XIV., in 1714 left to him the throne of France. He lived a life of excess and debauchery, and he died from an attack of smallpox in 1774.

It was fortunate for the latter that the fundamental necessity of overwhelming her sea-power escaped the Bourbon plotters. Consequently, when the violence of popular excitement forced the governments of Great Britain and Spain into war against their will in 1739, Great Britain was always able to hold her own, with the more security, because this naval "War of Jenkins' Ear" was soon merged into a Continental struggle—the "War of the Austrian Succession," which absorbed most of the energies of France, wherefrom the naval power reaped the usual advantage.

The opportunity for attacking Austria came first through the question of the succession to the crown of Poland. The monarchy of that country was elective. Stanislas Leszczynski, the father of the French king's wife, was the popular candidate; Augustus of Saxony, the son of the last king, was favoured by Austria and Russia. Louis consequently had a personal interest in the question, while Spain had none, so far as Poland was concerned; but the Bourbons might gain something from a war with Austria, which, if it did nothing else, would loosen the bond between Austria and Great Britain, since Walpole might be safely relied upon to abstain from active intervention.

The war was carried on without energy or marked ability in any quarter, but not without a considerable drain on the resources of the armies of all the combatants, while Walpole, content to exercise mere diplomatic pressure, husbanded the national wealth of Great Britain. The ultimate result was that the Austrian candidate got Poland, and Austria got from the powers a perfectly valueless guarantee of the "Pragmatic Sanction," which was to secure the whole of the Hapsburg succession to the emperor's daughter Maria Theresa. In Italy, however, she transferred the Sicilies to a Bourbon dynasty, and received Parma and Piacenza; Tuscany was transferred to the Duke of Lorraine, Maria Theresa's husband. He in exchange handed Lorraine over to Stanislas by way of compensation for the loss of Poland, and France got so much of clear profit, since this meant that she acquired Lorraine. The time was certainly not yet ripe for

Bartering European Territory

the Bourbons to make an open attack on Great Britain; but events proved too strong for the governments concerned. The colonial and commercial policy initiated by Colbert early in the reign of Louis XIV. had planted French settlements in rivalry to those of the British, both in India and in North America. That the competition in India would be brought to the decision of the sword had hardly occurred to French or English statesmen, though in America that event was growing more and more conspicuously imminent. Holland had already fallen out of the race, and an acute observer might have recognised that a decisive struggle between France and Great Britain was as inevitable as any political event can be. On the other hand, the causes of friction between Spain and England were more obvious and palpable, though in their nature there was nothing new. From the days of Elizabeth, Spain had maintained her monopoly in South America by restrictions and regulations which English sailors had always endeavoured to evade or defy. There was an eternal cross-fire of charges and counter-charges, of illegal trading by Englishmen, of illegal exercise of powers by Spanish officials.

DUKE OF ORLEANS

Philip of Orleans became regent when the crown of France fell to Louis XV., and remained in that office till his death in 1723.

The diplomatists in 1739 found themselves face to face with an outburst of popular sentiment in both countries which they were wholly unable to control. Walpole, in spite of his apprehension that Spain would be joined by France—information had reached him of the Family Compact—and his conviction that the combination would be too strong for Great Britain, was forced to declare war, amid national jubilation. Great as a peace Minister, he was wholly unfitted to grapple with the conduct of a war, and the naval operations were marked by an inefficiency which was not absolutely disastrous only because the Spanish inefficiency was equally conspicuous. The process of "muddling along" gradually brought to the front commanders who were able to make use of the incomparably superior material of the British Navy, and to ensure its ascendancy; but it was well for England that Fleury had neglected to make the French fleet capable of effective intervention.

CARDINAL FLEURY

When Louis XV. took the government into his own hands, Fleury became his chief adviser. Against his will, he was drawn into the War of the Austrian Succession.

In fact, French attention was absorbed by events in another quarter. The Emperor Charles VI. died; according to the Pragmatic Sanction, his daughter was to succeed to all the Hapsburg dominions, and it had been the emperor's aim to secure the election to the imperial crown also for her husband. But the Elector of Bavaria claimed the succession to Bohemia and became a candidate for the empire. The rending of Austria would provide spoils for various powers, who found no difficulty in producing technical excuses for breaking their pledges. The attack was opened by Frederic of Prussia, who seized Silesia on a flimsy pretext. France promised her support to the Bavarian Elector. British and Hanoverian interests alike brought Hanoverian troops and British subsidies to the support of Maria Theresa; Spain, of course, took her stand on the other side.

The events of the war need not be detailed. From a British point of view, the complete success with which Commodore Martin imposed neutrality upon Naples, and the gallantly fought battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy, are its most interesting episodes, apart from the last Jacobite rising in 1745, which is described elsewhere. The heterogeneous combination against Austria had no common aims. Frederic of Prussia left the allies when Maria Theresa abandoned Silesia to him. In the early campaigns neither French nor Bavarian armies generally distinguished themselves, though in the later stages of the war the French Marshal Maurice of Saxony, commonly known as Marshal Saxe, showed himself perhaps the ablest of the commanders after Frederic of Prussia. It is curious to observe that until 1744

THE BATTLE OF FONTENOY IN THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION

In this battle, fought on May 11th, 1745, at the Belgian village of Fontenoy, near Tournay, the French, under Marshal Saxe, were opposed by a smaller allied army of British, Dutch and Austrians, under the Duke of Cumberland. When several direct attacks against the French had failed, Cumberland formed most of his British and Hanoverian troops into a single column 4,000 strong and advanced. He was, however, not supported by the Dutch, and was compelled to retire, having lost 4,000 men.

[illegible] painting by Felix Philippoteaux [illegible] Albert Mayer

France and Great Britain were not nominally at war with each other, while each took the field as "auxiliary" of one of the principal combatants. In that year Frederic again joined the allies, to desert them again before the close of 1745.

The Balance of Power in Europe

The French arms were persistently successful under Marshal Saxe in the Netherlands, and those of Austria in Italy. The assertion of British naval predominance brought about the capture of Louisburg on the St. Lawrence, and would probably have had decisive effects on the struggle which Dupleix had begun in India if the powers, all alike weary of the war, had not terminated it in 1748 by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Frederic had won Silesia, and Maria Theresa had lost it. Otherwise, the peace practically restored all conquests on all hands. There had been an enormous expenditure of life and of money with insignificant result. Before a decade had passed, another conflagration was raging which concluded very differently. The War of the Austrian Succession had decided nothing except the facts that Prussia was a first-class military power, and that there would be no more attacks on the established dynasty in England. The combinations of the Powers, however, were to be on entirely new lines. In the first place, Spain retired altogether under a pacific king, Ferdinand; the aggressive influence of Elizabeth Farnese came to an end with his accession. In the second place, the exhibition of Prussia's developed power had created alarm and jealousy, while the loss of Silesia had filled Maria Theresa with vengeful feelings, and Frederic's personality had excited the keen animosity of two other important dames—the Tsarina, and Mme. de Pompadour, who now ruled Louis.

In the third place, the issue between French and British, both in India and in America, grew more and more acute. Hence it became certain that when war did break out France and Great Britain would be on opposite sides, and Austria and Prussia would be on opposite sides. How the partners would pair off, however, remained uncertain. But while Great Britain, under the incompetent Newcastle, merely drifted into alliance with Frederic, Austria deliberately sought the French alliance, in defiance of all tradition, while Louis was influenced thereto partly by the Pompadour, partly by the superstition that he could square the account with Heaven for his private vices by supporting the Catholic Austria against the Protestant Prussia. Here we are concerned mainly with those aspects of the Seven Years War which especially affected the Franco-British rivalry; and even among these, the events which took place actually in India or in America have been or will be treated at length in other parts of this work. But while the details in various fields of the great struggle can best be thus dealt with in isolation, we shall also find it most convenient to set forth here the relation in which the several contests stood to each other.

Rivalries of French and British

French and British had to finish in India a duel, the result of which had already become a foregone conclusion, while the French and British governments had been at peace and the rival companies were fighting out their quarrel as auxiliaries of rival native potentates. Nothing but the mastery of the seas could now have given the victory to France. The genius of Montcalm and the lack of organised cohesion among the British Colonies in America made the issue there more doubtful, until British naval superiority cut the French off from aid out of France.

Pitt's Inspiring Genius

The one chance for France in the duel was to devote her whole energies to matching her rival on the sea. But her energies were divided, while those of Great Britain were concentrated. England's wealth enabled her to supply her ally Frederic with the sinews of war of which he was sorely in need. Thus aided, his genius enabled him to make head against the seemingly overwhelming circle of his foes; France exhausted her resources in launching against him the great armies which were shattered by him or by his lieutenant Ferdinand of Brunswick at Rosbach and Crefeldt and Minden. The quality of the French armies, and especially of its aristocratic commanders, had grievously degenerated since the days of Louis XIV. On the other hand, when the stupid incompetence under which Great Britain entered on the war was replaced by the inspiring genius of Pitt, officers and men by land and by sea showed themselves worthy of the highest traditions of the nation. France had created a navy during the years of peace, but the two great fleets from Toulon and Brest were both annihilated in 1759 off Lagos and at Quiberon; the British squadrons swept the seas unchallenged. Even if Wolfe had failed before Quebec, British reinforcements would ultimately have prevailed over Montcalm in his isolation. When it was altogether too late, a new king in Spain returned to the principles of the Bourbon Family Compact in support of France, but the only effect was to place the Spanish settlements at the mercy of British fleets. It seemed merely a question of time before every French or Spanish island should fall a prey to the mistress of the seas, when the new king, George III., and his Minister, Bute, resolved to terminate the war at the price of the most recent conquests, and to leave their stubborn Prussian ally deserted—for which he never forgave them. Fortunately, however, some of his foes had already retired, and the rest were too exhausted to continue a struggle in which their superior numbers had been repeatedly overmatched by Frederic's genius.

Britain the Mistress of the Seas

The character of the Seven Years War, which opened with the successful attack of the French upon Minorca in 1756, and ended with the Treaties of Paris and Hubertsburg in 1763, was determined mainly by two factors. First, Great Britain deliberately and consciously fought, not for the balance of power in Europe, which had dominated international politics since the days of Wolsey, but for trans-oceanic empire, conditioned by naval supremacy; whereas France divided her energies.

Russia's Advance in Power

In the second place, the problem of the balance of power had itself changed, because the Hapsburgs no longer dominated Central Europe; Prussia had appeared as an effective rival—so effective that France was ready to help her old rival to recover her old predominance in order to crush the new Power. But a third feature was that Russia now began to play a much more direct and prominent part in the affairs of Western Europe than she had hitherto done—a position from which she was not again to recede. Incidentally also the fact was marked that Spain, Holland, and Sweden would thenceforth be unable to take more than subordinate places.

The result of the war was decisive in favour of Great Britain as concerned the supremacy of the British race—though subsequently divided—beyond and upon the seas; and in favour of Prussia as securing her equality with Austria; while France was further than ever from that hegemony of the west which Louis XIV. had seemed to attain. The "Grand Monarque" appeared to have achieved his object when the Spanish crown was accepted for his grandson Philip on the death of Charles "the Bewitched" of Spain, and he could declare that "the Pyrenees no longer existed."

Spain's Peaceful Progress

The war of the succession would have taken a different course if he had not proceeded to convert England into a most energetic, instead of a very doubtful opponent, by his recognition of the Chevalier as James III., an act which dispelled the apathy of England as a nation to the war, for the recollection of their unhappy condition under James II. and his predecessor, Charles, made the people determined to resist to the utmost any attempt to restore the Stuarts to power; and, disastrous as the war proved, it left the Bourbons in possession of Spain as well as of France. Circumstances, however, prevented the Bourbon combination from becoming a consolidated force. The Bourbon was King of Spain, but its ruler was Elizabeth Farnese, whose horizon was limited by her Italian ambitions and her desire to secure a great inheritance not for her stepsons, the heirs of the Spanish throne, but for her own offspring. A Spain perpetually plunging into every war which gave her a pretext for attacking Austria had no chance of restoring her finances and reorganising her administration so as to play an ambitious part with any effect. It was not till Elizabeth's stepson Ferdinand ascended the throne, and her influence was lost, that Spain, in a decade of peace, was able to make real material progress. Hence, the Family Compact was, in fact, infinitely less dangerous to either of the powers against which it was aimed than it might have been made by cool-headed statesmanship.

But the main fabric which Louis XIV. had built up, grandiose, magnificent to outward view, was deficient in real strength. Building on Richelieu's foundations, he had concentrated the state in the monarchy. The power of the crown was absolute beyond all European precedent, and administration had been in the hands of men selected by their king—whether judiciously or otherwise—on account of their fitness, not on account of their birth. Louis XIV. had, in fact, inclined to follow the precedent of the Tudors in England, in giving a preference to servants who did not belong to the

FAVOURITES OF LOUIS XV.: THE YOUNG FRENCH KING IN THE COMPANY OF HIS FRIENDS

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old aristocracy. Under his successor, Louis the Well-beloved, the aristocracy, to a great extent, recovered their hold on administration, whereby efficiency was greatly impaired. Thus, the chiefs of the armies which took the field against Frederic II. and Ferdinand of Brunswick were of a type utterly inferior to that of the antagonists of William III. and Marlborough. Again, sheer absolutism can be successful only when the monarch himself is either a man of high capacities or is endowed with a happy faculty for selecting able Ministers. Louis XIV. was tolerably qualified in both respects, Louis XV. in neither. It is true that France owed a good deal to Fleury, though the close of his career was marked by ill-success very much like Walpole's in England; but Louis was a mere boy when he bestowed the office of first Minister on his aged tutor, whom he had enough intelligence to love and respect.

France's Debt to Fleury

After Fleury died, at the age of ninety-three, Louis tried to emulate his great-grandfather and be his own first Minister, of which the practical outcome was that the king's mistress—the most important of the series was the Pompadour—was virtually the mistress of France; though the king might, and frequently did, carry on political intriguing of his own behind her back, while she was intriguing behind the backs of Ministers. It was a curious freak of popular favour which gave him the title of Bien-aimé, the "Well-beloved," on his recovery from an illness, while he was still a young man—in his later years the epithet would have been fitted to him only in bitter irony. The crown, with no diminution of its absolutism, was already being rendered contemptible; the series of national fiascoes and disasters which reached their culminating stage between 1758 and 1763 ruined its prestige. In France, even the large element of bombast and theatricality which characterised Louis XIV. had rather increased than diminished the force with which the Monarchy appealed to the popular imagination; but the splendours of Louis XV. were palpable tinsel. The prestige of the aristocracy, which had stood high under the old king, when merit was in demand, was destroyed by the incompetence, and more than incompetence, of conspicuous members of the order, when merit ceased to count.

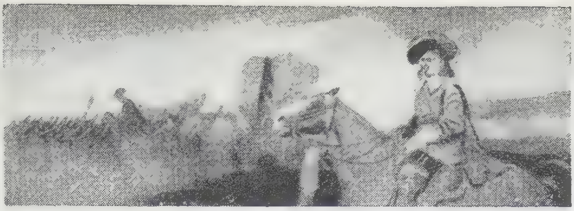
The Tinsel Splendours of Louis XV.

The better men among the noblesse were alive to the decadence, but were unable to counteract it. The reign of Louis the Well-beloved was sapping the foundations both of monarchy and of aristocracy, and was making France ready for the Revolution

THE VICTORIOUS FRENCH AFTER THE BATTLE OF FONTENOY

Marshal Saxe, who is shown seated on his white palfrey in the picture, was in command of the French army at the battle of Fontenoy in 1745, against which the Duke of Cumberland and his British and Hanoverian troops marched in vain.

From the painting by Horace Vernet



GREAT BRITAIN UNDER THE WHIGS AND THE EARLIER GEORGIAN PERIOD

The King's Dislike of the English

THE German prince who succeeded Anne on the British throne, and his son after him, were men of narrow understanding, unpopular in their adopted country, and more interested in the fortunes of Hanover than in those of the kingdom to which they were indebted for wealth and consideration. Owing to ignorance of the English language they dropped the custom of personal attendance at the meetings of the Cabinet, which thus acquired a new independence and consideration. Their power was shown chiefly in the choice of Ministers. Although the practical impossibility of ruling without a parliamentary majority was now admitted, the king had still considerable freedom in choosing between the rival leaders of the predominant party. At an early date the Whigs broke up into groups, which were held together by family influence or personal considerations. By a skilful use of the jealousies which separated these groups, the king could often assert his personal ideas. George I. did not care. He disliked the English; he asked nothing better than to be left to his mistresses and his potations. He would have nothing to do with the Tories; but he was content with any Whig Ministers who could secure him in the enjoyment of an ample civil list, and his family in the succession to the Crown. Such a Ministry, however, he did not obtain at the first attempt. That formed in 1714, under the leadership of Townsend and Stanhope, contained but one man of marked ability; and Robert Walpole was at first only the Paymaster of the Forces. He rose, however, in 1715, to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the real brain of the administration.

Collapse of Jacobite Risings

The stolid acquiescence of the country at large in the establishment of the Hanoverian dynasty was sufficiently demonstrated by the apathy with which an attempt at a Jacobite restoration was received in this year. The death of Louis XIV. destroyed any possible prospects of French assistance; nevertheless, the Earl of Mar raised some of the clans in Scotland, and some county gentlemen, headed by Thomas Forster and the Earl of Derwentwater raised the Jacobite standard in England. The English rising collapsed ignominiously at Preston; on the same day Mar fought a drawn battle with Argyle at Sheriff Muir, after which the Scottish rising also fell to pieces.

The Cabinet, having weathered the insurrection, provided against any sudden reaction of popular feeling in England and Scotland by the Septennial Act in 1716, which extended the maximum duration of Parliament from three years to seven. The Act was so worded as to cover the Parliament by which it was passed, and a general election was thus postponed to quieter times. But a personal quarrel between Walpole and Stanhope led to Walpole's secession; he became the leader of the Parliamentary Opposition.

Walpole's Genius in Time of Panic

In 1720 the Government was fatally compromised by the failure of the South Sea Bubble, a scheme for vesting the English rights of trade with the Spanish colonies in a single chartered company. The South Sea Bubble was the outcome of one of those manias for speculation to which commercial communities are particularly liable in the first stages of their development; and France suffered in this same year from a financial crisis produced by the collapse of Laws' Mississippi Company. But the English Government, or certain members of it, had connived at the tricks by which the price of the South-Sea stock was inflated to excess; their conduct incurred the greater odium because the company had been founded under the protection and guarantee of the State. They fell ignominiously; and Walpole, admittedly the first

KING GEORGE I. IN HIS CORONATION ROBES

A great-grandson of James I. of England, George I., who had been Elector of Hanover since 1698, was proclaimed King of Great Britain, according to the Act of Settlement, on the death of Queen Anne in 1714. Though king he took little part in the government of the country, the affairs of which were in the able hands of Sir Robert Walpole, and, his affections remaining with Hanover, he lived there as much as possible. He died at Osnabrück in 1727.

financier of the age, was called into power that he might minimise the consequences of the crisis. The skill with which he wound up the company assured his popularity.

Walpole earned further gratitude from the commercial classes by a policy of peace and retrenchment, and by reforming to some extent the customs tariff. The country had inherited from the past a number of import duties of which the majority impeded trade without increasing the revenue. By abolishing these Walpole took the first step towards free trade. His power was in danger at the death of the old king, in 1727, for although the Prince of Wales and Walpole had acted together when Walpole was in opposition, their friendship had been destroyed by Walpole's rise to power. But there was no other Whig who fulfilled the necessary conditions for the first place in the Cabinet. Walpole was continued in office, not through choice, but of necessity, until he succeeded in capturing the ear of

THE BURSTING OF THE SOUTH-SEA BUBBLE: THE SCENE IN CHANGE ALLEY DURING THE FINANCIAL BOOM

The South-Sea Bubble was the name given to a scheme propounded by a company of merchants, embodied as the South-Sea Company, to buy up all the debts due by the government to other companies; and, as the company itself had not sufficient capital for that purpose, the government empowered it to raise the means by opening lists of subscriptions, or share lists, for carrying out a scheme for trading to the South Seas. It seemed a most promising enterprise; and all classes, in the hope of obtaining a good return, invested their money with the company. Then the grand scheme collapsed; a financial panic followed, and only the genius of Walpole restored public confidence. Many of the company's directors were punished.

From the painting by E. M. Ward, R.A., in the National Gallery

THE GREAT WALPOLE

Sir Robert Walpole was the first Prime Minister in the modern sense of the word. When he retired in 1742 he was created Earl of Orford.

Caroline, the queen of George II. The king's marital infidelities were gross and numerous; but the influence of the queen was supreme in political affairs, and her alliance with Walpole, continued without a break until her death in 1737, secured the Minister against court intrigues. Walpole is the first Prime Minister in the modern sense of the word. In practice he discarded the theory that all Ministers of the Crown were on an equality, and entitled to differ as they pleased upon political questions. In his Cabinet Walpole would have none but subordinates. One by one his ablest colleagues were forced to leave the Ministry because they would not bow to his wishes, and in time the novel spectacle was to be seen of a Whig government suffering from the attacks of a Whig Opposition. Carteret and Pulteney, the chief of these disappointed rivals, were abler speakers and more brilliant politicians than the Minister. But Walpole rested secure in the confidence of the commercial classes and in the possession of a parliamentary majority. He has been reproached with inventing a system of parliamentary corruption. The charge is unfair, for the House of Commons had been corrupt before the Revolution, and still more so in the reign of William III. Walpole's bribery was more remarkable for success than for originality, and the sums which he spent on this purpose have been grossly exaggerated.

GEORGE II. OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The earlier years of the reign of this monarch have been described as "the most prosperous period that England had ever known." He succeeded his father, in 1727, as King of Great Britain and Ireland, and died suddenly at Kensington on October 25th, 1760.

After the painting by R. E. Pine

Even in the early eighteenth century the opinions of the House of Commons were largely influenced by the state of public feeling. The votes for which Walpole paid in cash and places were only his while he remained popular out of doors. In the end he lost his majority through the opposition of the merchant class, whose Minister he had been in a peculiar sense. For this class peace and retrenchment might do much, but a part of what they desired could be secured only by war.

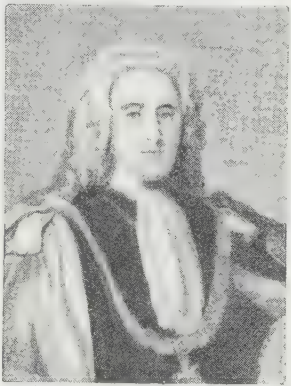
Spain resented the commercial clauses in the Treaty of Utrecht, the more so because English traders in American waters contrived to extract from the treaty larger advantages than the framers of the treaty had ever contemplated. Stanhope and Sunderland had guarded against Spanish designs by a Triple Alliance with France and Holland, in 1716. Walpole

THE LAST BRITISH SOVEREIGN IN BATTLE: KING GEORGE II. AT THE BATTLE OF DETTINGEN, IN THE YEAR 1743

Britain was involved in the War of the Austrian Succession, and at the battle of Dettingen, June 16th, 1743, George II. was at the head of the British and Hanoverian troops, this being the last occasion on which a British sovereign commanded an army in the field. The victory of the British arms was more creditable to the gallantry of the king than to his military skill.

From the painting by Robert Hillingford

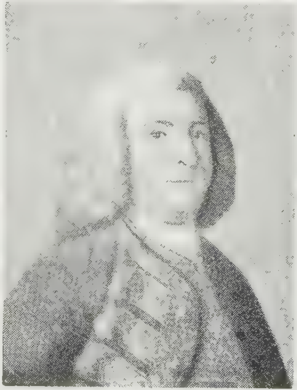
endeavoured to continue this policy, and believed that he might count implicitly upon the pacific intentions of the French Minister, Cardinal Fleury. But Fleury's influence was not always supreme in the councils of Louis XV.; and in 1733 a family compact was secretly concluded between the Bourbons of Spain and France with the direct object of curtailing the maritime supremacy of England.



DUKE OF NEWCASTLE

A supporter of Walpole, he succeeded his brother, Henry Pelham, as Premier in 1754. He retired in 1756, but became Prime Minister again in 1757, and died in 1768.

The result of the compact was soon apparent in more vigorous attempts on the part of Spain to repress the trade which English smugglers had developed with the Spanish colonies. The Spanish government began to assert the right of searching English ships on the high seas, and treated suspected crews with unjustifiable severity. The story of a certain Captain Jenkins, who had lost an ear in an affray with Spanish coastguards, raised a tempest of indignation in the country. Walpole, though convinced that the war would be disastrous, since he believed that the country would be unable to cope with the expected combination of the French and Spanish powers, bowed to the will of the country and undertook the management of the war. But he was vigorously denounced in the Press by Bolingbroke, whom, with rare forbearance, he had permitted to return to England, and in Parliament by the rival Whigs whom he had evicted from office. He showed no ability as a War Minister; his great mainstay, Queen Caroline, was dead; the hostile forces were united in their animosity towards him. For these reasons his party dissolved. He resigned in 1741; and the management of the war devolved on his successor, Carteret (1742–1744).



CAPTAIN ANSON

Like another Drake, this famous voyager circumnavigated the globe, plundering the Spanish colonies and merchant fleets. In 1761 he became Admiral of the Fleet.

The retirement of Walpole inaugurates a new phase in our foreign policy; we may call it the colonial phase. Colonies, sea power, and sea trade had been among the objects for which England fought in the Stuart and revolutionary epochs; but the usual tendency had been to regard these objects as subordinate to the time-honoured aim of preserving the European balance. In the period now to be surveyed the balance is still a consideration; with Carteret and George II. it was the decisive consideration. But it rapidly fell into the background, and the attention of the middle classes and of the ablest Ministers was soon concentrated upon North America and India. In British history the period of colonial wars includes a struggle between the component parts of the constitution. There is an attempt to reverse the Revolution settlement and to restore the old predominance of the king over Parliament. This struggle is in part responsible for the reverses which Britain experienced in the colonial period; and the loss of America caused it to be terminated in favour of Parliament. There is, therefore, a close connection between foreign policy and domestic history, but it is a connection which becomes intimate only when the struggle with France is far advanced. At the beginning of the period British history is merely the history of a war.

Carteret, the successor of Walpole, was unique among the politicians of the day in his mastery of the German situation. This gained him the ear of George II., and the two combined to involve the country in the War of the Austrian Succession. Public feeling was with them because they took the side opposed to that of France. But their object was to shield Hanover against France and Prussia, to preserve the integrity of the Austrian dominions, and to maintain the balance in Germany; the nation, on the other hand, regarded the war chiefly in its colonial bearings. Hence the subsidies which the Minister lavished upon German princes soon occasioned biting criticisms, and William Pitt won his spurs by attacking Carteret in the House of Commons. "This great, this powerful, this formidable kingdom," said the future confederate of Frederic II., " is now considered only as a province to a despicable electorate." The victory of Dettingen, in 1743, more creditable to the personal gallantry of George II. than to his skill as a general, did not pacify the Opposition. Carteret, though a brilliant debater, failed to convince the country that his plans were sound, and failed also to redeem their defects by discovering successful generals. He was forced to retire in 1744, and the management of affairs passed to his former colleagues, the Pelhams. The Pelhams were poor diplomats, and as War Ministers beneath contempt. But their enormous influence and their skill in party management enabled them to keep a working majority.

"THE OLD PRETENDER"

The son of James II. of England and of his second queen, Mary of Modena, James Francis Edward failed in his efforts to win back the throne from which his father had been driven.

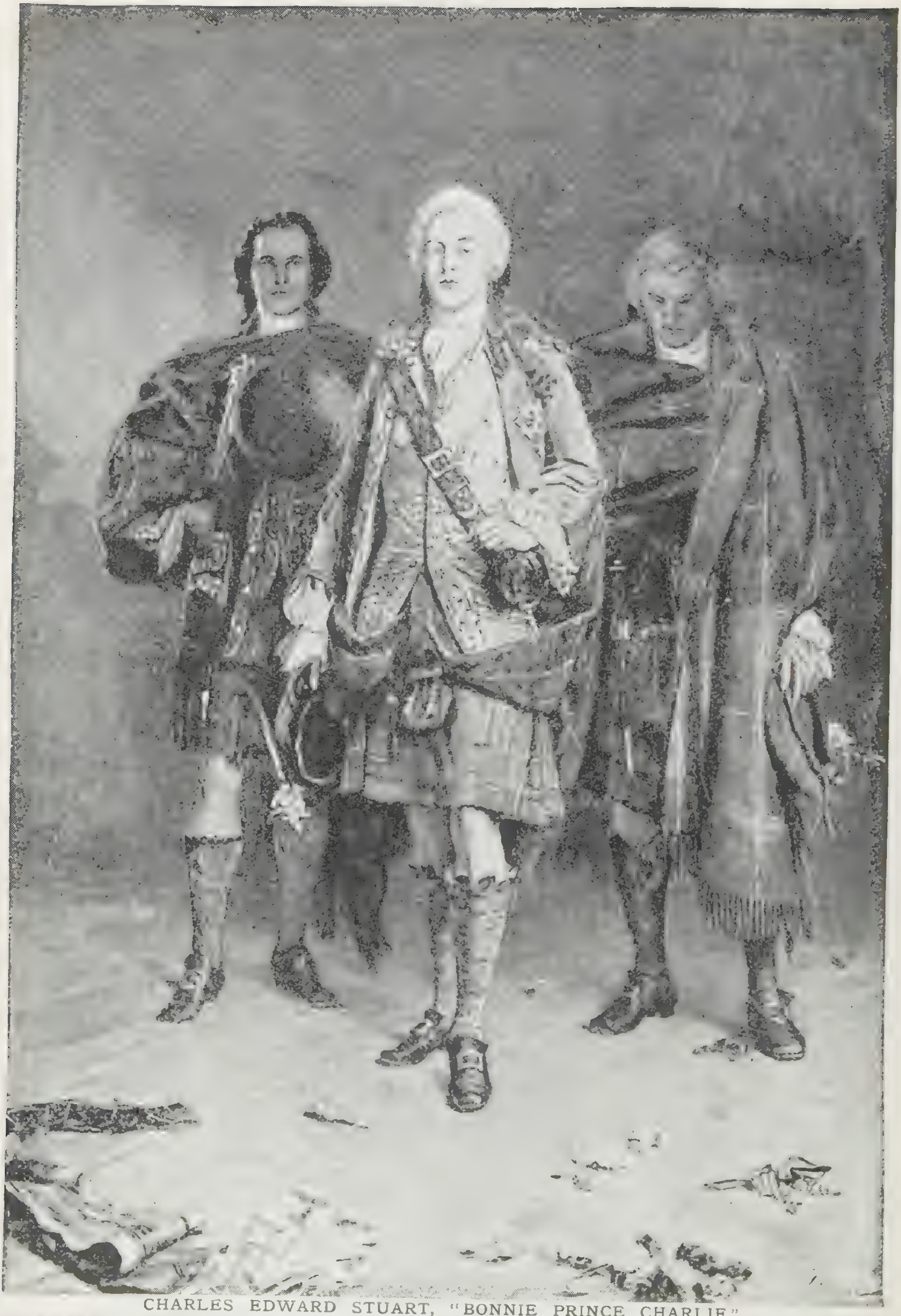
Henry Pelham, the Prime Minister, took into the government all the Tories who might have been dangerous. The opposition which he had to encounter came chiefly from his fellow Ministers, and mattered little, since his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, kept the Commons well in hand. The chief care of the brothers was to extricate themselves from the war. They helped Austria with subsidies alone, and, in 1745, concluded a separate peace with Prussia which compelled Maria Theresa to acquiesce in the loss of Silesia.

"THE YOUNG PRETENDER"

Prince Charles Edward Stuart, son of "the Old Pretender," was quite as unsuccessful as his father in his attempts upon the Crown, though he aroused the love and enthusiasm of the Scottish people.

But the war with France continued, and went badly. An English army was defeated at Fontenoy in 1745, and the Duke of Cumberland shared with the allies the humiliation of Lauffeld in 1747; nor were the successes of the navy conspicuous. The remarkable voyage in which Captain Anson (1740–1744) circumnavigated the globe, like another Drake, plundering the Spanish colonies and merchant fleets, was a feat of more brilliance than profit to the country. Under the Pelhams nothing was effected at sea except the capture of Cape Breton, in 1745, and the destruction of two French squadrons. The commerce of France suffered by the war, but her losses were of a temporary character. Both army and navy had deteriorated under the peace administration of Walpole, and the government was further hampered by the Scottish rebellion. Hence, little was gained by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. England and France resigned their conquests, the Pretender was expelled from France, and the French recognised the Hanoverian Succession. It was a truce rather than a peace. But the Pelhams made the mistake of counting upon a lengthy peace, and began to reduce the strength of the army and navy.

In Great Britain, the most important feature of a war, otherwise lacking in significant results, was the episode of "the Forty-five." Jacobitism made its last serious attempt in that year, led by the young "Pretender" (*i.e.*, claimant), Charles Edward Stuart. Without hope of foreign aid, the prince landed almost alone, in the west of Scotland. The passionate loyalty of chiefs and clansmen placed him at the head of an army of Highlanders. Edinburgh fell into his hands; the camp of the government commander, Sir John Cope, was surprised and his forces were put to ignominious rout. A few weeks later, Charles was over the Border, marching on London, where wild panic prevailed. But when he reached Derby, counsels of prudence or despair triumphed. The English Jacobites had not risen; the gathering armies of the government were bound to annihilate his force if he advanced, unless something like a miracle happened. From the moment the retreat began, the cause was hopelessly lost.



CHARLES EDWARD STUART, "BONNIE PRINCE CHARLIE"

There is no more romantic story in history than that of the young Stuart prince who fought in vain for the throne of his forefathers. If the devotion and enthusiasm of friends could have achieved the triumph of his cause, then "Bonnie Prince Charlie" would have succeeded; but the nation as a whole had no desire to bring back the Stuart dynasty. Prince Charles landed in Scotland from France in 1745, held court at Holyrood, defeated Cope at Prestonpans, and with 6,500 men marched into England. At Culloden on April 16th, 1746, his cause received its death-blow.

From the painting by John Pettie, R.A., photographed by Caswall Smith

In spite of a severe defeat inflicted on General Hawley, at Falkirk, Charles had to withdraw into the Highlands. Thither the Duke of Cumberland pursued him; the last hopes of the Stuarts were extinguished on the Field of Culloden, and with them the last hopes of the Scottish patriots who still hankered for separation from England. The government, indeed, aroused considerable indignation even among loyalists by the severity of the treatment which it meted out to the rebels. But the Highlands, where alone a new rebellion might be apprehended, were disarmed; and the power of the chiefs was undermined by an act abolishing their jurisdictions.

AFTER CULLODEN: PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD A FUGITIVE IN THE HIGHLANDS

Defeated by the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden, "the Young Pretender" fled to the Western Highlands, where, surrounded by loyal friends, chief among whom was the heroine Flora Macdonald, he evaded capture. After five months' wandering, he escaped to France. The above picture represents the Stuart prince sleeping in a cave on the hillside, while his faithful Highlanders stand by on guard, a reward of £30,000 having been offered for his capture.

The clansmen murmured against the new rule of peace and law, but the only possible escape lay in emigration to the New World, or enlistment under the colours of the British army. Both courses were extensively adopted; and if, on the one hand, emigrants contributed to the bitterness of the feud between England and the colonies, on the other hand, the Highland regiments, raised by the elder Pitt, became a most valuable element in the British army. From 1746 the history of Scotland was one of increasing prosperity and of brilliant intellectual development. The historian and philosopher Hume; Adam Smith, the founder of economic science; James Thomson, the poet of Nature; Macpherson, the editor and forger of the Ossianic poems—these are perhaps the best known figures of this northern renaissance. But they were supported by other writers and thinkers of more than respectable merit; and the day was not far distant when Burns and Scott were to express in their different manners the quintessence of the national character.

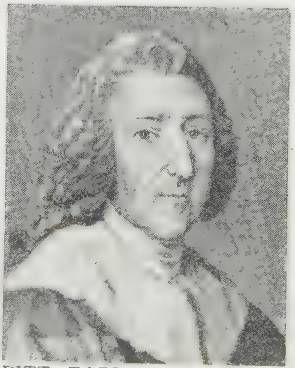
The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle separated England from Austria, the one ally to whom she had been bound by all the ties of interest; for Maria Theresa bitterly resented the pressure which the Pelhams had put upon her to secure her concurrence in the European settlement. And France presumed upon English isolation. Both in North America and in India the pioneers of French colonisation waged unremitting war upon the interests of England. In the New World attempts were made to form a cordon of French forts extending from Canada to Louisiana, in order that the British might be confined to the eastern littoral; and the colonists of Nova Scotia had cause to complain of French aggressions. Meanwhile Dupleix, the French representative in India, used the feuds and dynastic wars of native states to extend his country's influence throughout the Province of Madras. In 1751 there was open war between the British and French for the ascendancy in the Carnatic. The crisis brought Robert Clive to the front, and after his achievement at Arcot British predominance in the south of India was very soon assured. This success, however, momentous as it proved in the future, did not allay the anxiety of the British Parliament. The interests of commerce formed at this time the all-engrossing topic of debate. There was a general feeling of insecurity. Ministers did not command the confidence of the country, or even of the members who voted for their measures. Many critics asserted that the Whig system of government by corruption had sapped the national morale and energy. Nothing, it was thought, but a great war, conducted by a man of genius, could save the country from the fatal lethargy which had overtaken it. War broke out in America in 1754, and found Ministers unprepared. The death of Henry Pelham left Newcastle confused and irresolute. He could barely manage the selfish groups into which the Whig party was dissolving. The war he was incapable of managing. His nominee, General Braddock, was defeated and killed on the way to Fort Duquesne in 1755; the Ohio and Mississippi seemed to be lost for ever. Outside Parliament there was the greatest readiness to help the Ministry by private effort. A loan of £1,000,000 was subscribed three times over as soon as floated; large bounties were paid for recruits out of voluntary subscriptions. Newcastle hit by accident upon the popular means of satisfying popular demands. In 1756, by concluding with Prussia an agreement which was really, though not avowedly, directed against France, he prepared an adequate resistance to the coalition of France and Austria, which was forming under the auspices of Kaunitz. But the failure of Byng at Minorca, the capture of Oswego Fort by Montcalm, the fall of Calcutta before Surajah Dowlah in 1756, were events which seemed to stamp his administration as hopelessly inefficient, and to seal the doom of the colonial policy.

ADAM SMITH

A Scottish political economist, he won fame by his "Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations"—a book which influenced the legislation of the period.

TWO FAMOUS ADMIRALS: RODNEY AND HAWKE

These brave seamen reasserted the maritime supremacy of England by the victories of Quiberon and Lagos, the destruction of Cherbourg, and the bombardment of Havre. Rodney was created a peer with a pension of £2,000 a year. Lord Hawke, in 1766, was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty, and in 1768 became Admiral of the Fleet.



PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM

William Pitt, the great statesman, made his mark in the government of England during a critical period of its history. He was raised to the peerage as Lord Chatham in 1766.

At this juncture he discovered in William Pitt the necessary War Minister. Pitt had been Paymaster of the Forces for a time, but his voice had been chiefly heard in opposition. He was without private influence or official experience; he was known chiefly as a brilliant debater and rhetorician. But he commanded the confidence of the people, and soon showed that

ADMIRAL RODNEY BOMBARDING THE FRENCH TOWN OF HAVRE IN 1759
Anchoring before Havre in the month of July, Admiral Rodney bombarded the town, setting it on fire in several places.

their confidence was justified. Ruling the House of Commons by the influence which he borrowed from Newcastle, he was, nevertheless, a democratic leader, who boasted that he had received his mandate from the country, and would render his account to the people rather than to the Crown. His successes were doubly welcome, because they were felt to be won in the face of a corrupt party system and an unsympathetic sovereign. Pitt had two great and obvious defects as a statesman — he was impatient of detail, and he spent money with unnecessary profusion. He had an invincible love of the theatrical, which appeared not merely in his private behaviour, but also in his public policy. On the other hand, he grasped the European situation at a glance; and the help, both in money and in men, which he lavished upon Frederic the Great proved the soundest of investments. Pitt boasted, and with good reason, that he would conquer America on the

KING GEORGE III.
Born in London in 1738, he succeeded to the throne in 1760, and, not content to leave the affairs of the country in the hands of his ministers, took a leading part in its government. He has been described as "brave, honest, and religious," and as representing the "type of the ordinary Englishman." In 1811 he became permanently insane.

banks of the Elbe; for France found herself involved in a desperate Continental war, which left her powerless to watch the interests of Canada. The Indian victories of Clive and Eyre Coote (1757–1761) owed little to Pitt's direct assistance; but it was the European war which enabled Clive to crush Surajah Dowlah, and Coote to destroy the settlement of Pondicherry in 1761.

QUEEN CHARLOTTE

In 1761, the year after he ascended the throne of Great Britain and Ireland, George III. married Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, whose portrait is given above.

The events of Pitt's war ministry can be mentioned only in the briefest way. Hawke and Rodney and Boscawen reasserted the maritime supremacy of England by the victories of Quiberon and Lagos, the destruction of Cherbourg, and the bombardment of Havre. In 1762 the French West Indies were one by one annexed, and the accession of Spain to the side of France was avenged by the capture of Havana and the Philippines. On land Wolfe and Amherst were no less successful in their attacks upon Canada. The former perished, in the moment of victory, at Quebec in 1759, but the reduction of the colony was completed by his colleague in the following year.

LORD BUTE

After the retirement of Pitt and Newcastle, the King's tutor, Lord Bute, was called to the head of the administration, and his first act was to renounce the Prussian alliance and to conclude the Treaty of Paris. He died in 1792.

But Pitt's successes were brought prematurely to an end by a change of sovereigns. The old king died in 1760; and the successor, his grandson, George III., mounted the throne with a fixed resolve to free the prerogative from the trammels of the Whig ascendancy. The principles of Toryism, discredited in the country and banished from Parliament, had found an asylum in the royal family. The new king had been trained in the theories of Bolingbroke, who from his retirement had consistently preached the specious doctrine that a king should be above all parties, and should choose his Ministers without reference to their connections. The odium which corruption had brought upon the party system emboldened George III. to apply these lessons without loss of time. He sowed dissension in the Cabinet of Pitt and Newcastle, persuaded the majority to vote against the opening of war with Spain, and in 1761 drove Pitt to seek refuge for his mortification in retirement. Newcastle was ousted in 1762 and the king's tutor, Lord Bute, was called to the head of the administration.

Bute's first act was to renounce the Prussian alliance and to conclude the Treaty of Paris in 1763. The treaty could not fail to be advantageous, but less was gained than the successes of Pitt had entitled the country to expect. Havana and the Philippines were restored to Spain, as having been taken after the conclusion of peace; Guadeloupe, the wealthiest of the West Indies, and Pondicherry, the chief of France's Indian settlements, were abandoned without any valid reason. France surrendered Canada, Cape Breton, Grenada, the Leeward Islands, and Minorca; but she retained St. Pierre and the Miquelons, with valuable fishing rights on the Newfoundland coast, and on the mainland she kept her foothold in Louisiana. The peace was sharply criticised in England. Bute and the queen-mother, upon whose favour he mainly depended, became the most unpopular persons in the country. Bute retired, and a new double constitutional struggle was inaugurated between the king and Ministers, and between mother country and colonies.

Arthur D. Innes

THE GREAT HAPSBURG MONARCHY
AND THE SUCCESSION OF MARIA THERESA

The Starting Point of the Hapsburgs

THE decision of the question of the Spanish succession, the conquest of Hungary, the fact that since the Peace of Westphalia the so-called German inheritance had unceasingly shown a tendency to separation from the empire, made it imperative that there should be some formal constitution of the Hapsburg possessions, a first tentative effort for the formation of a comprehensive state. There was no Austrian state in existence, there was merely a family property, a union of kingdoms and countries, with or without constitutional ties, with or without common interests, brought into mutual relation only through the person of the monarch, possessing the most varied privileges and burdened with the most diverse obligations. The circumstances which had favoured the formation of a great dynastic power proved so many obstacles to the creation of a united kingdom. Many attempts have been made to date the first beginnings of the kingdom. The permanent union of Bohemia and Hungary to the German Alpine territory, dating from 1526, has been considered a starting point; so have the attempts made at the outset of the seventeenth century to form a general conference of Landtag delegates. The recognition of the hereditary monarchy of the Hapsburgs in the lands of the Hungarian crown in 1687 has been indicated as showing the need for closer connection between the several parts of the Hapsburg estate. But all these phenomena are to be explained as results of the growing power of the nobles, and have, moreover, merely proved the general fact that the formation of independent kingdoms from the several parts of the Hapsburg territory was an impossibility.

Battle of the White Mountain

The resumption of the plan of uniting Bohemia, Moravia, and the Silesian principalities under a foreign rule split upon the rock of religious discord, and the Catholic powers were obliged to intervene to secure the hereditary rights of Ferdinand II. The battle of the White Mountain put an end to the Bohemian constitution; that is, to the idea of the Bohemian countries as an independent unity, with their own government, their own military and financial system. Bohemia was then closely united to the German Empire through the person of the prince. Had the Palatinate ruler maintained his ground, he would have been reduced to strengthening to the best of his power the ties which united Germany to the empire and to securing the support of the Protestant orders by making concessions to the empire. In that case the Germanisation of the Czechs would have been brought about through the identity of their Church with that of the pure German countries.

Obstacles to Hapsburg Administration

The Catholic reaction had been carried out against the revolutionary Protestant parties without any consideration for the direction taken by the tide of national movements. Catholicism neither needed nor desired assistance from German sources, as its strength was based upon the Romance and Slavonic, not upon the German peoples. The conquest of Hungary would certainly have been impossible without the help of Germany and her armed provinces; but the empire had allowed the House of Hapsburg without protest to grasp the advantages gained, because it was itself unable to extend its supremacy over so large and so far distant a country, owing to the lack of an organised administration and of a standing imperial army. The means employed by Brandenburg-Prussia for the amalgamation of its different provinces into one state were impracticable for the House of Hapsburg. It was impossible to introduce a uniform administration for Hungary, Bohemia, and a dozen German duchies and counties with the same rapidity and success as Prussia had attained. The royal House of Austria was involved to a far greater extent than were the Hohenzollerns in every European quarrel and complication. For many decades it could have found no opportunity to turn its attention to domestic organisation, leaving aside questions of European importance and abandoning a foreign policy which made for disunion and disruption. Only critics without historical training, who would judge the past by the alien conceptions of the present, would suppose that a dominating position could ever have been attained by the so-called idea of constitutional totality in old Austria, conceived from the point of view of a Roman emperor, who was at the same time King of Hungary, and thought it his duty to uphold his claims of succession to Spain and Naples, to Milan and to the Netherlands.

The Victorious Army of Prince Eugene

A common unity is to be seen for the first time in the army of Prince Eugene. However, it was not the Austrian, but the "emperor's" army which he led from victory to victory. This, compared with the "imperial" army, was a uniform whole, whether fighting in Italy or in the Netherlands. Within the empire it was often subdivided. Troops from special provinces and districts were joined to its regiments, and were commanded by generals who were paid by the empire and not by the emperor. The armed provinces of the empire were far readier to protest against the division of their contingents than was the emperor in the case of his own forces; consequently we can speak of the Brandenburg-Prussian, of the Bavarian, even of the Hanoverian army before we can employ the term "Austrian" army. The diplomatic service of the German Hapsburgs acted in the name of the emperor, as more privileges were thus to be enjoyed. As regards revenue, receipts came in from the most varied sources—feudal aids, grants from the Landtag, subsidies, tithes, general taxes—so that it would have been impossible to draw up a separate balance-sheet for the state revenue of Austria alone.

An Insoluble Problem in Statecraft

The creation of a state without national union, without even a leadership supported by a majority capable of great exertions, could not possibly be the work of a few generations; it is a problem in statecraft which has remained insoluble to the present day. The first steps which brought the solution somewhat nearer could proceed only from the ruling house itself; they consist in the constitutional recognition of the ruling power as a unity and in the securing of the succession in order to obviate disruption.

Ferdinand I. could see no special danger to the power of the ruling house in the disruption and dissolution of his dominion into separate principalities; he considered that the position of the imperial monarch was of overpowering predominance. The master of the inner Austria territories, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, the Count of Tyrol and the possessor of the Swabian and Upper Rhine frontiers, could only pursue the policy marked out by their imperial brother or cousin. The "fraternal quarrel," the party differences between Rudolf and Matthias, show the possibility of strong opposition between the members of one and the same house. Spanish interest in the strength of the German family, and also the interest which the Catholic Church had in the maintenance of Catholicism in the Alpine and household territories, were the motive causes of the supremacy of Ferdinand II. over the possessions of the German House of Hapsburg. The special position of the Tyrol under his brother Leopold was a concession to personal and private rights of inheritance, an indulgence which left no permanent effect upon the constitution, as the Tyrol branch became extinct in the second generation.

The Causes of Ferdinand's Supremacy

Neither Ferdinand II. nor Ferdinand III. had the opportunity of settling the succession to the collective inheritance according to family regulations, as they had only one successor capable of government. Leopold I., however, contributed to the regulation of the succession when he and his eldest son Joseph renounced the Spanish succession in favour of the second son, the Archduke Charles. The emperor then made an openly expressed agreement with his sons, that the succession in the two lines should go by primogeniture; that is to say, that Charles and his descendants should inherit the undivided German Hapsburg lands upon the extinction of the male line in Joseph's family, and similarly Joseph and his descent were to have the whole Spanish monarchy should the Spanish line now founded by Charles become extinct. Should the male issue fail in both lines simultaneously—that is, before the descendants of either could succeed—then the right of primogeniture was to pass to the daughters in Joseph's line, these also preceding Charles's female issue as regards the Spanish succession.

This pact as to the mutual succession was attested by the three parties concerned on September 12th, 1703, and declared by them to be the expression of a custom previously subsisting in the House of Hapsburg. It was further extended by the will of Leopold I., dated April 26th, 1705, by which he secured his son Charles in the possession of the Tyrol and the land on its frontier, though "without the right of making alliance or war," in case nothing should come down to him of the whole of the Spanish succession. The Emperor Joseph I. died in the prime of life without male issue and without making definite arrangements for his daughters. According to the Pact of 1703, Charles VI. was sole heir to all the Hapsburg possessions, both German and Spanish. He actually entered into possession of both, inasmuch as he extended his power over a considerable portion of the Spanish dominion. Joseph's daughters yielded precedence to his own. For the former, the emperor was bound merely to provide according to the custom of his family.

EMPEROR CHARLES VI.

He was declared emperor in 1711 on the death of his brother, Joseph I., and added considerably to his territories. The Pragmatic Sanction was the object of his policy.

Joseph's sudden death had thrown the imperial Privy Council into some perplexity as to the fate of his kingdom. They sent a request to Charles, who was still in Spain, asking him for a definite explanation. This explanation was not given until April 19th, 1713, before an assembly of court dignitaries and of the highest officials of Lower Austria. The emperor had the "Pact of mutual succession" read aloud, and then delivered a speech, wherein he laid down that by the arrangement all kingdoms and territories possessed by the Emperors Leopold and Joseph passed to himself, and that "these territories should remain undivided, passing to the male issue of his body in primogeniture so long as such issue should exist, upon the extinction of the said male issue the succession should pass, undivided in like manner and according to the order and right of primogeniture, to the legitimate surviving daughters." Only upon the failure of such legitimate issue of the ruling emperor was the right of succession to pass to the daughters of Joseph, also by primogeniture.

Territories Claimed by Charles VI.

The Famous Pragmatic Sanction

This transaction and the emperor's explanation were embodied in a protocol known as the Pragmatic Sanction of the Emperor Charles VI., which is to be considered as one of the constitutional foundations of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The comparatively few words which express the contents of the document determine the permanent union of the territory of the German Hapsburgs in the form of a great power, which union is founded upon the exercise of a uniform government throughout the kingdoms and provinces which compose that territory. The uniformity consists not only in the supremacy of the one monarch, but also in his exercise of the governmental powers vested in himself. These powers proceed, it is true, from his relations with individual kingdoms and provinces, but they are conjoined in personal executive power possessed by the monarch, and are expressed in decrees of uniform applicability. "The right of war, of peace and of alliance"—that is to say, the entire foreign policy—is subject to the exclusive will of the general ruler of the whole area; he alone has the right to raise an army by means of the supplies granted by the kingdoms and provinces, and with this his army to defend the interests of his house and of all the territories in the possession of that house.

The uniformity and universality of the ruling power cease at this point. Nothing is recognised by the Pragmatic Sanction as common to or binding upon the whole state except that which can be immediately deduced from the sovereignty; hence the dynastic powers of the German Hapsburgs were not constituted as a state by the Pragmatic Sanction, although they did constitute a "great power," in view of the influence which they were able to exercise upon the course of European affairs.

MARIA THERESA'S BEAUTIFUL PALACE AS IT WAS IN HER TIME, WITH VIEW OF VIENNA IN THE DISTANCE

From the painting by [illegible]

In the solemn declaration of Charles VI. no account was taken of the relations of the sovereignty to individual provinces, for this would have implied the raising of constitutional questions and complications; naturally, the destiny of the whole empire could not be made contingent upon the ultimate issue of these. The numerous provincial bodies politic were by no means on an equality in point of strength, and a compacted agreement with them would not have produced a statute of so fundamental a nature as could be brought about by a simple expression of will on the part of a number of kings, dukes, and princes. By far the easier course was to obtain a supplementary consent from the several Landtags to the emperor's declaration which was laid before them. Negotiations for this purpose were begun in the year 1720, on the infant Archduke Leopold's death. He was the emperor's son, born in 1716, and there was no other male issue surviving.

When the Pragmatic Sanction was delivered to the Landtags, letters were also sent, speaking for the first time of the "object" of the Sanction. Upon the "union" of the kingdom and provinces (so ran the wording) depended the prosperity of the kingdom and the "peace of the populations, provinces, and vassals." Within the government area the proposal was issued for the calling of a "congress of the provinces." The Landtag of Lower Austria urged the advisability of an "hereditary alliance," whereby the provinces as a whole should mutually guarantee their interdependence. Although Prince Eugene was apparently in favour of this method of introducing the general representation of the provinces, yet the government declined to agree, for fear of encroachment and confusion. Proceedings of this kind might arouse misgivings in such cases as that of Hungary, for since 1712 the Croatian provinces had begun to form a closer connection with the provinces of Inner Austria, with which they had many political and economic interests in common, particularly the question of resistance to the Turks; and in this way their constitutional ties with Hungary threatened to grow relaxed.

A "Congress of the Provinces"

THE EMPRESS MARIA THERESA

The daughter of the Emperor Charles VI., she was appointed by her father heir to his hereditary thrones, and at his death, in 1740, became Queen of Hungary and of Bohemia and Archduchess of Austria. She died in 1780.

Assent to the Pragmatic Sanction

In Bohemia and in the other hereditary provinces assent to the Pragmatic Sanction was given without difficulty, stress only being laid upon the maintenance of "privileges" and of provincial regulations. In Bohemia it was thought unnecessary to make special mention of the peculiar rights of either one of the two nationalities under the empire; but the town of Eger, before which care had been taken to lay the proposals for regulating the succession, associated itself and its territory with the assent given by the Bohemian Landtag, "without detriment to the privileges granted in respect of the Eger pawn-money by the Roman emperors and the kings of Bohemia." The Tyrol provinces regretted that they were deprived of the prospect of having a resident prince of their own, and demanded that the future reigning lord should be of "German blood."

In Hungary, provincial representation was a national and constitutional institution, and had lost but little of the power which it had possessed in previous centuries; hence the discussions in the Landtag of 1722–1723 have a greater importance than any which took place elsewhere in the Hapsburg territories. As early as 1712 Hungary had demanded that every province of the empire should enter into a special convention to recognise their common ruler under any circumstances, and to contribute a fixed sum for the maintenance of the military frontier guards and the garrisons in the Hungarian fortresses, since Hungary was conscious of its position as buffer state between the Turks and the hereditary territories and Bohemia, and therefore desired a guarantee of continued support. Moreover, in the statute wherein the Landtag formulated its decision upon the question of the succession the condition was laid down that the heir or heiress of the Hapsburg House, whom they were ready to recognise as monarch, was to enter upon the possession of an "indissoluble whole," composed of the totality of the Hapsburg territories. No portion of the hereditary territory was to be alienated by division or in any other manner; it was to form a hereditary whole, including the kingdom of Hungary and its adjoining territory. Thus the Hungarian Landtag of 1722–1723 displayed a dualism in its conclusions, and described its relations to the ruling house and to the non-Hungarian possessions of that house with a clearness and accuracy which gave it an indisputable advantage in all constitutional difficulties over the Germanic-Slavonic-Roman territorial group, which had hitherto been heavily burdened by the difficulty of assimilating certain districts.

Conditions of the Hapsburg Succession

In Hungary the constitutional value of the Pragmatic Sanction was far more highly estimated than in the other countries, whose representatives had accepted the rules for the succession without being fully informed of the importance of the step they were taking, and had missed the opportunity of anticipating the agreement with Hungary by first procuring a settlement of their own affairs and mutual rights and duties. In this case they would have been able to propose conditions to the Hungarian state, under which they would have been prepared to guarantee the desired support. In like manner, unfamiliarity with the historical development of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy, an astonishing lack of general political education and of real constitutional knowledge, is the reason why the German liberals of the nineteenth century have made claims upon the common kingdom which it can never hope to meet by reason of its origin and organisation.

Charles VI. and his council were not inclined to attach too much importance to the expressions of assent received from the Landtags of the hereditary territories. They were by no means penetrated with the idea that the unity of the kingdom and the provinces was wholly indispensable. From the territories over which they ruled they did not think it possible to evolve a state capable of developing sufficient strength to secure its existence against aggression. Only one man believed in this possibility, even as he believed in the high capacity of the imperial army—namely, Prince Eugene, known as the "Savoyard," although he was a true Austrian. It was against his desire that the emperor had subordinated his entire policy to the one object of securing the recognition of his rules for the succession by the European powers. From the Peace of Rastat onwards there was no congress, no treaty, no conclusion of peace—and there was a remarkable number of these during his reign—into which he did not foist some clause upon this point.

Eugene's Faith in the Future

The guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction by the empire was of the highest importance, because the withdrawal of the German-Austrian territory from the empire was thus made possible, and the Hapsburg House gained the right of uniting into a constitutional whole such of its possessions as belonged to the empire, the imperial provinces, and the kingdom of Bohemia, which was "conjoined" to the empire with its neighbouring territory, together with an independent state, such as Hungary. During the negotiations carried on in Regensburg upon this subject the German Empire declared itself entirely on the side of the imperial house, recognised the necessity for the existence of an Austrian monarchy, and showed the connection of the empire with it. "This declaration of assent may be considered as the first compact of the German Empire with Austria, for the Reichstag treats with the House of Hapsburg as with an independent power, for the maintenance of which the empire came forward in its own clearly recognised interests."

Austria and the German Empire

The credit of securing this guarantee belongs to Frederic William I., King of Prussia, who had become the emperor's ally by the compacts of Königswusterhausen on October 12th, 1726, and of Berlin on December 23rd, 1728. It was through his powerful influence that the proposals were carried in the Reichstag in spite of the opposition of Bavaria and Saxony. The tour which he made in 1730 round certain German coasts which had as yet taken no share in the discussions was undertaken with the object of gaining their support for the emperor and of recommending them to concur in the guarantee. Bavaria and Saxony opposed it in vain. Notwithstanding the wavering attitude

MARIA THERESA APPEALING FOR HELP TO THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT

The death of the Emperor Charles VI. was followed by the accession of his daughter Maria Theresa to the Hapsburg territories and by the claims of other powers for a share in these great possessions. Terrified at the approach of the allied army to Vienna, Maria Theresa, with her infant son, who afterwards became Joseph II., fled to Hungary, where she was received with enthusiasm. Appearing before the Hungarian Parliament at Pressburg with her son in her arms, she called upon the nation to defend her against her enemies, and, stirred by her appeal, the whole assembly rose, and, drawing their swords, exclaimed, "Our lives and our blood for your Majesty! We will die for our king, Maria Theresa!"

From the picture by Laslett J. Pott

of the Palatinate, they were unable to secure a majority in the college of electors; consequently, the only course open to them was to protest against the resolution of the Reichstag and to declare that it was not binding upon themselves.

Opposition to Female Succession

In consequence, the imperial government could certainly conclude that, notwithstanding the numerous arts of diplomacy which they employed to secure the guarantees, a struggle against the female succession in the House of Hapsburg would inevitably ensue, for the two protesting electors proceeded to lay claim to certain portions of the inheritance upon the strength of their connection with the imperial family. Joseph I.'s eldest daughter, Maria Josepha, had married Frederic Augustus II. of Saxony on August 20th, 1719, and her sister, Maria Amalia, had married Charles Albert of Bavaria on October 30th, 1722. Hence the obvious course of a clever politician would have been to cleave at all costs to the strongest supporter, Prussia, and to bind that country to the interests of the imperial house even at the price of voluntary concessions.

But Austria during the last few years had been slackening the bond between herself and Prussia. Though she had to thank Prussia, and no one else, for the passing of the guarantees, she declined to continue the support which she had previously promised to the king in the matter of the Juliers-Cleves inheritance. To ask that the Austrian statesmen of the period should have clearly foreseen that the foundation of an independent monarchy was incompatible with a permanent sovereignty of the empire would be to ask overmuch of them, although we now can see that to break away from the narrow limits of the provinces of the empire and at the same time to claim supremacy among them was impossible. The time had come when it would be necessary to struggle for influence with the rising military power of the North German state. But from the standpoint of practical politics it may be asserted that the neglect of Prussia was inspired by false conceptions of the strength of the respective parties, and that the loss of the Prussian support was not to be counterbalanced by the dearly bought assent of France to the guarantee. With the death of the Emperor Charles VI., on October 20th, 1740, that royal family became extinct which had been founded by Rudolf I. and carried by Charles V. to the highest pitch of earthly power. The countries which the Pragmatic Sanction had declared to be a political whole were now obliged to act for the maintenance of that measure. It was now to be decided whether the position of the German Hapsburg house should be assumed by the Hapsburg-Lorraine family, which rested on the alliance —May 13th, 1717—of the eldest daughter of Charles VI., Maria Theresa, with Francis, Duke of Lorraine; whether that family should continue to hold in connection the territory of the Hapsburgs in all that wide extent which had made it the equal of powers founded upon a national basis.

The Death of Emperor Charles VI.

The division of the territory was demanded by the Elector of Bavaria, Charles Albert, over whose youth the Emperors Leopold and Joseph had watched with true paternal care during the proscription of his father Max Emanuel. In 1722 he had been privileged to marry the latter emperor's second daughter. He based his claims upon numerous points of relation to the family, the importance of which seemed to be increased by a falsification in the will of Ferdinand I. of Bavaria. He claimed all the family territory, and declared Maria Theresa to be Queen of Hungary only.

Claims on the Hapsburg Territories

The threats of Charles Albert would have been of little moment if Bavaria had not had numerous supporters in Austria itself, and if Maria Theresa had had only this opponent to deal with. But a far more dangerous enemy arose in the person of King Frederic II. of Prussia, who succeeded to the throne in the year of Charles VI.'s death. He denied the validity of the guarantee given by Prussia, as the deceased emperor had not made the return which he had promised. He claimed compensation for the principality of Jägerndorf, which had been lost to his family owing to the collapse of the Winter kingdom, and also for the Schwiebus district, which his grandfather, Ferdinand I., had been forced to cede.

In either case the question of the justice of the claim was to him a matter of indifference. Frederic grasped at the chance of recovering these districts for which there had been so much strife, for he considered that he required Lower Silesia to round off his possessions on the Oder, and had no intention of letting slip an opportunity so favourable for his own aggrandisement. He offered Maria Theresa his support against Bavaria, and was ready to vote for the election of her husband as emperor; further, he was prepared to guarantee her German possessions and to pay a subsidy of 2,000,000 thalers for military preparations if Silesia as far as Breslau was ceded to him. It was not an impossible bargain for Austria, and a far-sighted politician would probably have recommended it; but Frederic did not wait for any acceptance. In the middle of December, 1740, he poured 20,000 men into Silesia. At no matter what cost, the Austrian court declined to recognise the legality of an act of mere marauding on a grand scale.

CHARLES ALBERT VII.
He was elected and crowned Holy Roman Emperor on January 24th, 1742, although he possessed no territory. He died in 1745.

The young Archduchess and Queen of Hungary, with all the warmth of that ardent character which makes her so attractive a personality, assented to the counsel of the passionate Bartenstein, who declared against the Prussian proposals. She was actuated by indignation against infidelity, real or supposed, by a natural dislike to giving up land or property, and, finally, by the firm conviction that it was her duty to cling to the heritage which she had taken up at all costs. The Hapsburgs were never covetous, but were obstinate in their defence of their rights.

GRAND DUKE OF TUSCANY
Francis of Lorraine, afterwards the Grand Duke of Tuscany, married Maria Theresa in 1736, and in 1745 was elected Holy Roman Emperor.

Maria Theresa's stand against Prussia is an act rather of moral worth than of political importance. Her courage and her obstinacy, which proceeded from an invincible trust in God, enabled her people the more readily to see in her house the natural continuation of the old royal family whose sorrows and joys they had shared for the last 500 years. They shared also in her unjustifiable hatred against Frederic, and gave her their genuine sympathy as to one oppressed and persecuted. German from the crown of her head to the sole of her foot, with all the virtues of the German wife and mother, a mistress both dignified and gentle, a stern commander at need, of strong determination, thorough and true in hate and love alike, endowed with that splendid beauty which stirs enthusiasm, it was not only in her native land that she won her people's hearts; even by hostile nations she was speedily known as the "Great Empress." Uncertainty and vacillation, the two deadly enemies to monarchical power, were unknown to her. She may have been deceived as to the forces which she had at her disposition, but she was well aware of the special characteristics of her empire. It was plain to her that Hungary's independent administration must be preserved, whereas the administrative power was to be centralised in the "German and Bohemian hereditary land." Though consenting to coronation, she did not permit the Bohemian constitutional privileges to grow larger, and kept a careful watch upon the uniformity and equality of the administration. Her full appreciation of the value of proper administration fitted her to walk in the ways which lead to the forming of states. With Maria Theresa begins the difficult transition from dynastic to constitutional power, which has continued to our own time. It should have come to an earlier conclusion, but the unjustifiable concessions made by liberalism to the form of the constitution have hindered its consummation.

Under Maria Theresa the relations of the ruling house to Bohemia partook for the second time of the character of a supremacy based on conquest. The kingdom had to be conquered by force of arms after it had already submitted to the imperial government. In November, 1741, the Elector of Bavaria invaded Bohemia from Upper Austria, of which he had already gained possession. Prague surrendered almost without resistance, and there he received homage to himself as king on November 25th. The constitutional representatives of Bohemia then surrendered the rights of the Hapsburg House without scruple. No fewer than 400 members of the Bohemian orders—among them men who bore honoured names—took the oath of allegiance in person, although no irresistible pressure was put upon them. The Bavarian "peoples" would have been considerably embarrassed if the Bohemian nobles, who were ever ready to boast of their dependency upon the imperial house, had remained in their castles and organised a guerrilla warfare instead of hastening to Prague to kiss the hand of the Elector of Bavaria.

It was not until Maria Theresa had made peace with Prussia that she found her power equal to driving the Bavarians out of the country, together with the French, who were supporting them. These latter felt no pricks of conscience in thus breaking the guarantee which they had given to the Pragmatic Sanction. Beaten in the two battles of Mollwitz, on April 10th, 1741, and of Chotusitz, north of Caslan, on May 17th, 1742, she agreed to give up Silesia with the exception of the principalities of Troppau and Teschen and the larger part of Jägerndorf. On the other hand, she was also obliged to sacrifice Glatz—of importance as being indispensable to the agreement with Frederic. However, the treaties of peace concluded at Breslau on June 11th and at Berlin on June 28th, 1742, were not made in an honourable spirit.

PRINCE VON KAUNITZ

Minister under the Empress Maria Theresa, Kaunitz failed to advance the development of the Austrian state and only checked it by renewing hostilities with Prussia.

Hardly had Maria enjoyed the benefits of the pacification, reconquered Bavaria, and convinced the world that her empire was a living reality, when she began to make plans for revenge upon Prussia. She was not attracted by the possibility of gaining Bavaria in place of Silesia, a proposition which might have been mentioned early in the negotiations, the motive being the utter cowardice of Charles Albert VII., who had been elected and crowned Roman Emperor on January 24th, 1742, although he possessed no territory—Maria Theresa's husband would have had to cede Tuscany to the Wittelsbacher as his share of the bargain. By the Peace of Fussen, on April 22nd, 1745, she gave back Bavaria together with the upper Palatinate to the Elector Maximilian Joseph III., the son of the Emperor Charles VII., who had died on January 20th, 1745. She recognised the imperial position of his father, and entered into negotiations with Saxony, Russia, and France.

Frederic II. had been already convinced that Austria's alliance with these powers would cost him not only Silesia but also his position in Europe, and made, therefore, his second invasion at the end of August, 1744. At Hohenfriedeberg, on June 4th, and at Soor, on September 30th, 1745, he beat the Austrians, and also the Saxons at Kesselsdorf on December 15th, 1745, and secured his possession of his acquisitions by the second treaty of peace, which was concluded in Dresden on Christmas Day, 1745. Austria gained thereby the recognition of Maria Theresa's husband, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Francis, as Roman Emperor. His election had taken place on October 4th, and the consent of the Bohemian electorate was obtained through Brandenburg-Prussia.

The Queen of Hungary and Bohemia thus became empress as the consort of the emperor. In the eyes of posterity the imperial dignity which encircles her is not merely the reflection of the somewhat tarnished crown with which she saw her husband adorned in Frankfort. During her reign a remarkable phenomenon comes to pass, in that her empire gained a title wholly different from that which usually attaches to the word. Maria Theresa really begins the succession of the Austrian emperors, and with her is bound up the conception of an Austrian state.

If after the second Silesian war Austria had considered her quarrel with Prussia as terminated she would have been able to make far greater progress in respect of her internal development. Apart from this fact, a renewal of the alliance with Prussia would have brought about the complete downfall of the Bourbons, and perhaps have made possible the acquisition of Naples. The Minister Kaunitz, upon one occasion—in 1751—put forward these ideas, but relinquished them in face of the opposition of the empress. The policy of

Kaunitz was as disastrous as that of Metternich. Not only did Kaunitz fail to advance the development of the Austrian state, but he checked and interrupted it by renewing hostilities with Prussia. How much might have been attained with the resources which were squandered and wasted in the Seven Years War, under such adroit and prosperous guidance as Maria Theresa displayed in the regulation of her home affairs! In any case, it would not have been necessary to subordinate every requirement of Hungary to the settlement of constitutional relations with neighbouring countries, and with Croatia in particular. The commercial undertakings of Charles VI. might have been renewed. The persecution of the Protestants in the Alpine territories, which were already sufficiently depopulated, whereby valuable productive forces were destroyed, would not have been thought necessary by Maria Theresa had she not thought to discover supporters of the hated Prussian king even among her co-religionists at home.

Maria Theresa was, in fact, so completely possessed by her antipathy for Frederic that it absolutely dominated every other political consideration. The historic antagonism of Hapsburg and Bourbon was lost in the personal antagonism of the two German sovereigns. The empress had found herself compelled to acquiesce in the act of deliberate robbery by which Silesia had been torn from her dominion; but she could not forgive it. The formation of a league for the overthrow of Prussia became a passion with her. There were German states which entirely sympathised, and the Russian Tsarina had her own grudge against Frederic, which made her a probable ally. Under existing conditions, neither Spain nor Sweden was likely to affect European military combinations materially, but it was certain that Great Britain and France would be drawn into the vortex. It is scarcely surprising that Maria Theresa sought the French in preference to the British alliance. As a military power on the Continent, France was prima facie the more effective; her armies counted for more than British subsidies, and the incapable Newcastle was at the head of the British Government. France joined the league, while Newcastle was surprised to find himself in the same galley with Frederic.

THE MARKET PLACE OF VIENNA IN THE TIME OF MARIA THERESA

From the painting by Belotto

FREDERIC WILLIAM I. AND THE CROWN PRINCE: MEETING BETWEEN FATHER AND SON

For a time the relations between Prussia's great king, Frederic William I., and the Crown Prince were not of the happiest, the treatment which the son received from his father being of a harsh and humiliating character. But a better understanding was arrived at, and in the above picture an affectionate meeting between father and son is depicted. Towards the end of May, 1740, the king became so unwell that the Crown Prince was summoned, but before his arrival Frederic William had slightly recovered and was able to be wheeled out in front of the palace, where he witnessed the laying of the foundation stone of a new building. The king died three days later on May 31st.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRUSSIA

THE KINGDOM UNDER FREDERIC WILLIAM I.

THE fate of a state is sometimes dependent upon the individuality of its princes. Even in republics it is impossible for mediocrities to hold the reins of power without inflicting permanent loss upon the nation. Monarchies vary in importance with the capacities of their rulers. Prussia has to thank the Hohenzollerns for the rapidity of her rise. In modern times we look in vain for a family which had produced four important statesmen endowed with creative powers within two centuries. These were the Elector Frederic William and the first king of the same name, and the kings Frederic II. and William I.; and of these four Zollerns, the Great Elector and the great Fritz were men of genius.

Prussia's Debt to her Great King

It was a long time before Frederic William I. (1713–1740) gained the reputation of a really great king. The period of the Declaration, with its many false ideas upon the nature of the state, did not point him out for praise. It took his own son a considerable time to appreciate his merits. But we from our point of view can see clearly how much Prussia and the German nation owe to him. We see that he strengthened the state, without which there could have been no German unity, and made it able to struggle for its existence; that his son would never have become "the Great" had he not been educated as he was.

If it be true that the German schoolmasters prepared the way for the great victories of the nineteenth century, then Frederic William was their prototype—the greatest schoolmaster who ever educated a people and made them equal to the tasks of life. Education of this kind he had none. At the court of his parents there was no one to sympathise with the lofty aspirations which rose in him, and what he saw there filled him only with repugnance. The extravagance which he could not curb incited him to habits of economy, which his mother considered miserly, and condemned in no measured terms. In his early youth he had learned to keep an eye upon every department of business, a training which enabled him successfully to track embezzlement to its source. When he returned from the Netherland campaign of 1710, with energy and insight fully matured, he overthrew the system of Sayn-Wittgenstein and Wartenberg, whereby the public funds had been irresponsibly squandered. To his action is also to be ascribed the banishment of these two untrustworthy Ministers from court and country.

Frederic William as Reformer

When he entered his royal office, Frederic William I. astounded the whole world by the rapidity and the radical nature of his reforms. The Prussians looked upon him as a tyrant, the outside world laughed at him and considered him as scarce responsible for his actions. A strange kind of court, where the state horses were sold, the silver plate melted down, the highest dignitaries fined or treated as common criminals for inaccuracy in their accounts! Was it seemly for a king to rise betimes and spend hours over deeds and accounts, revise expenditure and drill recruits? Should he walk into the houses of the Berlin citizens at dinner-time, taste the food as it was placed on the table, and inquire how much each dish cost? The valuable results of his energy were lost sight of in the consideration of his more obvious demerits—a furious and unbridled temper, bursts of undiscriminating passion, an exasperating suspicion of members of the family as of officials—demerits concerning which the most sinister rumours went about. His wife, Sophia Dorothea of Hanover, was largely to blame for the false reports of Frederic William which were to be heard at almost every court in Europe. She objected to the primitive manners which

How the King was Slandered

the king favoured, and considered the lack of etiquette and the painful stinginess of the court economy as insulting and degrading to herself. The elder children, Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina, who became Countess of Bayreuth in 1731, and the Crown Prince—born January 24th, 1712—were materially influenced by the exasperation of their mother at their father's apparent sternness and cruelty.

The King's Radical Reforms

However, at the end of the first decade of the new government it could not be denied that this extraordinary monarch with his corporal's cane had completed a great task. Debts had been paid, the treasury was full, a standing army was in existence the like of which was not to be seen anywhere in Europe, and a centralised system of government had been introduced, which was invariably reliable and accurate in its working and was equal to any demands upon it. The Prussian king was not confronted with such great difficulties as those which hampered Joseph II. in his no less ardent zeal for reform. But it must not be forgotten that the Great Elector had already done away with the claims and privileges of the provinces, that the position of the Hohenzollerns in Prussia was utterly unlike that of the Hapsburgs in Hungary, that the lords of Cleves and of the Mark could be routed with even less expenditure of force than was needed to deal with the Belgian communes, and, finally, that a common faith and nationality made a secure foundation for the construction of a uniform system of administration.

PRUSSIA'S GREAT KING
Prussia will ever be indebted to Frederic William I. He accomplished a great work and astounded the whole world by the rapidity and the radical nature of his reforms.

In spite of these advantages, Frederic William I.'s early attempts to introduce this wonderfully organised administration were not entirely successful. He made mistakes, and often saw his hopes frustrated. A separate financial department for civil and for military necessities proved to be an impracticable arrangement. "The fact that the duties of the officials were often coincident or conflicting occasioned confusion, and laid unnecessary burdens upon the subject." The king readily admitted this fact; he brought the causes of distress in the several districts before the notice of the government officials and on December 20th, 1722, he resolved upon the constitution of a General Directory, which should henceforward control the whole of the financial business. The advantages of this centralisation soon became obvious to the taxpayers.

Especially beneficial in their effects were the clearness and simplicity of the judicial administration, and the certainty of obtaining justice, which was felt by every one of the king's subjects, no matter what his position. The confidence of the subject was gained by the keen supervision maintained by the king himself over every official and every department. He knew the needs of his people from his own experience and from his frequent interviews with representatives of the most varied classes of society. No social question was ever overlooked or neglected by him. He provided for the support of the poor, drove gipsies and vagabonds out of the country, opposed the encroachments of the privileged citizen classes in the towns, and freed handicrafts from the restrictions imposed by the guilds. What the common-sense and supervision of one man could do for the discovery and reform of abuses was done by this king; he had no theoretical training to guide him, but he had an unusual power of appreciating economic conditions, and was therefore able to free the productive forces of his realm from restrictions and to make them in the highest degree serviceable.

Frederic William was not a "soldier king," although he considered himself to be such, as indeed he was called by the numbers of curious visitors who arrived from all parts to see the giant grenadiers at Berlin and to marvel at the complicated manœuvres which were then practised by every arm of the service. At any rate, he attached the highest importance to the Prussian military forces.

Prussia in Need of a Large Army

He knew perfectly well how it was that his grandfather had been able to turn an influential province into a European monarchy. He recognised that the new German kingdom must compensate for the small extent of its territory by the strength of its armament. As he desired a large and powerful army, he concentrated his political talents upon questions of administration, for he saw correctly that a great military power can be founded only by a well-built and carefully administered state. His father had had scarcely 30,000 men under arms, and even with these had been able to play a very considerable part in the great War of Succession. But he dared not pursue his advantages to the uttermost, because he was unable to cope with an alliance of foreign powers. So early as 1725, Frederic William was able to call out an army of 64,000 men at shorter notice than any other power, and his troops were better equipped and trained than the Austrians or the French. At his death, the standing army consisted of 66 battalions of infantry, 114 squadrons with 18,560 horse, six companies of field artillery, four companies of garrison artillery, and 43 engineer officers. This was the army of a great power.

By the canton regulation of May 1st and September 15th, 1733, service in the royal regiments was made compulsory upon the larger part of the population, so that a supply of recruits and of material for further levies was guaranteed. Even in the first year of his reign Frederic II. was able to raise the number of battalions from sixty-six to eighty-three. And all these troops were armed on a uniform system, admirably drilled, trained in quick-firing, and able to be in marching order within twelve days. When Maria Theresa came to the throne the effective strength of the Austrian army was 107,000 infantry and 32,000 cavalry. But the concentration of these forces was a matter of great difficulty; the various items of equipment were by no means complete, the commissariat was hampered by lack of funds. Hence the Austrian forces were by no means superior to the Prussian.

PRUSSIA'S VIGOROUS KING, FREDERIC WILLIAM, VISITING A BOYS' SCHOOL

When Frederic William I. ascended the Prussian throne he immediately instituted reforms, some of which were so radical and thorough-going as to astonish the whole world. He made himself acquainted not only with the details of government but also with the condition of his people, visiting the homes of the Berlin citizens at dinner-time, tasting their food and inquiring what each dish cost. In the above picture the king is seen paying a visit to a boys' school.

However, Frederic William's attention was not concentrated solely upon increasing the numbers and improving the efficiency of his army; he was also able to secure a higher social position for his officers than was held by the officers of any other Continental army. He was the first officer upon the throne. In the Prussia of his time the officer's uniform became the king's state dress, and gained a high prestige from that custom. Under him the nobility of his territories, especially those east of the Elbe, became permanently connected with the army, as only by military service could they come under the king's special notice or lay claims to special distinction. Notwithstanding the roughness with which Frederic William was pleased to express his sentiments, he raised the standard of honour among his officers, and strictly maintained it at a high level. The officer was obliged to obey his superior without question, but to this obedience the condition was attached that his "honour should remain intact." Such a spirit was infused into the rank and file that a soldier upon furlough would parade his connection with the army before his village companions with pride. The military forces which Frederic William left to his son were permeated by a strong sense of their common unity.

A New Spirit in the Army of Prussia

He never himself employed the weapon which he had forged. In 1715, when he began the Pomeranian campaign against Charles XII. of Sweden, in which he gained Further Pomerania as far as the Peene, Usedom, and Wollin, the principles of his military organisation had not brought forth their fruit and his great work had hardly been begun. In later years he succumbed to the influence of the diplomacy peculiar to the period, with its restless striving after alliance, its intricate complexity of compacts and guarantees; and even when his claims were entirely justified, he hesitated to throw his power into the political balance. We may well ask what would have been the position of the Great Elector in Europe if he had had money and troops at his disposal to the same extent as his grandson.

Frederic William's last days were saddened by a bitter disappointment. He had concluded the Convention of Berlin with Austria, which had been brought about by the dexterity of Count Seckendorff, on December 23rd, 1728, in the conviction that the interests of the Houses of Hohenzollern and Hapsburg were at one. He had fulfilled his promises, and it was through his efforts that the Pragmatic Sanction had been recognised throughout the empire. But the conviction was forced upon him that the emperor would not help him to his rights in the matter of the Juliers inheritance, the acquisition of Berg and Ravenstein. He was unable to free himself from the network of intrigue with which he was surrounded. However, after long doubts and years of devouring anxiety, he at length became convinced of the inspiriting fact that in his son he could behold "his future avenger."

Frederic William Saddened by Disappointment

The education of this son, the struggle with his weaknesses, real or imaginary, the painful cure which he imposed for the feeble spirit, the vacillating will of this youth, whose more refined disposition seemed to his father to arouse wishes incapable of accomplishment, even foolish and immoral—the whole of this story might form the basis for a powerful drama. It was not a cruel amusement in which the father indulged at the expense of a child whom he could not understand; it was the execution of a duty which he felt incumbent upon himself as king, which was forced upon him by his theory and conception of the monarch's position. The tendencies to distraction, to study of current literature and art, the desire for comfort and display, which Frederic William observed in the Crown Prince, filled him with anger, drove him to abuse and chastise the young man striving for independence, whom he thought it his duty to hate, though he had a warm love for him in the depths of his heart. His father's degrading treatment and the contempt which he showed towards him before all the courtiers and before his military suite drove Frederic to attempt flight at the beginning of August, 1730, in his eighteenth year.

The King's Harsh Treatment of his Son

Desertion was the king's name for this unfortunate plan, which was nothing more than an effort for self-help. A court-martial was appointed to determine the life or death of the future king. In durance vile, Frederic was obliged to await their decision upon his future. On November 6th, 1730, he was forced to behold the execution of his confidential friend, Hans Hermann of Katte, and to have upon his conscience the terrible burden of the death of a true, courageous, and devoted man.

After the inconceivable anguish of these events, it became possible for him to find consolation and renewed pleasure in life by working at the study of the administration in the Küstrin military and departmental offices. The king's expectations of him are shown by his few words to the Seneschal von Wolden: "He is to do exactly as I desire, to get French and English ways out of his head, and anything else that is not Prussian; he is to be loyal to his lord and father, to have a German heart, to cease from foppery and from French, political, damnable falsity; he should pray diligently to God for His grace and keep the same ever before him, for then will God so dispose all things as to be opportune and eternally serviceable to him." The change in the king's temper, the renewal of his confidence in his son, was brought about by the latter's straightforward repentance and confession that he had done wrong and had led astray the accomplice in his attempted flight.

The King's Dying Tribute to his Son

Then followed the heavy trial of marrying a wife he did not love, whom his father had chosen for him, the Duchess Elizabeth Christine of Brunswick-Bevern. This great sacrifice was made on June 12th, 1733. In the end he was able to live with his wife, if not in complete happiness, at any rate without disagreement, and at times with something of sympathy. His father, too, no longer opposed his mental development, his philosophical and scientific studies, his interest in art; for he recognised that Frederic was a thoroughly efficient officer and an excellent regimental commander. Upon his deathbed, on May 31st, 1740, Frederic William could say to the officers whom he had summoned to take leave of him: "Has not God been gracious to me, in giving me so brave and noble a son?" In the dreams which came to this son, when he found himself opposed to the armies of Europe, he once met his father, as Reinhold Koser relates, at Charlottenburg. He had been fighting against Marshal Daun. "Have I borne myself well?" he asked. And Frederic William replied: "Yes." "Well, then, I am satisfied; your approval is worth more to me than that of the whole world."

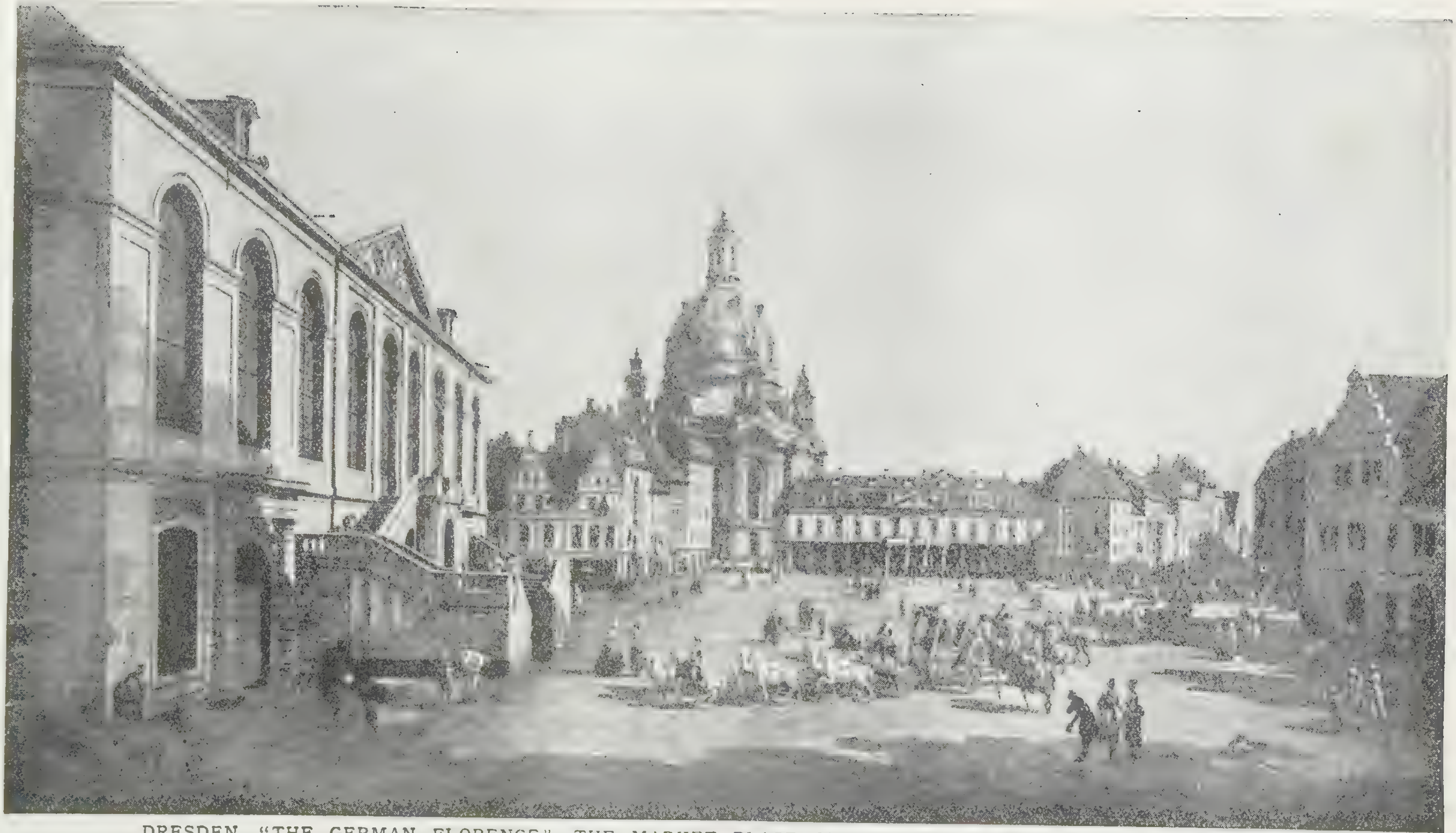
Steps in the Rise of Prussia

The foundations for the rise of Prussia to the status of a great power had been laid by Frederic William. Frederic II. (1740–1786) recognised the full extent of what had been done, and put the state to that proof of its strength which was to make its importance manifest to Europe at large. This importance consisted in its capacity for carrying out the intentions which had been declared in the foundation of its system—namely, effective resistance to a superior number of great powers. However the immediate object was the aggrandisement of Prussia in the Oder district, the strengthening of the central district, in which the electorate itself had risen, the strengthening of the Marks on the Havel and the Spree, the securing of Berlin by pushing forward the frontier toward the south-east. There lay the Silesian principality with a Protestant population closely related to that of the Marks.

For 300 years the Hohenzollerns had been turning their eyes in this direction. In 1523 they had bought the Duchy of Jägerndorf; in 1537 they had concluded an hereditary alliance with Frederic II., the Duke of Liegnitz, Brieg, and Wohlau, whereby the Great Elector in 1686 had fondly hoped to acquire the Schwiebus district. He had been deceived, as his son had promised to restore this insignificant strip of territory to Austria after his father's death.

Austria Asserts her Rights

In 1694 Austria insisted upon her rights, and did not spare the elector—to whom she was afterwards obliged to concede the title of king—the shame of this compulsory transference. She was formally within her rights; but it was an act of indiscretion which led to disastrous results. By statutes and judgments a state can be neither created nor upheld. Moreover, the period had long since passed when the affairs of the individual, and especially personal claims to the inheritance and amalgamation of territories, could be of decisive importance in such questions as these. Such claims were made only as a means of proposing those demands which a state was obliged to make by virtue of its own necessities. The conception of "rounding off territories as was expedient" was bound up with the practice of "adjustment of conflicting interests," which had become naturalised in every court since the time when the European powers had bid against one another for the Spanish inheritance.



DRESDEN, "THE GERMAN FLORENCE": THE MARKET PLACE OF SAXONY'S CAPITAL ABOUT THE YEAR 1750

From the painting by Belotto in the Royal Gallery, Dresden

FREDERIC THE GREAT

THE SILESIAN AND SEVEN YEARS WARS

Frederic's Claims on Silesia

ON October 20th, 1740, a few months after Frederic had ascended the throne, the male line of the Hapsburgs became extinct. He had no objection to seeing the Hapsburg territories pass undivided to the successor; he was even ready to lend the support of his army; but he demanded a *quid pro quo*, a cession of territory, which would have enabled his own state to carry on an independent policy regardless of its powerful neighbours. He desired the immediate cession of Lower Silesia, and in return for this he was ready to waive those rights to the Juliers inheritance which his father had so highly valued. A technical excuse was found in the proofs, sound or otherwise, which the old professor, Johann Peter von Ludewig, put together in Halle in favour of the Brandenburg rights to the four Silesian principalities. The question was neither simple nor straightforward, and both sides may have well believed in the justice of their respective claims. But it was enough for Frederic that his demands were dictated by political necessities. If he thought of "rights" at all, it was of the moral claims, arising out of his help to his neighbour, to whom his house had rendered important services, which he had recently declared himself ready to continue to the same or even greater extent.

We can easily understand the king's anxiety to turn a favourable political situation to the best advantage. It is no less easy to understand his resolution to secure himself in the possession of Silesia by force of arms, before the negotiations with Austria had begun, because the political talent which has conceived a plan at once begins to calculate the means available for carrying it into execution, and because, of all the possible means whereby territory may be acquired, seizure is undoubtedly the easiest and the most certain. Frederic II. could not but presume that his invasion of Silesia on December 16th, 1740, would almost inevitably lead to war. But for war he was prepared if Austria should reject his demands.

A Testing Time for Prussia

As a matter of fact, he was obliged to employ the whole of the yet untried power of his state to gain possession of Silesia, and therefore exposed himself to the danger of collapse and total ruin. His action is not to be justified by the intrinsic worth of Silesia, but by the enormous importance attaching to the accomplishment of his own will and the maintenance of the claims which he had preferred. The three Silesian wars are something more than a struggle for Silesia. They are the struggle for the success of Prussian policy—that is, the creation of a new German great power. Of final importance for the result were the solidarity of the Prussian system of government, the loyalty and capability of its people in all the emergencies of war and of peace, the moral strength and military qualifications of the king. As a leader the great Fritz not only saved his Prussian kingdom from destruction, but also won the hearts of the Germans.

The Secret of Frederic's Popularity

For how long a time had there been no warrior to rejoice the heart of every honest German? Not since Warsaw and Fehrbellin. The little Savoyard had dealt hard blows, Starhemberg had directed many a fierce charge, splendid songs were sung of Marlborough, but none of these possessed the popularity which Frederic the Great enjoyed. What made so deep an impression was the fact that the fate of the king himself was wholly contingent upon the result of his battles. The same phenomenon recurs in the case of Napoleon I. Moreover, it was a new art of war which Frederic had learned, an art which in some respects developed before the eyes of his contemporaries as he practised it. No poet and no painter has yet escaped the critic's censure, and the truth holds good of every general and strategist. "Strategy is not a science," as Prince Kraft of Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen shows; "it is an art, which must be inborn." Strength of character, power of decision, are elements indispensable to strategical capacity. Study may improve a man's powers, but it cannot make him a strategist. To this he must be born. Frederic the Great was a born strategist. He certainly did not gain much advantage by study; he learned the art of war by waging it. It is by no means generally admitted that he was a master in the art of war. His nearest relation, his brother Prince Henry (1726–1802), has given vent to the severest stricture upon his methods, without consideration for the fact that such criticisms recoiled upon himself

FREDERIC THE GREAT
He succeeded his father as King of Prussia in 1740. On the death of the Emperor Charles VI., he claimed part of Silesia, and, invading that province, defeated the Austrians. He died in 1786.

Frederic's Genius in Battle

Prussia's Successful Campaign

Now, he is said to have been always ready to give battle; again, we are told in confidence that he was a coward at heart. The contemporaries of Frederic the Great never realised the great strides which the art of war made under him. Napoleon was the first to give him his due merit. Frederic abandoned the system of keeping the enemy occupied by a number of concurrent operations, of inflicting a blow here and there, of driving him out of his positions and so gradually gaining ground. The destruction of his enemy's main power was the object which he invariably kept in view. "Throughout the Seven Years War," says Bernhardi, "in every one of the battles which he planned—battles far more decisive than any of Napoleon's combinations—the object in view was the utter destruction of the hostile army. Such especially was the case at Prague and at Leuthen, where the plan of destruction proved entirely successful. So, also, at Zorndorf, at Kunersdorf, and even at Kolin; to a less extent at Rossbach, where it was necessary to take immediate advantage of a sudden favourable opportunity, produced by instantaneous decision." The first Silesian war coincided with the Bavarian invasion of Upper Austria and the Franco-Bavarian attempt in Bohemia. The Field-Marshal Schwerin won the battle of Mollwitz on April 10th, 1741, owing chiefly to the admirable manœuvring powers and the excellent firing drill of the Prussian infantry. At Czeslau, on May 17th, 1742, it was the king's generalship which brought the campaign to a favourable issue. He it was who decided upon the timely retreat from Moravia; he personally carried out the opportune junction with the younger Leopold (Maximilian II.) of Anhalt-Dessau. The battle was decided by the invincible steadiness of the Prussian battalions. Surprising had been the rapidity of the king's attack upon Silesia, and no less surprising to the allies was the one-sided Peace of Breslau, in which, for the first time, the possession of Silesia was promised to him. In calm confidence as to his own strength, he paid no attention to the irritation and the reproaches of France. He knew that his co-operation in the general war would meet with glad approval should he find himself again obliged to take up arms.

The conventions which Maria Theresa concluded with Great Britain, Saxony, and Sardinia aroused his anxiety for Silesia. On June 5th, 1744, he concluded a fresh alliance with France, and invaded Bohemia, this being the second Silesian war. In the autumn he was obliged to evacuate the country. However, by a brilliant victory at Hohenfriedeberg on June 4th, 1745, he shattered the hopes of his destruction which had been entertained by the quadruple alliance—Austria, Saxony, Great Britain, and Holland. The decision and the simplicity of his arrangements had revived the confidence of the army in the leader whom they did not yet understand.

He was able quietly to observe the advance of the Austrian and Saxon armies over the mountains, until he made a night march from Schweidnitz and attacked the enemy before they could concentrate. The Saxons were overthrown at Striegau before the Austrians could get into line of battle. They began the fight when they had completed this operation, with their customary loyalty and bravery, but could not resist the fury of the Prussian cavalry; the dragoon regiment "Bayreuth," under Gessler, made a wonderful charge. The victories of Soor on September 30th, and of Kesselsdorf on December 15th, so decisively proved the superiority of the Prussian arms that the empress was again forced to yield Silesia in the Peace of Dresden on December 25th, 1745. Frederic did not attempt to disturb the position of the Austrian House in Germany, and recognised the imperial dignity of Francis I., the husband of Maria Theresa.

Even till recent times the most divergent opinions have been held upon the outbreak of the Seven Years War, which Prussia began by invading Saxony on August 28th, 1756. The question is, whether the compact concluded between Austria, France, and Russia—the compact of Versailles, signed at Jouy, on May 1st, 1756—aimed at war with Prussia under any conditions, so that Frederic was forced to anticipate the attack of an overwhelming force, or whether Frederic made the existence of an alliance which in no way threatened himself an excuse for carrying out the conquest of Saxony, upon which he had determined long before. On January 16th, 1756, the compact of Westminster was concluded at Whitehall between Prussia and Great Britain, which it was hoped would bring about a rapprochement with Russia, at that time in alliance with England. Even Frederic could hardly have foreseen that the only result of the compact would be to arouse Elizabeth's dissent and to cause the withdrawal of Russia. Nor would anyone

THE YOUTHFUL FREDERIC THE GREAT AT RHEINSBERG
From the painting by W. Amberg

maintain that if Frederic had not himself anticipated the outbreak of hostilities, Prussia would have been left in undisturbed possession of Silesia, and that the policy of Count Kaunitz would have made it unnecessary for him to defend his acquisition. It was impossible to pass by this short cut through the protracted operation of defining the internal relations of Germany; and whether the path was entered earlier or later is a question of very minor importance. Entirely independent of this question is the deep impression made by Frederic's personality upon the German nation.

How Frederic Impressed the German Nation

That impression is founded upon the fact that the great king and his loyal people fought for seven years against the five greatest powers, who in mere point of numbers were far superior to them—Austria, France, Russia, Sweden, and the German Empire—that they survived the bitter struggle, and were not crushed to the earth. It does not detract from the brilliance of Frederic's splendid resistance to the circle of foes that it would not have been possible without the gold which Britain provided, together with the fact that after 1757 his Anglo-Hanoverian allies absorbed the attention of France—an aspect of the question dealt with in another chapter. Whether Prussia had only herself to thank for the war, or whether it was forced upon her by her enemies, the fact remains that it was a heroic fight of the weak against the strong, which excites admiration and has caught the fancy and imagination of those contemporary with it. "A true instinct guided the German people even in paths where the way could not be clearly seen or the landmarks noted; that instinct taught them that upon this struggle their all was staked, that once again the past, as in the Thirty Years War, was summoning all her strength to destroy the future of Germany. Every mind which strove to cast away the narrow trammels of German intellectual life at that time, and to rise to a future of greater freedom, splendour, and beauty, ranged itself upon Frederic's side—the youthful Goethe and the older Lessing, who had now risen to the full height of his powers."

Great Forces on the Side of Prussia

At the outset the war was brilliantly successful. Saxony was occupied and its army forced to surrender at Pirna, on October 16th, 1756. By the victory of

A POPULAR KING: FREDERIC THE GREAT RECEIVING HIS PEOPLE'S HOMAGE
From the painting by Adolph Menzel

Lobositz on October 1st, Frederic opened the way for his march into Bohemia. On May 6th, 1757, he defeated the Austrians at Prague, in which battle Schwerin was killed, advanced to besiege the town, and then turned upon the army which was advancing to its relief under Daun.

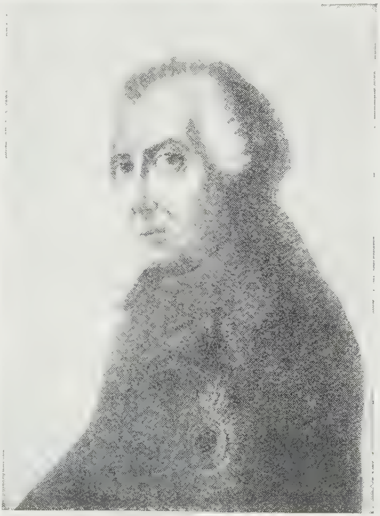
At Kolin, on June 18th, 1757, his impetuous advance received its first check. The victory of the Austrians is to be ascribed rather to the bravery and endurance of their troops, especially those of Saxony, than to the combinations of the general, and principally to the fact that Prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau misunderstood an important order from the king, and made a movement which thwarted his plans. This victory speedily freed Bohemia from the enemy. After the defeat, which had utterly crushed the spirit of his generals, Frederic alone retained his perspicacity and presence of mind. He saw that he must give up the bold offensive movements which he had hitherto carried out, and act upon a general method of defence, to be maintained by offensive measures upon occasion. However, he did not give up the advantages to be gained by keeping his troops in the enemy's country until the last moment, and remained in Bohemia until he was forced to retreat upon the Lausitz by the advance of Prince Charles Alexander of Lorraine and Bar upon Silesia.

FREDERIC THE GREAT ON THE BATTLEFIELD

From the painting by Adolph Menzel

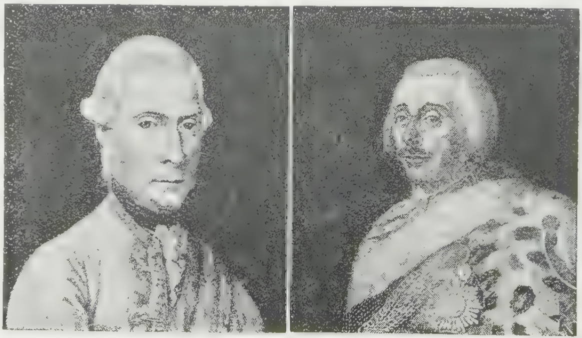
Frederic left his brother Augustus William—the father of Frederic William II.—in charge of the defence of the line of the Oder, and having successfully induced the Austrians to give battle at Zittau, he crossed the Elbe at Dresden, in order to repulse Soubise, who had joined the imperial army. Their advance upon the Elbe was an important movement, in view of the fact that the Anglo-Hanoverian army, under the Duke of Cumberland, had been defeated by a French army under Marshal Richelieu, and had been forced to capitulate at Closter Seven, on September 8th. Frederic, however, had already determined to act on the defensive only against the French, and to attack the Austrians, who were making rapid progress in Silesia, when Soubise gave him, on November 5th, 1757, the opportunity of fighting the battle of Rossbach, one of the most welcome victories ever gained by a German army. Frederic's intellectual superiority made it an easy task for him to cut through the slow enveloping movement of his opponents by a single adroit manœuvre. The brilliant charge of the Seydlitz cavalry then routed and put to flight the 43,000 men who were attacking 8,500 Prussians. The French fled to Hesse and Frankfort, the imperial troops to Franconia. The Anglo-Hanoverian army, now placed under the command of Ferdinand of Brunswick, held the French attacks in check on the west through the remainder of the war.

But the danger of losing the whole of Silesia was now extreme, and a movement was accordingly made in that direction. A brilliant raid of the Austrian hussars to Berlin had no real military importance, but it showed with appalling clearness how far the enemy's lines had been pushed towards the capital. Two months later the army commanded by the Duke of Brunswick-Bevern had been several times defeated by the Austrians and driven back to the walls of Breslau. On November 22nd, 1757, they were there attacked in their entrenchments and forced to retreat from the right bank of the Oder. As the king was hastening from Saxony to Silesia, he was met by messages of misfortune upon misfortune; first, the loss of the battle, and two days later the capture of the Duke of Bevern and the surrender of Breslau without attempt at resistance.



FREDERIC THE GREAT IN OLD AGE

On December 2nd Frederic joined the remains of the defeated army. His forces now amounted to 22,000 infantry, 12,000 cavalry, 96 light battalion guns, and 71 pieces of heavier artillery. The only possibility of saving Silesia lay in striking a decisive blow. Who before Frederic would have dared the venture? However, his mind was made up, even before the Austrians had determined to march against him. Charles of Lorraine had urged the policy of attack, in spite of the advice of the cautious Daun, who would have preferred to await the king in security at Breslau. Charles seems not to have desired to bring about a battle, but to have been convinced that Frederic would be forced to evacuate Silesia forthwith, when he found the vastly superior Austrian army in motion against him, consisting of 90,000 men, including the Würtemberg and Bavarian contingents. On December 5th, 1757, the king saw from Heidau the long battle line of his enemy, extended over the space of a mile. Before their eyes Frederic concentrated almost his entire force against the Austrian left wing after his own left had made a successful attack upon the Saxon advanced guard, which was not pushed home. Daun and the Duke Charles did not perceive Frederic's plan when their left wing was vigorously attacked and thrown back upon the centre at Leuthen. When the duke brought up reinforcements from the right wing, the cavalry were broken by the charge of sixty Prussian squadrons who had been standing under cover. There was no protection for the centre, and an utter rout was the consequence. The Austrians lost 21,000 men (12,000 of them prisoners), 116 guns, 51 standards, and 4,000 waggons. The price paid by the Prussians for the victory was 6,300 men and 200 officers.



LEADERS IN THE SEVEN YEARS WAR

Ernst Gideon Baron von Laudon, whose portrait is first given, entered the Russian service in 1732. but later exchanged into that of Austria. He displayed great talent in the Seven Years War, and also as field-marshal in the war against the Turks. Hans Joachim von Zeiten also distinguished himself greatly in the Seven Years War.

The result of the victory of Leuthen, the most complete and remarkable which Frederic ever gained, was equalled only by the skill with which it had been won. The king had directed his blow against the hostile power so as to drive it from the Bohemian line of retreat in a north-easterly direction, and the defeat consequently produced entire confusion. Charles of Lorraine brought only 35,000 men back with him across the mountains. Eighteen thousand fled to Breslau, where they were forced to surrender on December 21st. The whole of Silesia was evacuated as far as Schweidnitz. The action of a leader of genius, who addresses himself to the heaviest tasks, and at the decisive moment calmly chooses the means calculated to produce the required result, was never more brilliantly displayed. The victor of Leuthen was henceforward indestructible. The campaign of 1757 is typical of the whole war. The king acted prematurely in supposing that the retreat of the Russians from Prussia implied their retirement from the alliance with Austria. By calling up the division of the old Field-Marshal Hans von Lehwald he made the kingdom the theatre of the war from that time onward. In spite of the redoubled attack of Seydlitz, he was unable to gain a victory at Zorndorf on August 25th, 1758. Until the autumn of 1760 Frederic was able to prevent the junction of the armies of Laudon and Daun. The amalgamation of these forces would have been his inevitable ruin. On August 15th he succeeded in checking Laudon at Liegnitz. On November 3rd fortune smiled upon him at Torgau, where Zieten snatched a victory from the Austrians which they had thought within their grasp, and forced Daun to retreat upon Dresden. In 1761, ill-feeling between Laudon and Alexander Borrissovitch Buturlin saved him from being overwhelmed by 130,000 Austrians and Russians at Bunzelwitz, from August 18th to September 9th. There was no other decisive battle. The war ran its course until the death of the Empress Elizabeth, on January 5th, 1762, and the definite retirement of Russia brought its conclusion near, in spite of the defection of England under Bute's administration.

The Peace of Hubertsburg on February 15th, 1763, caused no change in the distribution of territory in Germany. However, it secured Prussia for the third time in possession of Silesia, and so paid her the price for which she had spent her power. The imperial throne was secured to the house of Maria Theresa and with the assent of Brandenburg her son was elected at Frankfort, March 27th, 1764.

Frederic, King of Prussia, has become a German national hero. He did not appreciate the future open to the nation which sang his praises; but he made his will to be law from the Baltic to the Alps.

Hans v. Zwiedineck-Südenhorst

THE STANDARD-BEARER OF THE PRUSSIAN ARMY

Daniel Defoe. 1659-1731 Jonathan Swift, 1667-1745

Sir Richard Steele, 1672-1729 Joseph Addison, 1672-1719 Alexander Pope, 1688-1744

Samuel Richardson, 1689-1761 Henry Fielding, 1707-1754 Samuel Johnson. 1709-1784

Laurence Sterne, 1713-1768 Tobias Smollett, 1721-1771 Oliver Goldsmith, 1728-1774

GREAT ENGLISH MEN OF LETTERS FROM DEFOE TO GOLDSMITH

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE AMERICAN WAR

THE REVOLUTION IN NATIONAL INDUSTRY

THE primary purpose which George III. set before himself on ascending the throne of Great Britain—a nation at last united and loyal throughout to the reigning dynasty—was to re-assert the personal power of the monarch. The old scheme of meeting the claim of parliamentary rights with the claims of royal prerogative was dead and done with. The new scheme was for the Crown to acquire in Parliament itself the ascendancy which the exigencies of the Revolution had bestowed upon the dominant Whig families. To that end the two great obstacles were the personality of Pitt and the remains of solidarity among the Whigs. Out of a further disintegration, the Crown might hope to extract a dominant party of its own.

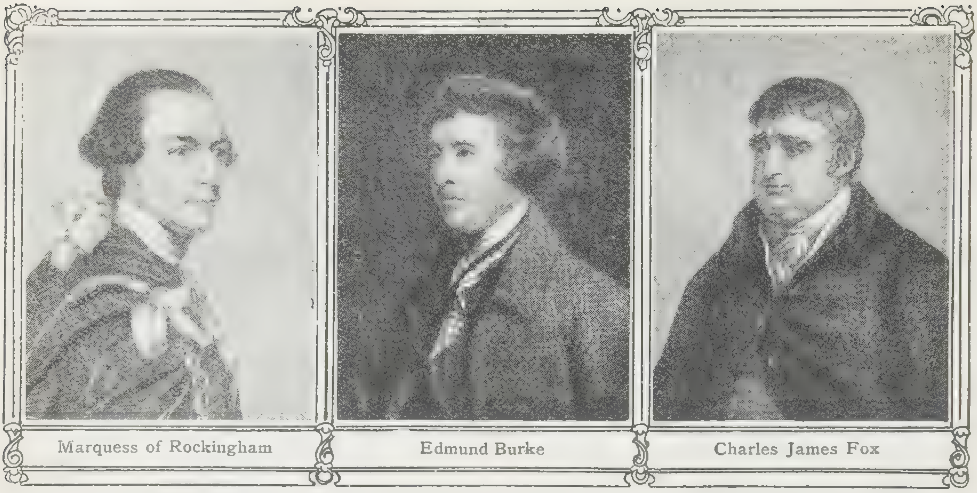
Britain Drifting towards a Crisis

Colonists From the Old Country

With the overthrow of Pitt, the king had won the first battle for ascendancy. But it was easier to break and disunite the dominant party than to find another which should be at once submissive to the royal views and respected in the House of Commons. Several experiments of an unsuccessful and sometimes humiliating character had to be made before George III. discovered a Prime Minister after his own heart. The great parties of the past, those which had opposed and supported the programme of the Revolution, no longer existed. In their place stood groups of politicians, united by attachment to a great name or fortune, returned to Parliament, as a rule, by the patrons whom they followed, and more concerned to secure a place or a pension than to study the situation and needs of the nation. The process which led to the victory of the king caused England, between ephemeral Ministries and a legislature partly corrupt, partly apathetic, to drift towards a crisis compared with which the last two wars were trivial. Lately the arbiter of Europe, she was to be exposed to humiliation at the hands of her own colonies. The causes of friction between the mother country and the American colonies can be traced back to the beginning of the eighteenth century. The different settlements, which extended from Massachusetts in the north to Georgia in the south, had been founded at different times and by very various types of men. Some had emigrated to escape from religious persecution; some had left England burdened with debt or the sense of failure in the profession which they had originally chosen; others, again, were the younger sons of landed families; others felt the desire for a life comparatively untrammelled by convention. Not a few were natives of Ireland or Scotland, whom the real or fancied wrongs of their native land had driven into exile.

Jealousy in the Colonial Parliaments

But all the colonists, whether patriotic or the reverse, whether they had prospered or failed, whether they had been well or ill treated in their mother country, were moderately well contented to remain dependent on the British Crown so long as they were allowed to manage their own affairs through elected legislatures. In all the colonies, whether proprietary or formed by independent enterprise, there was a passionate love of freedom; all had imitated to some extent the forms of English government, had preserved the English common law, and had cherished the traditional English mistrust of the executive. In each colony the head of the executive was a governor appointed by the Crown or the proprietor; and the acts of this official were watched with the more jealousy because he represented an authority extraneous to the colonies themselves. Hardly less acute was the jealousy which each colony entertained for its neighbours. It was well nigh impossible to secure concerted action between the colonial Parliaments. Their members could hardly conceive of co-operation except as entailing loss of



Marquess of Rockingham

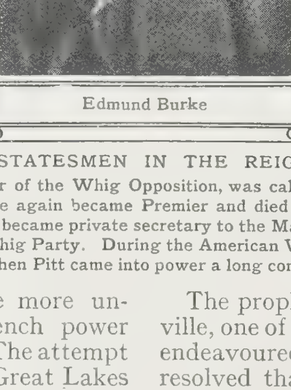
Edmund Burke

Charles James Fox

THREE EMINENT STATESMEN IN THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.

The Marquess of Rockingham, as leader of the Whig Opposition, was called upon to form a Ministry in 1765. He resigned in the following year; in 1782 he again became Premier and died the same year. Burke's introduction to parliamentary life began in 1765 when he became private secretary to the Marquess of Rockingham, and his eloquence soon won for him a high position in the Whig Party. During the American War Charles James Fox strongly opposed the coercive measures of government; when Pitt came into power a long contest between these two statesmen began.

independence. This was the more unfortunate because in the French power they had a common enemy. The attempt to connect Louisiana with the Great Lakes had been an equal menace to all. Nor could the danger have been averted but for English help. The colonies contributed less than was expected to the work of conquering Canada. Now that Canada had become a British dependency they were inclined to think of the danger as finally removed; they resented the policy of the home government in maintaining a permanent military force for their protection, and they were disinclined to find money for this object. They considered that England derived from the Navigation Laws sufficient advantages to reimburse her for whatever expense she had incurred on their behalf; and they resented even that degree of control to which they had been subjected from their first foundation. "England," said Vergennes, after the conquest of Canada, "will soon repent of having removed the only check which kept her colonies in awe. She will call on them to contribute towards supporting the burden they have helped to bring upon her, and they will answer by shaking off all dependence."



JOHN WILKES

His political career began when he was elected for Aylesbury in 1757 as a supporter of Pitt. He met with varied fortunes during his life, which came to an end in 1797.

The prophecy was soon fulfilled. Grenville, one of the Ministers whom George III. endeavoured to train in his own views, resolved that the colonists ought to bear a part of the burden represented by the national debt. Finding that a more rigorous collection of the customs at colonial ports would not yield the sum that he thought proper, and having utterly failed to obtain the promise of adequate votes from the colonial legislatures, he persuaded the English Parliament, in 1765, to impose a stamp tax in the colonies. There could be no doubt that Parliament possessed the legal right to do this. But the colonists treated the tax as the opponents of Charles I. had treated ship money. They denied the legality of the Stamp Act, and roused in the mother country a feeling of irritation which threatened to overcome all prudential motives. The successors of Grenville's Ministry, the Rockingham Whigs, saved the situation by repealing the obnoxious Act before the quarrel had become irreparable. But this concession, in 1766, was accompanied by a Declaratory Act asserting the abstract right of Parliament to levy taxes on the colonies as a formal concession on the part of the

Ministry to offended national pride. No practical consequences were intended to follow from the declaration of right. But the next Cabinet had the temerity, in 1767, to impose a duty upon tea and other goods imported into America. It is one of the ironies of history that Chatham, the most vigorous defender of colonial independence, was the nominal chief of this administration. But he was incapacitated by illness, and remained unconscious of the hare-brained scheme until the mischief had been done. It is true that the right of England to impose customs, as distinct from excise duties, had been admitted in the past, and that the new taxes were a flea-bite as compared with the restrictions of the Navigation Laws, which the colonists endured with patience. But American suspicions had been aroused by the Declaratory Act, and the colonists were flushed with their recent victory. New protests poured in; there were squabbles with governors and affrays with British troops. It became necessary for the Government of George III. to choose between submission and the use of force. The government had now fallen completely into the king's hands. During a series of weak administrations he had kept control of patronage, and by systematic corruption had organised in the House of Commons a party of "King's Friends," upon whom he could rely for unwavering support. It made little difference to him that Parliament had ceased to represent the nation, and that Middlesex, the most important of the free constituencies, had twice returned to Parliament a notorious profligate, John Wilkes, for no better reason than to attest their satisfaction at the virulent attacks which his newspaper delivered on the

DEFENDER OF GIBRALTAR

After serving in the Continental wars, George Augustus Elliott was, in 1775, appointed Governor of Gibraltar, which he heroically defended against the French and Spanish.

THE LAST SPEECH OF THE EARL OF CHATHAM IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS

The scene represented in this picture took place in the old House of Lords—the Painted Chamber—on April 7th 1778. The Earl of Chatham, then in his seventieth year, had spoken against the recognition of the independence of the American colonies, and when attempting to rise in order to reply to some criticism of his speech he fell back in a convulsive fit and was carried from the House. He died about a month later and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

From the painting by J. S. Copley, R.A., in the National Gallery

Government. Still less was the king moved by the satire and argument of the constitutionalists. The letters of Junius, an anonymous writer of no common order, exposed every member and measure of the Ministry to ridicule.

Edmund Burke published one of the most famous pamphlets, the "Thoughts on the Present Discontents," to prove that the new system of personal government was fatal to liberty and political morality. To such attacks the king responded by bringing into power Lord North, a man whose genuine abilities, good humour, and political experience were marred by a blind deference to the wishes of his master. The king and North might have assuaged the popular indignation against the colonies. They chose rather to inflame the mutual ill-will of the disputants. At first they preserved the appearance of conciliation by repealing all the new duties except that on tea. It did not make any practical difference whether they excepted one tax or left the whole number still in force.

FATAL RIOTS IN LONDON STREETS: THE GORDON RISING IN THE YEAR 1780

The passing of a Bill in 1778 for the relief of Roman Catholics from certain disabilities gave rise to riots in the city of London. Headed by Lord George Gordon, 50,000 persons marched to the House of Commons on June 2nd, 1780, to present a petition for its repeal. For five days dreadful riots took place, many Catholic chapels and houses being destroyed. The troops were called out, the above picture showing the Honourable Artillery Company, under Sir Barnard Turner, in Broad Street. No fewer than 210 of the rioters were killed, 248 wounded, 135 arrested, and 21 executed.

From the painting by Wheatley

The colonies were now in arms for the principle that without representation there should be no taxation. In 1773 a Boston mob destroyed the cargoes of English tea which were lying in their harbour. An attempt to make the whole community of Boston responsible led to the summoning of an inter-colonial congress; the cause of Boston became that of all the colonies in 1774. North now began to think of retreat, but it was too late. In 1775 a new congress assembled to prepare for armed resistance; it was immediately followed by an attack on British troops at Lexington, by the siege of Boston, and by the repulse of the besieging colonial army from their position on Bunker's Hill. From these beginnings blazed up the War of Independence (1775–1781), of which the events will be related in a later volume. It was a struggle in every way discouraging to England and damaging to the national prestige. The British armies, separated by enormous tracts of sea from supplies and reinforcements, had a hopeless task before them;

GIBRALTAR UNDER SIEGE: THE HEROIC DEFENCE OF THE ENGLISH AGAINST A COMBINED FRENCH AND SPANISH ATTACK

By the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 England came into possession of Gibraltar. Years later she was called upon to defend this formidable fortress against France and Spain, whose fleets and armies vainly besieged it for nearly four years. The Governor, George Augustus Elliott, afterwards Lord Heathfield, defended the place with conspicuous ability. The above picture illustrates an incident on September 13th, 1782, when the enemy conducted their assault from floating batteries, but the flotilla was set on fire and terrible destruction followed.

From the picture by J. S. Copley, R.A., in the Corporation Gallery, London for although the colonies decided to secede only by the barest of majorities, the loyalists had little power to help the royal forces, and there was no one centre of the rebellion at which a blow could be delivered with fatal effect. But, allowing for these disadvantages, the generals of George III. made a poor use of their resources; and the war revealed a portentous decline in the efficiency of the navy. It may indeed be said that the war was lost at sea, for, when France joined the cause of the colonies, in 1778, her fleet patrolled the coast of North America with such success that no adequate communications could be maintained with England, and the West Indies were reconquered one by one.

America's Struggle for Freedom

Moderate statesmen urged that measures of conciliation should be tried, Burke arguing that no taxes could ever compare with the profits of the colonial trade, and that expediency must be considered before questions of abstract right and justice, Chatham taking the line that America had been treated like a slave, and must be compensated with complete acknowledgment of her freedom from control. Had Chatham been recalled to power this generous attitude and the glamour of his reputation might have prevented the final separation. But he died in 1778, after delivering in the House of Lords a last impassioned protest against the royal policy; and North remained in power till the end of the war.

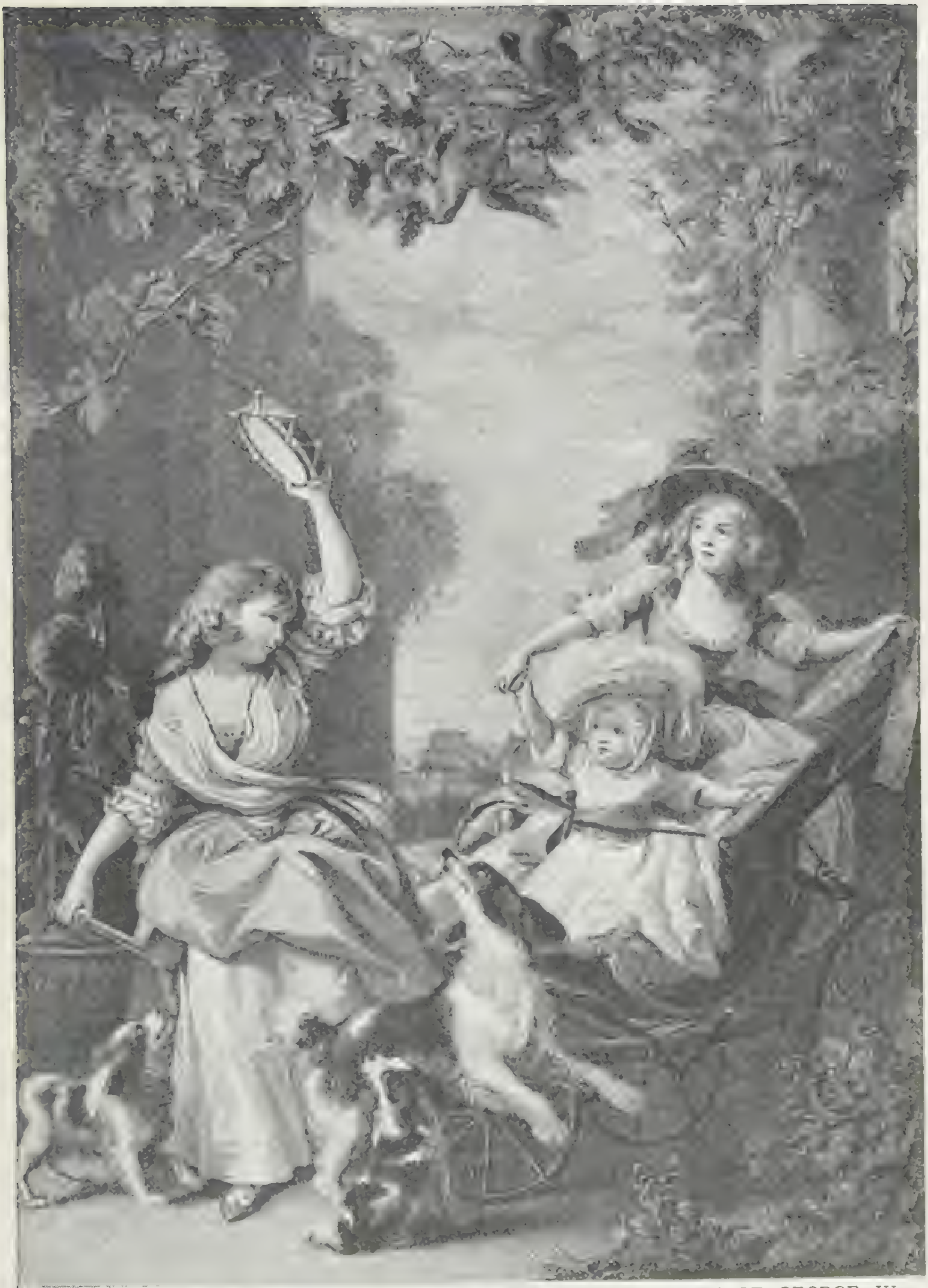
The struggle, so far as America was concerned, closed with the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781. The national pride was slightly soothed by the subsequent successes which Rodney gained at sea over the French, and by Elliott's heroic defence of Gibraltar against the Spaniards in 1782. But it was obvious that the prize for which Great Britain had fought must be abandoned; the more obvious because Ireland, after well nigh a century of Protestant ascendancy and subjection to the British Parliament, was visibly verging upon armed rebellion. The Rockingham Whigs, who had done their best to prevent the war, were called into power that they might bring it to an end. The negotiations which they opened were terminated by the death of their leader, the most honourable and consistent party leader of the eighteenth century; but in 1783 the Treaty of Versailles, with France and with the colonies, was at length concluded. The colonies, under the title of the United States, were recognised as independent. France and Britain made a mutual restoration of conquests, except that France retained Tobago and Senegal. Spain was pacified with Minorca and Florida; but Gibraltar, of which the vast strategic importance was now fully recognised, remained in British hands.

The United States of America

The Treaty of Paris left Great Britain with an empire which was sadly mutilated, but still considerable. It included in the western hemisphere not only Canada, but also Jamaica and some of the richer islands of the West Indies. In the East the governorships of Clive and Warren Hastings had led to an expansion of the territories governed by the East India Company. The Calcutta settlement now formed the capital of an immense province which took in the whole valley of the Ganges as far as Benares; further to the south the coast district of the Circars had been annexed, and in the extreme south of the peninsula, where the territory actually under British rule was small, the British name was respected far and wide. The Regulating Act of 1773 had brought the company under the control of the state, and the appointment of the Governor-General now rested with Parliament; the territories of the company might therefore be considered as national dependencies. The growing importance of India was revealed by the conflict which arose between George III. and the Whigs in 1783 on the subject of the Indian government.

Founders of the Indian Empire

An India Bill, to place, for the time being, the patronage of political appointments in the hands of a parliamentary committee, gave rise to a feud between the king and the coalition Ministry of Fox and North which ended in the defeat and retirement of the Ministers. But Clive and Hastings were not yet recognised as the founders of an empire. Both had cause to complain of national ingratitude. Clive died by his own hand, in consequence of an implicit censure by the House of Commons on his Indian administration. Warren Hastings, who retired from office in 1785, was impeached for malversation on the evidence of private enemies, and the trial dragged on for years before it ended in his acquittal. Only recently have the characters of these great men been vindicated from the aspersions which



A GROUP OF HAPPY PRINCESSES: THREE OF THE CHILDREN OF GEORGE III.
This picture, reproduced from the painting by J. S. Copley, R.A., in the Royal Collection at Buckingham Palace, shows three pretty princesses, the children of King George III. The figure with the uplifted tambourine is the Princess Mary, who afterwards became the Duchess of Gloucester. The Princess Sophia is behind the carriage, while the child in the carriage is the Princess Amelia. She was the favourite child of the king, and it is said that her death, when she was only twenty-seven years old, hastened, if it did not actually cause, the terrible malady which afflicted [illegible]

Edmund Cartwright · Richard Arkwright · James Watt

THREE FAMOUS INVENTORS OF THE GEORGIAN PERIOD

Edmund Cartwright, the inventor of the power-loom and other labour-saving machines, was rector of Goadby-Marwood, in Leicestershire, and received a grant of £10,000 from Government in recognition of his services to industry and invention. Richard Arkwright invented cotton-spinning machines and established a large factory in Derbyshire driven with water power; while James Watt, by his discoveries in connection with the properties of steam, benefited the human race.

their contemporaries were too ready, in the heat of party conflict, to accept as proved.

Prosperity of English Commerce

In 1783 all Britain's colonial possessions seemed unimportant in comparison with those lost. Adam Smith, whose great work on the "Wealth of Nations" appeared during the American war, was of the opinion that the national prosperity had been gravely compromised by the mistake of developing trade with America to the neglect of all other markets. The monopoly secured by the Navigation Acts and similar restrictive measures had indeed produced an unhealthy inflation of particular industries. Yet English commerce survived the shock of the American secession and continued to prosper. The country had, in fact, already developed its manufactures to such a point that it was industrially in advance of all its Continental rivals.

This development was of a comparatively recent date. The era of the great mechanical inventors began only in the reign of George II. Kay, the inventor of the flying shuttle, which effected a revolution in the weaving industry in 1738, was the pioneer of the new movement. He made it possible to extend the trade in manufactured woollens, and to open that in cotton stuffs. Soon after 1760 there came in close succession a number of further improvements. Hargreaves, a native of the Lancashire town of Blackburn, was led by the need for a more regular and abundant supply of yarn to devise means of spinning by machinery. In 1767 he produced the jenny, which enabled one weaver to drive and superintend a number of spindles simultaneously. The neighbours of Hargreaves, seeing their profits threatened, broke the machine to pieces, and the hapless inventor was all but killed in the riot. His machine was, however, patented in 1770. In 1769, Arkwright, also a native of Lancashire and a barber by trade, produced a roller machine for spinning by water power. He, too, had to contend against local persecution, and his factory was burnt to the ground; but he rebuilt it, and lived to double the prosperity of his native place. In 1779 Samuel Crompton, a poor weaver, invented the spinning-mule, so called because it combined the principles of Hargreaves' jenny and Arkwright's water-plane. Finally, in 1785, Cartwright, a clergyman, extended the use of machinery to the process of weaving, and produced a power-loom.

Watt's Great Discovery of Steam Power

But hitherto the only source of mechanical power had been the water-wheel, except that steam was used for mining-pumps. James Watt discovered, in 1769, the means of setting a wheel in motion by a steam-driven piston; and a form of steam power was thus produced which could easily be applied to every sort of machine.

The introduction of machinery meant a vast extension of the textile trades and the growth of urban manufacturing centres.

The invention of the steam-engine decided that the north of England, where coal was chiefly to be found, should become the headquarters of the new industrialism; and the north thus began to assume that pre-eminent position which hitherto belonged to the south-eastern counties and the weaving districts of the south-west. New towns sprang up, and the demand for a readjustment of parliamentary representation naturally increased. But this was not the only change. The introduction of machinery bore hardly upon the less intelligent of the hand labourers. It ruined many old centres of industry. It elevated the skilful and quick-witted, but it made the struggle for existence harder and swelled the ranks of the proletariat. It also complicated the task of government, both in the spheres of foreign and domestic policy. The necessity of protecting industrial interests became more obvious than ever; the danger of social agitation and revolution was increased by the growth of town populations imperfectly educated and civilised, living under institutions which had been framed for the government of small communities and were inadequate to control disorderly multitudes.

The Growth of National Prosperity

The tale of industrial development is told by the statistics of English exports. In 1793 their value was £20,000,000; in 1800 it had almost doubled; in 1815 it exceeded £50,000,000. This expansion took place in the midst of great wars, when England was fighting hard for the mastery of the seas, and for a part of the period under consideration, the normal development of trade was impeded by the Continental system of Napoleon. The growth of national prosperity was not entirely dependent upon new manufactures. In agriculture also there were great improvements. The enclosures which had been made in the sixteenth century for the sake of sheep-farming had done much to destroy the old open-field system of cultivation. The introduction of "convertible husbandry" furnished another incentive for the creation of compact holdings in place of those composed of scattered strips in the common fields. But the open-field system still dominated more than half of England.

JAMES WATT AS A BOY: DISCOVERING THE CONDENSATION OF STEAM

That the child is father of the man was wonderfully demonstrated in the case of James Watt, the discoverer of the condensation of steam. As a boy he would sit by the fire watching the steam as it issued from the kettle, and wondering whether this force could be put to any practical purpose. In the above picture he is shown holding a spoon to the mouth of the kettle on the table in order that he may test the strength of the steam. In later years Watt became a great inventor, his discoveries in connection with the properties of steam completely revolutionising the methods of travelling.

From the painting by Marcus Stone, R.A., by permission of Messrs. Graves & Son

It was the growth of population consequent upon industrial changes which now accelerated the change from the mediæval to the modern methods of agriculture. The native farmer was protected against foreign competition by an import duty on corn. He was encouraged to produce for exportation by a bounty system. And these artificial inducements, although taxing the community for the benefit of a class, did much to promote a more scientific agriculture.

Farming Under New Methods

About 1730 the experiments of Lord Townsend led to the use of an improved and more elaborate rotation of crops. The breeding of stock was raised to a fine art by the Leicestershire grazier, Bakewell. An enormous number of private Acts of Parliament were passed to sanction the enclosure of particular localities. The process was not completed before the middle of the nineteenth century, but upwards of a thousand Acts of this description were passed between 1777 and 1800.

The increased profits of farming under the new methods went chiefly to those who had the necessary capital for effecting extensive improvements; and one consequence of the agricultural revolution was the disappearance of the yeoman farmer. Undoubtedly the growth of great estates made for increased production of wealth; but with the yeoman vanished one of the sturdiest and most valuable elements of the population, which was ill replaced by the class of tenant farmers.

Before this work enters on the new era of European history opened by the French Revolution, a brief survey of the literary development of the eighteenth century becomes necessary. It is not surprising that this period – an age of great wars, political tension, and economic development—should produce a literature which was polemical and often political in character, or that with the old religious ideas and the old social system the characteristic qualities of seventeenth-century poetry and prose should evaporate away. Poetry, in fact, almost ceased to exist, for Alexander Pope (1688–1744), though choosing verse for the medium of his utterances, was by nature a critic, satirist, and translator, a poet at moments only, and, as it were, by accident. He is the most characteristic figure of the so-called Augustan age of English literature. All his best work is satirical. The "Rape of the Lock" (1714) is a personal satire on feminine foibles, the "Dunciad" (1728–1743) a savage attack upon the professional writers of Grub Street, from whose malice Pope had received pin-pricks which he was incapable of forgiving. The "Essay on Man" (1734), though professedly a philosophical poem, is redeemed from oblivion chiefly by the passages in which Pope analyses the failings of his contemporaries. Avowedly the pupil of Dryden, he shows the influence of his master, both in matter and style. But he is less political than Dryden, and far surpasses his model in the management of their favourite metre, the heroic couplet.

The Augustan Age of English Literature

A metre less fitted for poetry than this, of which the whole effect depends upon antithesis, neatness of phrase, and compression of meaning, can hardly be imagined. But for the expression of a sarcastic common-sense, for the scornful analysis of character, it is unrivalled. Pope's use of the heroic couplet entitles him to rank among the great masters of literary form. There is much in common between Pope and Swift. But the latter chose to express himself in prose; and his satire was at once more indiscriminate and more reserved than that of Pope. Swift at his best is characterised by a grave irony, and his thought is more antithetic than his style. A Tory pamphleteer of no mean order, Swift is best known for two satires of a perfectly general character—the "Tale of a Tub," which ridicules, under cover of an allegory, the Reformation and the quarrels of the Churches; and the "Travels of Lemuel Gulliver." In the latter work Swift attacks humanity at large, and passes gradually, under the influence of a melancholy bordering on mania, from playful banter to savage denunciation, which inspires, and is inspired by, loathing.

The Great Writers of the Period

Swift died insane, and there is a morbid element in his best work even from his early years. The cynicism of his age mastered, soured, and finally destroyed a powerful nature. It could not sour Addison and Steele, the two great essayists of the Augustan age, whose contributions immortalised the "Tatler" and "Spectator," two otherwise ephemeral journals. Like Pope and Swift, they are critics of human life, but their criticism is tempered with humour and a genial sympathy.

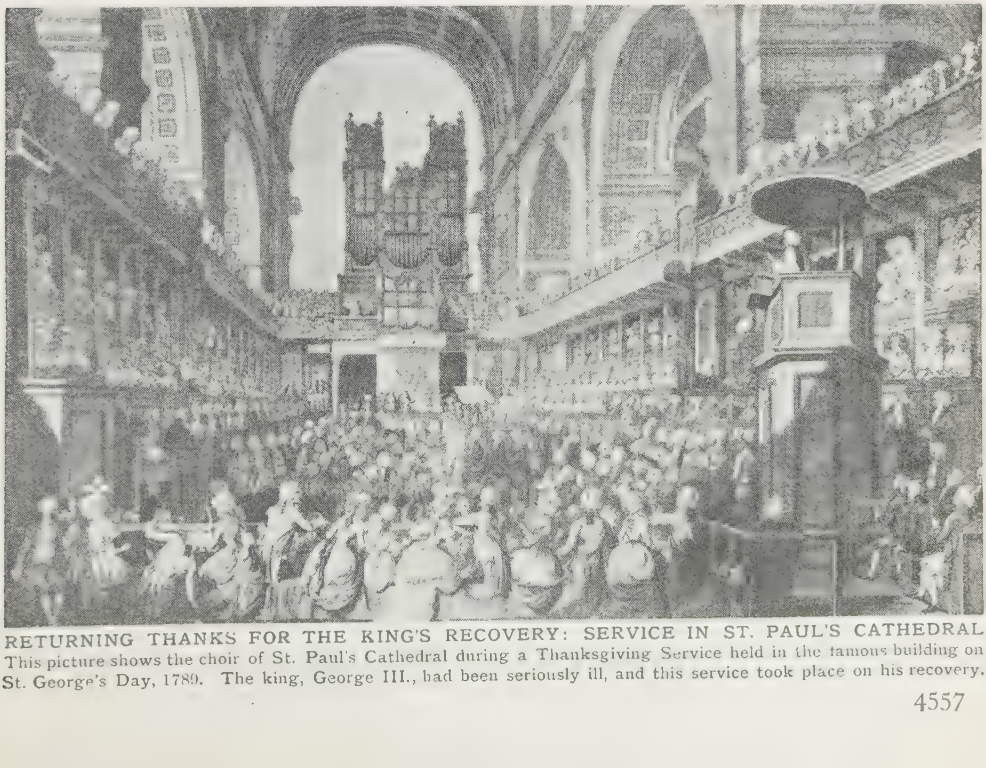
Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) is a critic in a different vein; for many years the literary dictator of London society, he sat in judgment on books and theories and writers. He is typical of the second phase in the literature of this period, a phase in which literature becomes more impersonal.

But the writers of this phase still keep the attitude of critics. In poetry they aim, above all things, at the observance of rule and proportion. In prose they devote themselves to the delineation of character, and are most successful in the new field of the novel. Goldsmith, Sterne, Smollett, Fielding, and Richardson, much as they differ in other respects, are alike in their realism; their characters, however whimsical, belong to contemporary society.

The eighteenth century was characterised by a shallow rationalism. But every age has its exceptions, and this produced three philosophers of a profound and penetrating genius. Berkeley (1685–1753), an Irish dean and bishop, laid the foundations of modern idealism in his works on the "Theory of Vision" (1709) and on the "Principles of Human Knowledge" (1710). The crude scepticism which he demolished was replaced by the more subtle speculations of David Hume (1711–1776), whose "Treatise of Human Nature" (1739–1740), "Essays Moral and Political" (1741–1742), and "Principles of Morals" (1751) represent the last word of agnosticism in metaphysics, and are memorable for having provoked Kant to elaborate a system not less critical, but more serious and more stimulating, than that of Hume.

In political philosophy the period produced Burke's expositions of the organic conception of society. A Whig politician, member of Parliament, and Minister of State, Burke (1729–1793) was originally drawn to study abstract principles by his dislike for the Toryism of Bolingbroke and George III. The "Thoughts on the Present Discontents" (1770) was the first of a series of writings in which Burke unfolded not only his conception of the English constitution but also the ideas and principles which underlie all political societies whatever. Unsurpassed as an orator and in the marshalling of complicated facts, he is greatest when he deals in generalisation. His speeches on American taxation and on conciliation with America are of lasting worth, apart altogether from the occasion to which they refer; and the numerous writings in which he attacked the French Revolution (1790–1796) are the most complete defence of the old order upon which the Girondists and the Jacobins made war.

H. W. C. Davis



RETURNING THANKS FOR THE KING'S RECOVERY: SERVICE IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

This picture shows the choir of St. Paul's Cathedral during a Thanksgiving Service held in the famous building on St. George's Day, 1789. The king, George III., had been seriously ill, and this service took place on his recovery.

GERMAN POWERS AFTER THE PEACE

PRUSSIA'S RAPID FALL FROM GREATNESS

THE Seven Years War had witnessed an altogether unprecedented combination of the powers, in which the great but only recently organised state of Eastern Europe had joined with the traditional antagonists, Austria and France, in an unsuccessful attempt to crush another great but recently organised state in Middle Europe. At the end of the war, personal causes detached Russia from a combination on which her ruler had originally entered mainly on personal grounds. France was detached from it by the losses and the exhaustion entailed by the maritime and trans-oceanic triumphs of Great Britain.

Prussia's Desire for Peace

The natural outcome was that Austria should tend to reconciliation with Prussia, and both to something like a common understanding with Russia, the interests which affected all three being centred in Poland; that Continental affairs should virtually cease to interest Great Britain; and that the Bourbons, so far as they could afford to make their energies felt outside their own kingdoms, should seek opportunities for injuring Great Britain rather than for interfering with the Germanic states.

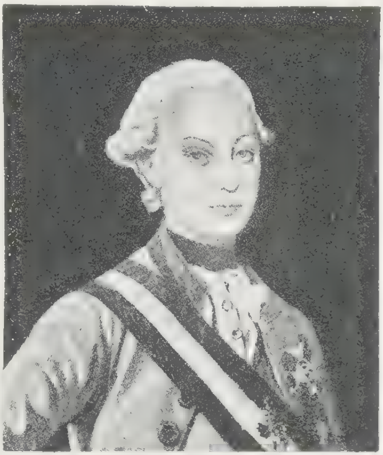
For Frederic of Prussia, the first requirement was peace. In territorial extent, in population, and in resources, his kingdom was surpassed by each one of the three chief powers which had united for his destruction. At each one of them, his infinite energy had enabled him to strike blow for blow and something more. But the strain had been terrific; rest, recuperation, reorganisation, were absolutely imperative. It was quite necessary to be ready to face a new war, in order to make sure that there should be no new war to face. The proffer of a Russian alliance was welcomed by him as a guarantee of peace. If Pitt in England had returned to power effectively, as he did nominally in 1766, the alliance of the northern powers—Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain—as a counterpoise to the existing association of Hapsburgs and Bourbons, might have become a reality. But even then the British Ministry, absorbed in the process of irritating the American colonies, gave no attention to European questions; and immediately after the Peace of Hubertsburg, Frederic had no inclination to rely on the nation which had deserted him under Bute's guidance, and showed no signs of evolving a trustworthy or far-sighted administration under the leadership of Grenvilles and Bedfords.

The Critical State of Poland

Poland Dominated by Russia

Frederic and the Tsarina Catharine understood each other, though their formal alliance did not take place till March, 1764. The affairs of Poland were at a critical stage, and Russian and Prussian interests there could be pursued harmoniously. The ulterior objects of the two were indeed opposed. Catharine would have liked to annex Poland, but, failing that, wished for a government there which would dance to her order. Frederic wanted for himself Polish Prussia, which intervened between Brandenburg and East Prussia. But, in the meantime, an election to the Crown of Poland was imminent; and it suited both him and Catharine to oppose a candidate of the House of Saxony, now ruling, and to maintain within Poland the cause of religious equality. Austria, on the other hand, favoured the Saxon dynasty and the cause of Catholic domination, while the recent policy of France had associated her with Austria and with Saxony. But neither France nor Austria was prepared—as Catharine was—to take a resolute line, and the Tsarina obtained the election of her candidate, Stanislas Poniatowski. Russian domination was secured, but the policy, when pursued, alienated many of the Poles who had at first supported her, and stirred Austria and France to a more active hostility. Both powers endeavoured to detach Frederic from Russia; and here Frederic found his own opportunity of detaching Austria from France by a scheme of partition to which Russia might be prevailed upon to assent.

Now, it must be noted that the position of Austria had become somewhat anomalous. Maria Theresa was queen, and continued queen till her death in 1780. But her husband, the Emperor Francis, died in 1764, when their son Joseph succeeded to the imperial crown, his brother Leopold becoming Grand Duke of Tuscany, for which Lorraine had been exchanged some thirty years before. Joseph began operations as emperor by a series of attempts to reform the imperial system, without success; nor could he apply his reforming enthusiasm to the Austrian dominions, where his mother still retained control. In foreign affairs, however, he was able to exercise a leading influence, although Kaunitz, Maria Theresa's Minister, retained his position. Broadly speaking, though the queen was less impulsive and less warlike than of old, her attitude to Prussia was never friendly, and her inclination continued to favour the French alliance. Joseph, on the other hand, had a warm admiration for his mother's great antagonist.


THE EMPEROR JOSEPH II.
The son of Francis I. and Maria Theresa, he was elected King of the Romans in 1764, and became Emperor of Germany in the next year. A feature of his reign was the suppression of 700 convents. He died in 1790.

The overtures of France to Prussia were received with extreme coldness; those of Austria, though made more or less at the instigation of France, were much more welcome. A friendly meeting was arranged between Frederic and Joseph in 1769, which had little direct result, beyond establishing friendly personal relations and impressing on Catharine of Russia the importance of keeping on a satisfactory footing with Frederic. She was already involved in a war with Turkey; and the success which was attending her arms increased the likelihood of Austria wishing to intervene, and therefore to associate herself with Prussia.

A second meeting took place between Frederic and Joseph in the following year, 1770; and this time a practicable scheme was formulated. It seemed probable at the moment that Russia might establish herself in Roumania, a prospect not at all to the liking of Austria. The Porte appealed to the two powers to mediate. If they insisted on Russia resigning her conquests, they must offer some compensation: Poland provided the wherewithal. Poland could offer no effective resistance, and she had reached a stage of political disintegration which almost warranted the doctrine that she had forfeited her right to a separate national existence. But if Russia was to have compensation in Polish territory for resigning Roumania, Prussia and Austria might reasonably demand a share in the spoils as the price of their assent. If they agreed on a partition, there was no one to say them nay. Great Britain, under Lord North, had her hands more than full with colonial troubles, and France had no interests sufficiently strong to rouse her to active intervention. So Russia, Prussia, and Austria, after protracted negotiations, settled how much of Poland each was to have, and how much was to be left to the puppet king, Stanislas, and the Polish Diet was bullied and bribed into ratifying the partition. Frederic got West Prussia, the main object of his desire; Austria got Red Russia. The provinces assigned to Russia were larger though less populous; but what was left over as "independent" Poland was virtually a Russian dependency. The business was completed in 1772.

Poland in the Clutch of Enemies

To Frederic, the acquisition of West or Polish Prussia was of immense strategical importance; but the negotiations revealed, and the partition brought nearer, dangers against which it was necessary to guard. The contact of the great Slav power with Teutonic Europe and with the Slavonic dominions of Austria was growing more intimate and, potentially at least, more menacing. The menace could be held in check if Austria and Prussia presented a united front; but of this there was no present prospect. Joseph's ambitions did not harmonise with Frederic's requirements; for Prussia it was a serious question whether the aggression of Austria or of Russia was the more to be feared, while Joseph's aspiration for the extension of power in Germany, to which Frederic was necessarily opposed, distracted him from the primary need of maintaining guard against Russia. However, if Frederic was between the upper and the nether mill-stones, there was always with him the chance that one or both of the mill-stones would get the worst of it. As regards Russia, Prussia's present security lay in the dominant attraction for that power in the direction of the Danube and the Crimea.

The Place of Prussia's Security

Joseph's original idea of strengthening the imperial power by remedying abuses in the imperial system had failed; the scheme had in effect been replaced by a desire to extend and consolidate the Hapsburg territorial dominion so as to give Austria a dictatorial ascendancy throughout Germany. Joseph was not actuated by a mere vulgar thirst for conquest. The successful politician is the man who knows how to adapt the means which he can control to the ends he has in view. The successful politician rises into the great statesman if the ends in view are great ends; the measure of his idealism is the measure of his greatness. But the idealist who fails to grasp the relation between means and ends fails as a statesman, though his failure may be more admirable than a meaner man's success. Joseph was an idealist who failed.

He was conscious of crying evils which he wished to remedy. To apply the remedies, he wanted despotic power; but he found himself unable either to apply the remedies judiciously or to secure despotic power effectively. It may be questioned whether the remedies, even if he had been able to apply them despotically, would have had the desired effect. The benevolent despot was, however, a favourite ideal with the very considerable body of those who identified political liberty with anarchy—who were soon to point to the French Revolution as a gruesome warranty for their views. Unfortunately, in Joseph's case neither the benevolence nor the

THE CORONATION PROCESSION OF THE EMPEROR JOSEPH II.

In this picture the magnificent coronation procession of the Emperor Joseph II. is seen passing through the inner court of the royal residence at Vienna. The former residence of the chancellor of the empire stands in the background despotism was appreciated by his subjects. Joseph, then, was fain to extend his territories, while Frederic disapproved unless he saw his way to an equivalent—accession of strength for himself. An opportunity presented itself at the beginning of 1778. The electoral House of Bavaria became extinct; the succession to the Duchy reverted to an elder branch of the same stock—in the person of Charles Theodore the Elector Palatine. Charles Theodore was elderly and childless; he was easily persuaded to recognise a very inadequate Hapsburg claim to a large slice of Bavaria. Only two German princes were directly affected.

France on the Side of America

If Frederic raised an opposition, there would be no great powers to support him. Russia was busy with Turkey, England with America, and France would side with Austria, if with either. Nevertheless, Frederic did oppose, successfully. The chance of French support for Austria disappeared, as France turned her energies to helping the American colonies against Great Britain; and Russia showed symptoms of intervening in spite of her Turkish war. Maria Theresa was opposed to her son's policy. Joseph found himself obliged to be content with a small portion of what he had claimed and to recognise the Hohenzollern title to succession in Anspach and Baireuth.

In 1780 Maria Theresa died, and Joseph could now follow his own course unfettered. Hitherto his mother had kept the domestic rule of the Austrian domain in her own hands, and had held in the main by Hapsburg tradition, for which the son showed no respect. Alive to the immense success which had been achieved by the organisation of Prussia which Frederic had built up on the foundations very thoroughly laid by his father and by the Great Elector, Joseph tried to force a similar system on his own diverse dominions. The primary idea of Prussian absolutism had been the rapid subordination of all personal and class interests to the strengthening of the state which answered like a machine to the control of the single master mind. But in Joseph's dominions there were very powerful class interests which had been established for centuries, and declined to vanish at the monarch's fiat. The nobles, the town corporations, the clergy, in turn found their privileges or endowments attacked by the reformer, while elementary rights of the peasantry were legalised. The supremacy of the State over the Church was emphasised, and general toleration and religious equality before the law were established.

The Master Mind of Prussia

All these things were in themselves excellent; but they not only excited the classes who were directly affected, but created the utmost alarm throughout the principalities of the empire, the more so as the Hapsburgs, or Lorrainers, now dominated the college of princes in the Imperial Diet. This end had been achieved by the election of one of the emperor's brothers as Archbishop and Elector of Cologne. It appeared that the emperor was not unlikely to force upon the minor states reforms of the same nature as those which he had been carrying out in his own hereditary dominion. German liberties were at stake; not, that is, the liberties of the bulk of the population, which had never possessed any, but the right of each petty ruler to rule within his own territory. If the petty princes were to make head against imperial aggression, they must be leagued with some great power, and the only one available was Prussia. Now the emperor and Kaunitz recognised in Prussia the great obstacle to Joseph's ambitions within the empire. Frederic, with a natural inclination to a league with Austria to hold Russia in check, habitually found himself forced towards a league with Russia to hold Austria in check. Russia, with a Turkish goal in view, had on the whole a preference for an understanding with Austria rather than an alliance with Prussia. Austria, with an eye to Germany, was prepared for such an understanding, which was, in fact, arrived at very shortly after the accession of Joseph to the Austrian throne.

The Obstacle to Joseph's Ambitions

Since France and Great Britain were both still outside the mid-European complications—since, that is, they were absorbed in their own mutual relations or domestic difficulties—Frederic was isolated. He could not afford to appear unsupported as the champion of the petty princes, as in the recent Bavarian affair he had posed as the champion of state rights, as opposed to imperial aggression. At that time the understanding between Russia and Austria had not been established. Now, however, Joseph provided the occasion for uniting Germany—which had hitherto proved impossible. The Netherlands had passed decisively from Spain to Austria at the Treaty of Utrecht, but Austria had always found them troublesome rather than useful, for reasons which a glance at the map makes obvious. They were exposed to French attack, and difficult to defend. Joseph, foiled in his previous attempt to acquire Bavaria from the Elector Palatine, now proposed an exchange. Roughly speaking, Charles Theodore was to hand over Bavaria and receive the Netherlands, which, with the Lower Palatinate, were to form a reconstituted kingdom of Burgundy.

Such a scheme would involve danger to the independence of more than the petty principalities. To thwart it, Frederic took the lead in the formation of a defensive league, in which it was no longer a matter of great difficulty to induce practically all the German states to join, a league known as the Fürstenbund. It had not, indeed, the elements of permanency, of German unity, but it effected the immediate purpose of putting a stop to Austrian aggression within the empire. The Fürstenbund fell to pieces after a brief interval, but it had destroyed the Bavarian scheme. What further effect it would have had if Frederic had been succeeded in Prussia by another king of the same quality is matter of conjecture. But he died in 1786, and his nephew and successor Frederic William II., was no masterful genius. Frederic died leaving the German states united in a league of which Prussia held the unquestioned hegemony. But at that time no lesser man than Frederic himself could have accomplished what Bismarck was one day to carry out.

EMPEROR LEOPOLD II.

He became emperor in 1790 on the death of his brother Joseph II., and proved himself a powerful ruler. He died two years after his accession.

Frederic's Work for Prussia

No man, we are told, is indispensable. Nevertheless, history repeatedly presents us with the truth that many a great man's work has gone to pieces after his death for lack of a successor of the same calibre. Frederic had created a Prussia of tremendous efficacy, but the efficacy depended mainly on the competence of the man who controlled the machinery. His creation had been made possible by the remarkable ability of two of his predecessors, in spite of certain grotesque characteristics. After Frederic, the greatness of Prussia fell to pieces; had there come no Bismarck and no Moltke, it might never have been restored in its fulness. But at the least, Frederic's rule had accomplished this, that even under incompetent rulers Prussia was not likely again to become a negligible quantity in European politics.

Prussia after Frederic's Death

Three years and six months after the Great Frederic, Joseph also died. By this time the French Revolution was in full career, though most liberal-minded onlookers were rejoicing in the expectation that its outcome would be liberty in the sense of constitutionalism. The Bastille had fallen, but another year had to pass before the death of Mirabeau. The monarchs of Europe had not yet taken alarm; and Leopold, Joseph's successor, was able to carry out a policy which was at once liberal and pacificatory. He shared Joseph's progressive ideas, but his intelligence was eminently practical. Being content to work patiently, he had been able to work effectively in his Duchy of Tuscany; and in a reign which was all too brief he succeeded in conciliating the outraged interests, and in reconciling both the Netherlands and the Hungarian nobles to the Austrian supremacy, without materially curtailing the practical benefits which Joseph had thrust upon his unappreciative subjects. In a similar spirit, he dropped his brother's aggressive policy, but his diplomacy recovered the German hegemony which had passed to Prussia.

The change in the relative positions of the two powers is a conspicuous illustration of the importance of personalities. Frederic had been replaced by Frederic William, Joseph by Leopold. Within six months of the latter event, the powers in general had recognised the change in the situation, and their moral support was transferred from Prussia to Austria. But in France events were moving rapidly towards a European catastrophe; at the critical moment, two years after his accession, Leopold died, and with his death disappeared the last chance of the catastrophe being averted.

THE BOURBON POWERS AND THE APPROACH OF THE REVOLUTION

FRANCE ON THE EDGE OF THE VOLCANO

THE pacific King Ferdinand of Spain had been succeeded on the throne by his half-brother Charles III., the son of Elizabeth Farnese, who had previously managed to obtain for him the crown of Naples, the third Bourbon kingdom. Naples was now transferred to Ferdinand VI., a younger son of Charles. The accession was followed by that belated revival of the Family Compact which drew Spain into the Seven Years War at a moment when the British dominion of the seas had been completely established; and she had already lost Havanna and the Philippines, and was in a fair way to lose the rest of her insular possessions when she was saved by the Peace of Paris, which restored most of her losses.

France and Spain Support America

During the reign of Charles, which lasted till 1788, an enlightened domestic policy was followed, which, like that of Joseph II. in Austria, aimed at the abolition of the privileges of the nobles and the Church, with the double object of benefiting the state as a whole, and of strengthening the Crown in particular. Charles's second intervention in international politics for the humiliation of Great Britain was no more successful than the first had been. France took up the cause of the American colonies in 1778; Spain followed suit in the vain hope of recovering Gibraltar, which successfully defied blockades and bombardments, and Rodney shattered the French fleet at the battle of The Saints, when it was on its way to the rendezvous off Hayti, where the Spanish fleet was to join it and so create a combined force which should wipe out the British navy. The pleasing prospect was dissipated by the overthrow of De Grasse, and Spain got nothing by her intervention.

The First Blow at the Jesuits

The domestic policy of Charles in Spain had been anticipated by Portugal under the able Minister Pombal, who achieved a practical dictatorship for many years under King Joseph II. Again the method adopted was that of benevolent despotism, a war of the Crown against class privileges, and the imposition of salutary reforms by a despot—the principle remaining the same whether the despot happens to be the monarch himself or an all-powerful Minister. The dictatorship, however, was ended by the death of Joseph in 1777, when Pombal was dismissed by his successor, and a reactionary policy was inaugurated.

Portugal was without weight in the European balance, though her friendly relations with Great Britain were to prove very valuable to the great naval power in the course of the Napoleonic wars. Nevertheless, Pombal's activities were not only a typical example of the theory of reform by way of a monarchy; in one particular, he gave the other Western states a direct lead. It was Portugal that first struck hard against the Order of Jesuits, which dominated the Catholic countries of Europe. Their privileges were threatened by the whole movement against privilege, and their power made them particularly formidable to the reformers.

The Jesuits Expelled from Spain

The implication of the Jesuits in a supposed plot against the king and his Minister gave Pombal his opportunity. They were deported, and their property confiscated in 1759. The blow was followed up in France, where the Jesuit organisation was condemned as illegal in 1761, and the Order was suppressed by edict three years later. Before another three years had passed, Spain had followed suit, and expelled the Jesuits; and the third Bourbon dynasty in the two Sicilies copied the example set them. The death of Pope Clement XIII., who had done everything in his power to support the Order, was followed by the election of Clement XIV., who yielded to pressure and condemned it in 1773, thereby, according to the general belief, sacrificing his own life, since his death, in the following year, was attributed to poison, and the poison was attributed to the Jesuits; and, after all, the Order was only scotched, not killed.

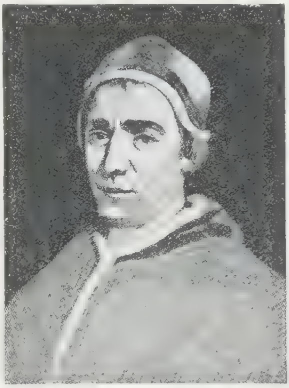
CHARLES III. OF SPAIN
A younger son of Philip V., he succeeded his half-brother, Ferdinand VI., on the throne of Spain in 1759. He died in 1788.

The Seven Years War had injured France more than any of the other powers, not only by the greatness of her losses, but by the destruction of her prestige and the ruin of her finances. Her army in the days of Louis XIV. had been the best in Europe; her generals had been unsurpassed until Marlborough and Eugene were matched against them; the spirit of her troops had remained indomitable to the end. In the War of the Austrian Succession a marshal of the French army—albeit a German—had been the ablest commander, with the exception of Frederic of Prussia, and the French soldiery had achieved credit. But in the Seven Years War the French commanders were worthless, and their troops became demoralised. France was not only defeated; she was discredited in the eyes of Europe, and her rulers were discredited in the eyes of her own people.

JOSEPH II. OF PORTUGAL
A war of the Crown against class privilege marked the reign of this king, whose able Minister, Pombal, achieved a practical dictatorship for many years. Joseph died in 1777

No respect could be commanded by a court where a Pompadour was supreme, and where the Pompadour herself was later succeeded by the Du Barry. No respect could be entertained for a noblesse which had failed in the one field wherein it professed to recognise a duty—the field of arms; a noblesse which had sunk for the most part into parasites of the court; a noblesse which, outside of La Vendée and Brittany, had ceased to be the leaders and rulers in their own territories, where they were habitual absentees. The monarchy, while preserving certain social aspects of feudalism, had destroyed it as a disintegrating political force; but in so doing had destroyed it also as a cohesive social force, killing the sense of public responsibility in the seigneurs, while intensifying their arrogance as a caste. Louis XV. was not without suspicions that a cataclysm must result from such conditions, but he counted on the system outlasting his time—and the system suited him. His despotism was complete; but if it was not exactly tyrannical, neither was it benevolent; the grandson who succeeded him was benevolent enough, but unfortunately was at the same time both morally and intellectually incompetent.

Choiseul, the Minister into whose hands the principal direction of affairs had passed during the war, was honest and capable, but no genius. His interest was absorbed in foreign affairs, and he did not realise that domestic reconstruction was necessary before France could recover her power and prestige. On the other hand, he did realise that the downfall had been brought about by the British sea-power; his policy was one primarily of preparation for another contest with Great Britain, which would demand a persistent development of the French navy. It would demand also a persistent abstention from expensive continental complications—a truth which had never been grasped by the rulers of France since Louis XIV. had neglected Colbert for Louvois. Choiseul did nothing to check the coming revolution; but France owed it mainly to his policy in the sixties that when she again challenged Great Britain, in 1778, the fleets met on terms of equality, for which there was no precedent except in the months between the battles of Beachy Head and La Hogue, ninety years before; that her squadrons were able to operate decisively in preventing the relief of Yorktown and compelling Cornwallis to surrender, thereby securing the American victory; and that even when Rodney regained the all-but-lost naval supremacy for England, Bailli Suffren still more than held his own in Indian waters. Choiseul's government came to an end in 1770, when the king fell under the domination of Madame du Barry. His tenure of office covered two events of importance—the expulsion of the Jesuits, and the annexation of Corsica. The islanders, under the leadership of Paoli, revolted against the dominion of Genoa; Great Britain, busy with American demonstrations and Middlesex elections, declined the protectorate offered her by the insurgents. Genoa sold Corsica to France, which established her government there; and Napoleon Bonaparte was consequently born a French subject in 1769.



POPE CLEMENT XIV

In earlier life he was a supporter of the Jesuits, but, yielding to pressure, he condemned the Order. His death, in 1774, was attributed to poison administered by Jesuits.

The Maupeou government, which followed the fall of Choiseul, carried non-intervention further than that Minister himself; had he remained in office it is possible that the Eastern powers would not have been left to partition Poland according to their own convenience. But Maupeou found enough to occupy him in the internal affairs of France, where the Paris Parlement—not a representative, but a legal body, as we have noted before—was endeavouring, as it had done at intervals since the days of Richelieu, to limit the powers of the executive in its own interest. Maupeou abolished the Parlement, and replaced it by a new legal body, not a close corporation like the old one, but consisting of Crown nominees. The administration of justice was in fact improved, but, instead of being a check on the power of the Crown, the judiciary was brought more under its control. The fundamental conception of liberty in England has always been the supremacy of the law over the executive; continental governments, whether monarchical or democratic, have rarely been able to free themselves from the conviction that the executive has the right to override the law. The fall of the Parlement was not a step in the direction of liberty in this sense; the privileges it abolished were liable to misuse, but were not so likely to be dangerous to liberty as the control of the administration of justice by the Crown.

THE MARQUISE DE POMPADOUR

For twenty years the public affairs of France were controlled by this woman, who was a mistress of Louis XV. Her favourites were appointed to high offices in the State; her policy was disastrous to the country. She died in 1764.

In 1774 Louis the Well-beloved went to the grave unmourned. He was followed by his grandson, Louis XVI., a well-intentioned monarch of irreproachable character, unique in respect of the domestic virtues among the Bourbon princes, but wholly devoid of the qualities necessary for grappling with a crisis. His wife, Marie Antoinette, was the daughter of Maria Theresa, and the sister of Joseph II.; endowed with charm, brilliancy, even nobility of character, but young, impulsive, self-confident, and injudicious.

Maupeou and his colleagues were dismissed; Maurepas became chief Minister, and with him were associated Turgot, Vergennes, and Malesherbes. A clamour was at once raised for the restoration of the Parlement, which was carried out in opposition to Turgot's wishes, though with general popular applause; and the Parlement renewed its old obstructive policy. Of the four Ministers named, Vergennes concerned himself entirely with foreign affairs; Turgot and Malesherbes were reformers; Maurepas, their actual head, was at best no statesman but a second-rate politician, intent on present popularity, but without either insight or foresight. Turgot was a statesman with both insight and foresight, but he was not a politician. He relied on the intrinsic merits of his policy, but was no adept at manœuvring for influential support. It was only through

LOUIS XVI., KING OF FRANCE
France was in a deplorable condition when, in 1774, Louis XVI. succeeded his grandfather, Louis XV., on the throne. For a time he was popular with the people, but evil days followed, and he was brought to the guillotine in 1793.

the despotism that his aims could be achieved; it was necessary to him to strengthen rather than to limit the power of the Crown.

In a state in which the normal expenditure very considerably exceeded the normal income, and the masses of the population were already taxed to the limit of endurance, Turgot recognised that economy was a primary necessity. He proceeded to cut down expenses with great success, but to the extreme annoyance of the nobles and others who had profited by the extravagance. He was of the economic school of the physiocrats who held that all wealth comes out of the land, and that all restrictions and burdens should be removed from commerce and manufacture: from which it followed that the incidence of taxation should be altered. The noblesse who battened on their exemptions perceived that they were likely to lose these privileges and to become the victims. The clergy were alarmed by the ascendancy of a man who was known to have contributed to the Encyclopédie, and to be approved by their declared enemy, Voltaire, while he was supported by Malesherbes, a friend of toleration, who wished to see the Edict of Nantes revived. Maurepas was afraid of finding himself displaced by Turgot, and the court was disgusted by his economies. The scarcity resulting from bad harvests was attributed, according to recognised rule, to Turgot's reforms, which had been initiated by the establishment of free trade in corn within the kingdom, and there were popular riots.

For a time Louis stuck to Turgot, and the Minister continued to press schemes of reform. The corvée, or forced labour, was to be abolished; a tax on land was to pay for the labour. Labour was to be free to transfer itself from one industry to another. There were to be more economies. Protestant

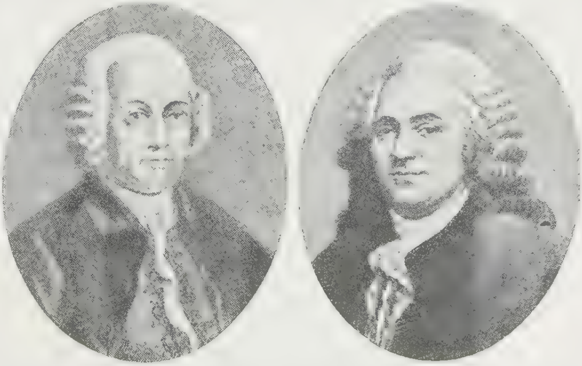
MARIE ANTOINETTE, QUEEN OF FRANCE
The queen of Louis XVI., she became notorious for her pleasures. In the horrors that came upon France with the Revolution she exhibited wonderful courage, and in 1793 she died at the guillotine.

disabilities were to be removed. But the pressure on the king became too strong. The forces of reaction combined for the overthrow of the innovator; Turgot and Malesherbes were both forced to resign in 1776.

Maurepas replaced Turgot, after an interval of sheer incompetence, by the banker, Necker, who hoped to restore the finances not by changing the incidence of taxation, but by borrowing, which his financial reputation enabled him to do on comparatively reasonable terms. So far, class interests found him less dangerous than his predecessor. But he was a Protestant, and therefore distrusted by the clergy; he was an economist, and therein was no improvement upon Turgot in the eyes of the courtiers; in the matter of privileges he was in effect a reactionary, and so lost the support of those who had applauded Turgot. Nevertheless, his methods did actually provide the immediate ways and means, in spite of the fact that France now plunged into a costly war. The moment had come for dealing a blow to Great Britain.

CHANCELLOR OF FRANCE
Nicholas Augustin de Maupeou became Chancellor of France in 1768, succeeding his father in that high office. He was dismissed on the death of Louis XV. in 1774.

The first skirmish on American soil between the colonial militia and the British regulars had taken place a year before Turgot's retirement. The younger members of the French aristocracy, who had begun to develop enthusiasm for liberty and the rights of man, were soon volunteering to help the gallant Republicans to cast off the yoke of the tyrant, and forming a source, perhaps, of more embarrassment than advantage to George Washington. When two years had passed, the colonies were still unsubdued; then, in the autumn of 1777, the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga produced a feeling that the colonies were going to be the winning side. Benjamin Franklin was welcomed in Paris with demonstrative enthusiasm. Necker, who had to find the money, was no more willing for a war than Turgot had been, but the torrent of sentiment was irresistible. France formally recognised the independence of the United States, and adopted an alliance which was equivalent to a declaration of war with Great Britain.

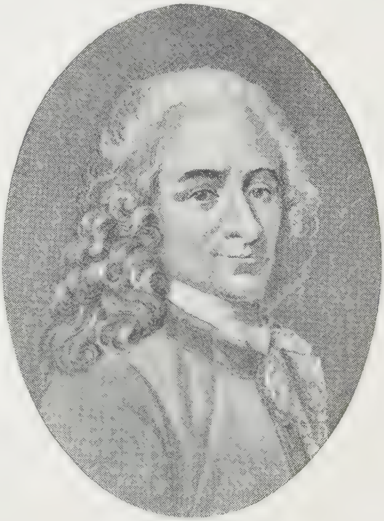


THE REFORM MINISTERS, MALESHERBES & TURGOT
Both of these Ministers were reformers and were associated with Maurepas on his becoming chief Minister of France. For defending the king, Malesherbes was arrested in 1793 and guillotined the following year. As Controller-General of France, Turgot was responsible for a great scheme of reform, but he was dismissed, and died in 1781.

The French navy took the seas. Choiseul's naval policy found its justification. A fleet under D'Estaing sailed for American waters which was stronger than the fleet at Lord Howe's disposal; while a second squadron was able to fight a drawn battle with a British squadron off Ushant. By the command of the sea, the British had hitherto been able to compensate the disadvantage of carrying on their operations in a remote and hostile territory; now that advantage was lost. A year later, Spain followed the lead of France, and the prolonged siege of Gibraltar began. The French fleet continued to keep the British fleet inoperative; when, in 1781, Cornwallis was shut up in Yorktown, the French commander was able to prevent the British from relieving him; Yorktown fell, and with it the last hope of British success. Six months later, Rodney shattered De Grasse's fleet in the Battle of the Saints by the manœuvre known as "breaking the line"—a novelty then, but thereafter a favourite method of attack with the British naval commanders. The attempt to overthrow the naval supremacy had failed, but the purpose with which France had entered upon the war was achieved; the British empire had been decisively rent in twain. Neither of the combatants had any wish to continue the struggle, and the war ended with the Peace of Versailles in the year 1783.

From the French point of view the best that can be said for the French intervention is that without it the colonies might possibly have been forced into temporary submission; and the Americans had reason to be grateful to the power which had undoubtedly made their task very much easier. But the injury to England was the only good that France got out of the war. It would never have been entered upon if the French Government had suspected the impulse which it was to give to the revolution in France itself. The financial situation had already been sufficiently serious; the large addition to the expenditure had necessitated heavy borrowing, and the nation was threatened with insolvency. But beyond that, the political order in France was a pure despotism, the social order was one of caste, and the French Government had committed itself to unqualified support of a revolution which had proclaimed explicitly that the rights of man were its warrant and republicanism its ideal. If the French Government recognised the rights of man, it confessed itself a manifest monstrosity; its approval of republicanism was an outrageous paradox; its enthusiasm for the bourgeois Franklin was a grotesque absurdity. Out of its own mouth the old order stood condemned. It had pronounced its own doom.

Long before the war was over, Necker had followed Turgot. In fact, he had found himself compelled not only to multiply economies, but to resort also to the application of some other of Turgot's principles. The Interests began to combine against him in his turn, and the process of borrowing was becoming increasingly difficult. Therefore, in 1781, he issued the "Compte rendu," or public financial statement, contrary to precedent. For the moment the tide of opposition was stayed, but it soon became possible to point out some of the fallacies on which this proof of financial success rested, while it exposed to the whole world the extravagances which still survived. Maurepas and Vergennes both determined on his downfall. Necker thought himself strong enough to defy them, and proffered his resignation. The resignation was accepted, and Maurepas had to find a new Finance Minister. But the case for the reformers—the case against the Government—was immeasurably strengthened.



VOLTAIRE, POET AND SATIRIST

One of the world's greatest satirists, Voltaire was born at Paris in 1694 and died in that city in 1778. From his versatile pen came numerous poems and satires, while in his later years his writings violently assailed Christianity.

THE FRENCH WRITER, ROUSSEAU

Jean Jacques Rousseau was born in 1712, and his literary success began when, in 1750, he was awarded a prize by the academy of Dijon. He began his famous "Confessions" in England, and died suddenly in 1778.

After the death of Maurepas, in November of the same year, 1781, the king did not appoint another Premier, and became more dependent on the queen, who had just given birth to the Dauphin. Necker's immediate successors, Joly de Fleury and d'Ormesson, held office for a brief period, and on October 3rd, 1783, the Marquis de Calonne, a profligate and spendthrift roué, became "controller general," or director of finance. His system of the most mad extravagance with an empty treasury at once satisfied the courtiers; he called an unbounded expenditure of money the true principle of credit, and scoffed at economy. The parasites sang the praises of the "ministre par excellence," for whom millions were but as counters, while the people received "panem et circenses" (doles and shows) through his great public works in Paris, Cherbourg, and elsewhere.

Calonne reduced Necker's system of borrowing to a fine art. All money melted in his hands, and in order to obtain loans he was forced at once to give up large sums to the bankers; as unconscientious as John Law in the second decade of the eighteenth century, he courted bankruptcy. The scandalous affair of the Diamond Necklace, into which the queen's name was dragged by vile calumniators, was a fitting product of Calonne's age of gross corruption. When he was at the end of his resources, he brewed a compound of the schemes of Vauban, Colbert, Turgot, and Necker, put it before Louis in August, 1786, and requested him to go back to the system of 1774, and to employ the abuses to the benefit of the monarchy. At the same time he induced him to act as Charlemagne and Richelieu had acted in their day, and summon an assembly of notables, by which order could easily be established. He extolled his administration before it, and attacked Necker. This led to a paper war between them resulting in the triumph of Necker. When Calonne demanded a universal land tax, he was met by shouts of "No" from every side, and the notables insisted on learning the extent of the deficit. He admitted at last that it amounted to 115,000,000 francs. The Archbishop of Toulouse, Loménie de Brienne, then brought up the clergy to the attack, and reckoned out a deficit of 140,000,000. The court effected the fall of Calonne on April 9th, 1787, and the quack left France, while the popular voice clamoured for the return of Necker. The courtiers, however, persuaded Louis to summon the archbishop who had overthrown Calonne, and actually to nominate him "principal minister."

Loménie de Brienne was an actor of exceptional versatility, a philosophising self-indulgent place-seeker, who wished to carry measures by the employment of force, and yet was discouraged at the least resistance. When the notables refused him the land tax, he dismissed them; they

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AT THE COURT OF FRANCE IN 1776

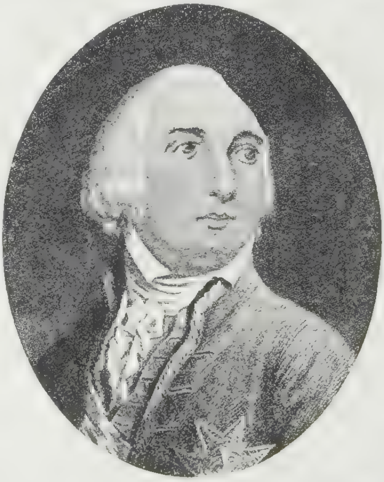
Taking an active part in the deliberations which resulted in the Declaration of Independence on July 4th, 1776, Benjamin Franklin visited Paris in order to secure foreign assistance in the war. The bitter feeling prevailing in France at that time against England favoured the mission of the distinguished American, and France agreed to send help.

From the painting by Baron Jolly

now took back home with them full knowledge of the abuses prevailing at Versailles, and paved the way for the Revolution. The archbishop had a very simple plan by which to meet the financial problem, but he was soon involved in strife with the Parlement. The people sided with the latter, clubs sprang into existence, pamphlets were aimed at the court, especially at "Madame Deficit," the queen, and her friend, the Duchess of Polignac, whose picture the mob burnt, together with that of Calonne. The Parlement, exiled to Troyes, concluded after a month a compromise with the Government, but insisted on the abandonment of Brienne's stamp duty and land tax.

JACQUES NECKER
Occupying in turn the offices of Director of Treasury and Director-General of Finance, he was responsible for many remedial measures. He added to his popularity in 1788 by recommending the summoning of the States-General.

Louis, who posed as an absolute monarch, played a sorry figure in the "séance royale" of November 19th, in which the Duke of Orleans won for himself a cheap popularity, and in the "lit de justice," or solemn meeting of Parlement, of May 18th, 1788. On this latter date the Parlements were reduced to the level of simple provincial magistrates, and a supreme court, or "cour plénière," constituted over them. This was the most comprehensive judicial reform of the "ancien régime"; but the Crown did not possess the power to carry it out. The courts as a body suspended their work; Parlements, clergy, nobility, and the Third Estate leagued together against the centralising policy of the Crown; Breton nobles laid in Paris the foundation-stone of what was afterward to be known as the Jacobin Club; the provinces, especially Dauphiné, were in a ferment; and revolutionary pamphlets were sold in the gardens of the Palais Royal, the residence of the Duke of Orleans. Louis, however, lived for the day only. The loyal Malesherbes vainly conjured him not to underestimate the disorders, and pointed out the case of Belgium under Joseph II., and of the American colonies of Great Britain. Louis was too engrossed in hunting to read the memorial.



PHILIP "ÉGALITÉ" OF ORLEANS
He became Duke of Orleans on the death of his father, in 1785. He disseminated books and papers advocating liberal views, and revolutionary pamphlets were sold in the gardens of the Palais Royal, his ducal residence.

The winter of 1788–1789 brought France face to face with famine. Brienne was without credit, and a suspension of payments was imminent. It was high time to find an ally against the privileged classes, which granted him no money, and Brienne looked for one in the nation. He invited every one to communicate with him on the subject of summoning the States-General, which had not met for 170 years, offered complete liberty of the Press on this national question, and let loose a veritable deluge; 2,700 pamphlets appeared. Their utterances were striking. First and foremost there was the pamphlet of the Abbé Siéyès, vicar-general at Chartres, entitled "Qu'est-ce que le Tiers État," a scathing attack on clergy and nobility, and a glorification of the Third Estate, which Siéyès emphatically declared was the nation, and as such ought to send to the National Assembly twice as many representatives as the two other estates. Thirty thousand copies of this pamphlet were in circulation in three weeks.

Count d'Antraigues in his pamphlet recalled the proud words with which the justiciar of Aragon did fealty to the king: "We, each of whom is as

"THE GLORIOUS FIRST OF JUNE" THE BRITISH VICTORY OVER THE FRENCH OFF USHANT ON JUNE 1ST, 1794

From the painting by T. Gudin at Versailles

The Heaviest Scourge of an Angry Heaven

great as thou, and who, combined, are far more powerful than thou, promise obedience to thee if thou wilt observe our rights and privileges; if not not." The count attacked, with Rousseau, the distinction of classes, explained that no sort of disorder is so terrible as not to be preferable to the ruinous quiet of despotic power, and called the hereditary nobility the heaviest scourge with which an angry Heaven could afflict a free nation. Jean Louis Carra called the word "subject" an insult as applied to the members of the assembled estates, and termed the king the agent of the sovereign—that is, of the nation. Even Mirabeau, who more than any other had suffered in the fetters of absolute monarchy, took up his pen, called upon the king to abolish all feudalism and all privileges, and counselled him to become the Marcus Aurelius of France by granting a constitution and just laws. His solution was "war on the privileged and their privileges," but his sympathies were thoroughly monarchical.

Louis then promised that the States-General, which the popular voice demanded, should meet on May 1st, 1789, and dissolved the "cour plénière." The archbishop, on the other hand, suspended the repayment of the national debt for a year, and adopted such desperate financial measures that everyone considered him mad. On August 25th he was dismissed from office; the mob burnt him in effigy and called for Necker, on whom the country pinned its last hopes.

Evil Effects of the Ancien Régime

When the arbitrary power of the Crown had been exercised by a despot of ability such as Louis XIV., resistance on the part of the Interests had been crushed. When they had been exercised by a ruler of inferior ability to the social and pecuniary advantage of the Interests, they had not aroused the resistance of caste. But since the accession of Louis XVI. things had been different. The evil effects of the "ancien régime" under Louis XV. had reached a climax. Every Finance Minister in turn now found himself compelled sooner or later to make demands on the pockets of the privileged classes, to attack their immunities, and to call the arbitrary powers of the Crown to his aid in doing so. Hence the privileged classes found themselves in antagonism to the arbitrary powers of the Crown; and hence again they found themselves advocating the limitation of these powers by the summoning of the States-General—a constitutional assembly of the three estates of the realm, nobles, clergy, and commons, which had not been summoned since 1614.

The idea, of course, was that the Third Estate would count only when it was in accord with the other two. That the "Tiers État" was to capture the supremacy was not at all in the programme of the Parlements or the clergy, or of one section at least of the aristocrats who supported the demand. On the other hand, the demand itself was applauded by all those who had learned to look upon the British constitution as the best existing model, by those who had fallen in love with the American revolution, and by the populace, which reckoned that in the States-General it would become articulate.

Inevitable also was the recall of Necker; the reign of the series of amateurs who had succeeded him had been ruinously costly, and had not even saved the privileged classes; whereas the honesty of Necker and his reputation as a financial expert were still untarnished.

France's Grave Disease

Nevertheless, Necker was not the man for the hour. The problem for France was not merely that of raising money; that problem existed as a symptom of the disease of the whole body politic. Until the disease itself should be attacked, that particular expression of it could find only temporary alleviation, whereas in Necker's eyes it was the whole disease.

He looked upon himself as indispensable; he saw that the States-General was inevitable; but he did not see that it was going to be master of the situation. In fact, so little did he realise the enormous importance which was going to attach to that body that a fundamental question as to its constitution was left for its own decision when it should assemble. Were the three orders to vote separately—that is, were there to be three chambers of equal weight—or were they to vote together, the majority in the aggregate being decisive? If the former course were to be followed, the two privileged orders could resist any attack; if the latter, privilege was doomed. For it had been granted that the Third Estate should have double representation, roughly 600 members as against 300 for each of the others; and there were enough reformers among clergy and nobles to turn the scale decisively. Necker left the point undetermined, though the double representation would be palpably meaningless unless it gave the doubly-represented double weight. With this preliminary issue before it, the States-General met on May 5th, 1789.

Politically and socially, mediæval Europe was the outcome of two forces—feudalism and clericalism. The mediæval passed into the first stage of the modern when a third force, the individualism, which was the essence of renascence, was brought to bear upon these two; the resultant was the Western Europe of the eighteenth century. When the third force overwhelmed the other two in the French Revolution, the second modern stage was reached. The isolation of England had saved her from being gripped like the Continental nations by either feudalism or clericalism; hence she had acquired a strong central government centuries before any European nation had done so. A rigid caste system had never established itself; she had broken free from Rome with hardly a struggle; for five centuries her Commons had never been inarticulate, and for four centuries her labouring classes had been free from villeinage. She had been able to advance steadily without a revolution at all. What she had called revolution was little more than successful resistance to attempted reaction. From the time of King John the party of progress had invariably repudiated the charge of innovation and appealed, not to doctrines of abstract right and theories of what ought to be, but to concrete rights legally confirmed by charter, by statute, or by ancient custom.

The Steady Advance of England

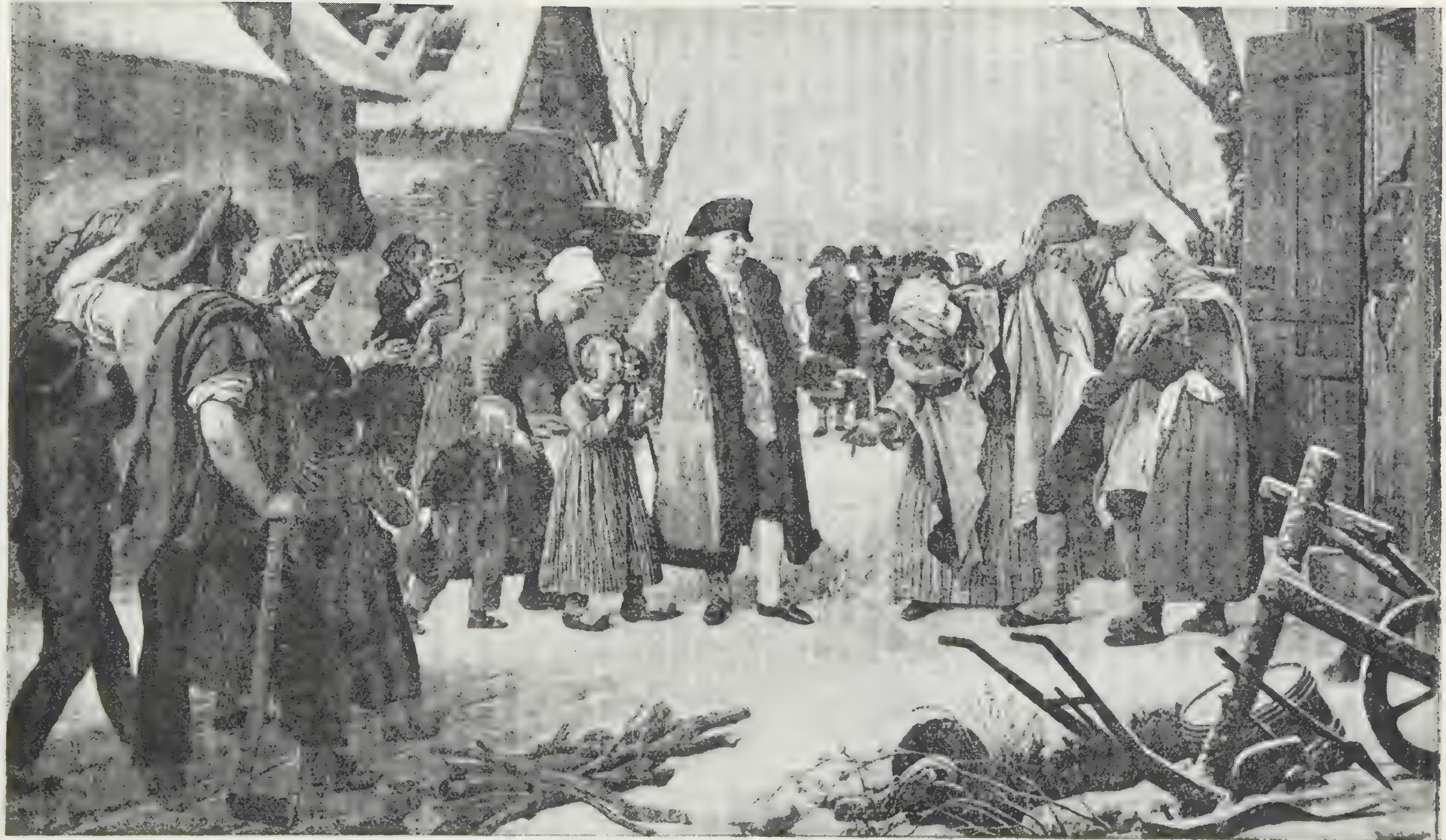
But during those centuries on the Continent feudalism and clericalism had reached their full development, though not without a certain antagonism between themselves. Feudalism must issue politically either in absolutism or in distinegration, or in a combination of the two. In France Louis XI. was able to direct it towards absolutism; in the empire imperial absolutism failed, and Germany became a loose confederation of states; but in the separate states absolutism triumphed. The political downfall of feudalism, however, did not destroy it socially. The boundaries between class and class developed into almost impassable barriers between hereditary castes. The law strengthened the barriers and emphasised the distinction by multiplying privileges and immunities on the one side and intensifying disabilities on the other. The new force, individualism, hardly at the outset attacked feudalism either on its political side, where it was collapsing by its own nature, or on its social side, where it had not then reached its full development. Primarily the great onslaught of individualism was directed against clericalism. Where clericalism made terms with absolutism, it survived; where it did not, Protestantism was victorious. The combination of political absolutism, social feudalism and clericalism culminated in the France of Louis XIV. And to that model every one of the Western states approximated, with modifications, except Great Britain, Holland, and Switzerland.

Western States Modelled on the French Pattern

Now, individualism—the spirit which asserted itself in the Renaissance and the Reformation—is at bottom the claim of the individual to inquire, to judge, and to act for himself, so far, at least, as his doing so does not impede his neighbour's power to do likewise. Absolutism is the negation of the individual's right to act for himself politically; caste or privilege imposes artificial restrictions on one class for the advantage of another, socially. Clericalism is the negation of the individual's right to inquire and judge for himself intellectually. Each may serve worthy ends in particular stages of development, but each is in direct antagonism to individualism.

Since inquiry and judgment precede action, the demand for freedom of inquiry and judgment became vigorously militant before the demand for freedom of action. It had been so far victorious as to sever one half of Western Christendom from Rome in the sixteenth century, and to overthrow the Jesuits in the eighteenth. But latterly the attack on clericalism had changed its character; the champions of the movement were the intellectual descendants of Erasmus rather than of Luther. They were more logical than the heroes of the Reformation; but they were less moral, being actuated more by contempt for the irrational and the absurd than by positive religious conviction. Their protagonist was Voltaire, who assailed clericalism as the intellectual enemy with merciless ridicule and invective.

Voltaire the Assailant of Clericalism

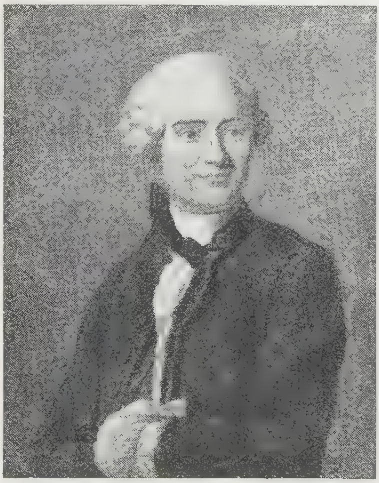


RULER AND PEOPLE: LOUIS XVI., KING OF FRANCE, AMONG HIS POOR PEASANT SUBJECTS

From the painting by Hersent at Versailles

But the movement had changed also in another way. As the right to inquire and to judge became decisively recognised, inquiry applied itself more boldly to the political and the social fields. Herein, England gave the lead. She had worked out her own salvation in practical fashion, without much conscious theorising, and presented to the world the example of a state in which the average individual possessed a degree of liberty without other parallel —in thought, in speech, and in action.

Hobbes had written his theoretical justification of the absolutism which broke down, and John Locke had provided a more or less logical basis for the constitutionalism which succeeded. Hobbes, and Locke after him, both based their theory of the structure of civil society on the hypothesis of an original contract by which aggregates of men had voluntarily subjected themselves to a governing authority. Both also recognised the existence of certain fundamental rights of the individual which could not be abrogated by any contract. The two conceptions, of contract as the origin of society and of the Rights of Man, as postulates, became the basis of extensive speculation culminating in the emotional propaganda of Jean Jacques Rousseau. In Rousseau's account, the "contrat social" had been an insidious device by which the few had been enabled to domineer over the many, and he demanded a new contract based upon the Rights of Man. How such doctrines were impregnating the whole atmosphere of political speculation may be seen from the explicit manner in which the apologists of the American revolt claimed the Rights of Man as their justification.



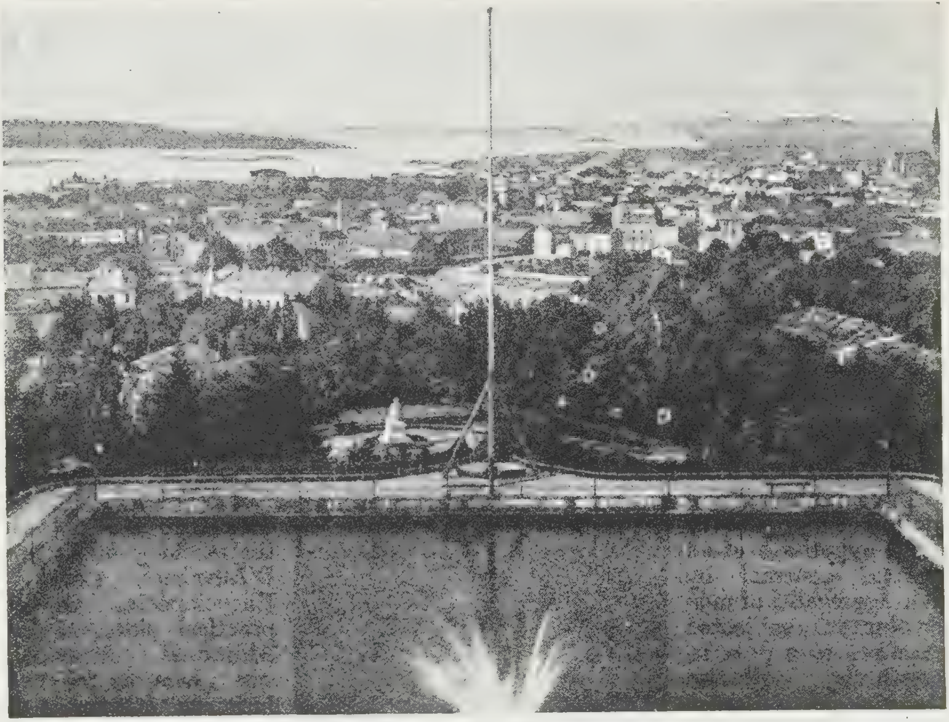
JEAN LE ROND D'ALEMBERT
This great mathematician and Encyclopædist was born in 1717, and among his many writings were books on philosophy, literary criticism and the theory of music. He died in 1753.

Apart, however, from the emotional expression of abstract theories, inquiry in the political field had taken a new direction. Montesquieu had undertaken the task of analysing existing or formerly existing institutions and comparing their working, initiating the application of the historical and comparative methods. He had pointed to the British constitution as the one under which the maximum of individual liberty was actually to be found, and attributed the fact to the separation of the sovereign functions and to the balance of political powers. A revolution on Anglo-American lines was made to appear possible; and with modifications borrowed from the idealised republicanism of Ancient Rome, appealed with considerable force to the intelligent, the intellectual, and the pedantic. In short, a constitutionalism which was content to be monarchical in form while republican in effect was presented as an attractive ideal, especially to the younger generation, who were, or wished to seem, progressive. Nevertheless, such an ideal was quite incompatible with Rousseauism, although consistent enough with the teaching of Diderot, D'Alembert, and the Encyclopédie. On the practical side, immense additional momentum was given to the revolutionary movement because in its earlier stages it found champions among the best of the intellectuals and of the aristocrats, who did not realise the uncontrollable character of the forces that were being let loose.

Those forces were, in their origin, more social than political. A system under which the whole weight of taxation rested upon a population usually at or below the hunger-line was endurable only so long as it was irresistible. The population hitherto had suffered and hated, but endured perforce. The suffering and hatred were on the verge of becoming not only articulate but clamorous as the people began to perceive that endurance might not be necessary, that defiance might be possible, that the system might be shattered. The iniquities of privilege were patent to all except the minority who profited by them; even among the minority there were not a few who felt and deplored the injustice.

The States-General had now been summoned to deal with the problem. What would the States-General do with it?

Arthur D. Innes

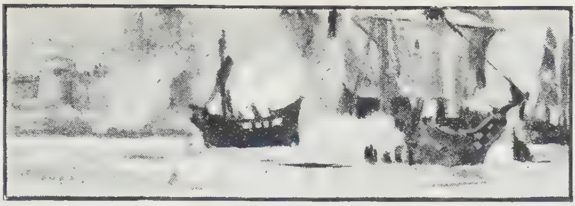


GENERAL VIEW OF THE CITY AS SEEN FROM ST. JOHN'S HILL

THE STORTHING, DENMARK'S IMPOSING HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

CHRISTIANIA, THE BEAUTIFUL CAPITAL OF NORWAY

Photochrome



DENMARK'S GREAT ERA OF PROGRESS

THE REVIVAL OF NORWAY'S PROSPERITY

AFTER the great Scandinavian war there followed for Denmark a long period of peace, which enabled the nation to recruit its energies and which was of the utmost importance for the internal development of the country. Its intellectual life was greatly influenced from abroad, not only from Germany, as before, but also from Western Europe. New ideas were introduced, interest in public affairs grew stronger, and gradually radical reforms were carried out in various directions. Pietism, imported from Germany, became widespread, especially among the lower classes; and Frederic IV.'s son, Christian VI. (1730–1746), influenced by this movement, exerted himself to promote the intellectual and spiritual welfare of his subjects.

The "Academic Period" in Denmark

In all parts of the kingdom schools were erected where the children could be taught religion, reading, writing, and arithmetic. Literature, too, now set itself the task of working for the enlightenment and education of the people. In the Reformation period a national literature had grown up which was of the greatest importance for the development of the vernacular as a literary language and for the education of the masses. But soon there was a return to Latin, and scholars were almost ashamed to make use of their mother tongue. It was the "academic period." Science, it is true, had been studied with success, and Denmark could boast of distinguished names—the astronomer Tycho Brahe; Niels Stensen or Steno, the founder of geology; Thomas Bartholin, the well-known anatomist; and the physicist Ole Römer, who became famous by his calculation of the velocity of light.

Holberg's Influence on the Nation

But the labours of these scholars were without influence on the intellectual life of the nation, for whose education practically nothing had been done. Even poetry was the business of scholars—an artificial product, in imitation of Germany. Yet there were at this time a few poets not without originality, such as A. Arreboe, who has been called the father of Danish poetry; the Norwegian poet Peter Dass, whose popularity has not even yet died out, and Thomas Kingo, highly esteemed as a writer of hymns. But, on the whole, the literary output was poor. It was only with the appearance of Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754) that Danish literature changed its character and became the educative force which it now is for the whole nation. Holberg was influenced by the intellectual life of Western Europe, and desired, like the philosophers of the eighteenth century, to "enlighten" his countrymen, to exterminate ancient prejudices and follies, and to spread useful knowledge. His writings are of many kinds, including satires, comedies, and historical and philosophical works. His purpose being to educate the people, he wrote in Danish, in the development of which as a literary language he rendered valuable service, though he himself was actually a Norwegian. He had several followers, who, as apostles of "enlightenment" and "rationalism," aimed at being useful to the state and the nation, and worked through their writings for the cause of "universal happiness."

The Poetry of Denmark and Norway

The poets of the latter half of the eighteenth century received strong stimuli from abroad, from the English poetry of Nature, from Rousseau and from German sentimental and national literature, especially from Klopstock, who spent a considerable time in Denmark. The Danish poets, the chief representative of whom was Johannes Ewald, followed the last-named direction, which the Norwegians, influenced by English and French literature, opposed, openly showing their dislike to it by the formation in 1772 of the Norwegian Society, the heart and soul of which was Joh. Herman Wessel. The new ideas continued to spread, and bore fruit in the great reforms which characterise the last decades of the eighteenth century. The king who was reigning at that time, Christian VII. (1766–1808), was feeble-minded and incapable of performing his duties, and was in consequence soon obliged to leave the real work of government to his Ministers. In the early years of his reign, Bernstorff, the capable statesman who brought the disputes with Gottorp to a satisfactory conclusion, took the chief part in the government; but in 1770 he had to make way for the German physician, Struensee, who had known how to gain the confidence of the king and the affection of the queen, the English Princess Caroline Matilda.

KING CHRISTIAN VI.
He was the son of Frederic IV., and, ascending the throne of Denmark and Norway in 1730, applied himself to promoting the intellectual and spiritual welfare of his subjects.

Struensee was imbued with the ideas of the age of enlightenment, and carried out sensible reforms, such as establishing the freedom of the Press, abolishing the examination of prisoners under torture, and so forth. But his measures were introduced too hurriedly and unsystematically, and many of them aroused great opposition, besides which he incensed the people by his lax morality and his contempt for the Danish language. At the court he had numerous enemies, and they succeeded in bringing about his fall; he was arrested on January 17th, 1772, accused of lèse majesté, and beheaded on April 28th. Most of his reforms were cancelled by the new government, the most influential member of which was Ove Höegh-Guldberg. On April 14th, 1784, the Crown Prince Frederic took up the reins of government, and, though still young himself, showed his ability to select capable advisers, the most prominent being Count Bernstorff, whose moral reputation was without blemish.

TWO FAMOUS DANISH ASTRONOMERS
Ole Römer, whose portrait is first given, a distinguished philosopher and astronomer, became famous by his calculation of the velocity of light. Tycho Brahe, who belonged to an earlier period than Römer, prosecuted his studies as an astronomer with great success, discovering serious errors in the astronomical tables, and observing a new star in Cassiopeia.

Both Frederic and his Ministers were in favour of reform; they took in hand a number of Struensee's earlier plans, but proceeded with caution, and thus imparted strength and durability to their measures. The Press regained its freedom, the administration of justice was improved, and many of the bonds that fettered commerce and agriculture were unloosed, for the state of the peasantry was still disgraceful.

Frederic IV., it is true, had abolished the old serfdom; but under his successor a new form of it had been introduced. The regulation had been made—partly to facilitate conscription and partly to ensure a supply of labour for the landed proprietors—that the peasantry were not to be allowed to leave their native place as long as they were liable for military service; as a consequence they were tied to the soil during the best part of their lives, and abandoned to the tyranny of the landowners, who harassed them with claims of compulsory service and with heavy taxation. Serfdom was now abolished—in 1788, and in the duchies in 1797—and by this reform the peasantry attained real freedom. Their condition was also improved in other ways, with the result that the landowners were no longer able to treat them as they liked. Agriculture now made rapid progress, and the value of land was quintupled between 1750 and 1800. Commerce and shipping also entered upon an era of prosperity. In the tariff law of 1797 the protectionist policy was given up; the embargoes on imports were for the most part abolished and the duties were reduced. With a view to encouraging commerce, an agreement had been concluded with Sweden and Russia—the Armed Neutrality of July, 1780—even at the time of the American War of Independence; and Bernstorff was able to prevent Denmark and Norway from becoming involved in hostilities. Danish and Norwegian vessels sailed all the seas without let or hindrance, and carried on a profitable trade with the belligerents.

After the extinction of the old royal house in 1319 Norway had become united first with Sweden and then with Denmark in 1380. From this time the country rapidly deteriorated; it could not maintain its independence in the union. The prosperity of the country was ruined by the Hanseatic League, which was steadily increasing in power; at the same time Norway was terribly devastated in the fourteenth century by several pestilences.

KING CHRISTIAN VII.
Feeble-minded and incapable of performing the duties of his position, he left the work of government to his ministers. He married the English Princess Caroline Matilda.

The retrogression of the material welfare of the country was accompanied by a decline in the literary life; after the middle of the fourteenth century almost all literary activity ceased. The Danes made their way into the country and obtained civic rights by intermarriage. They brought with them the Danish language, which displaced old Norwegian as the literary language, and strongly influenced the colloquial language of the towns. While Sweden had freed herself from Danish supremacy and was entering upon a time of prosperity, Norway was treated almost like a province of Denmark after the "Counts' war" of 1536; it is true it retained the title of kingdom and had its own laws, but it lost its Council of State, and was governed by the Danish Council of State and Danish officials. The Reformation was introduced in 1536 by peremptory decree; the churches and monasteries were pillaged. Little trouble was taken to instruct the people of the country in the new doctrines; indeed, the Danish government concerned itself very little at first about the country. It was only towards the end of the sixteenth century that Norway began to regain its strength; Christian IV. (1588–1648) in particular worked zealously for its welfare. The natural resources of the country were turned to better advantage; the power of the Hanseatic League was broken. Commerce and navigation revived. Forestry and mining became more important; the towns increased in number and size: Christiania was founded in 1624. In addition to the peasantry a class of citizens and mariners was springing up. The nobles were not numerous and had not so many privileges as in Denmark; neither did they possess the power of depriving the peasants of their independence. It is true that the land suffered through the war between Denmark and Sweden, and also lost the provinces of Herjedalon, Jemtland, and Bohuslen; but, on the whole, it made quiet progress.

THE ORACLE OF DENMARK
Count Bernstorff was Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1751 till 1770. By Frederic the Great this capable statesman was characterised as "The Oracle of Denmark."

The situation improved still more after 1650, when an absolute government was introduced into Denmark and Norway. Norway was freed from the Danish feudal lords and stood directly under the king, who interested himself just as much in Norway as in Denmark. The administration and judicature were improved; a new code of laws was issued in 1687, and public offices were often filled by Norwegians. The Norwegians soon became distinguished in many departments of life. Ludwig Holberg, "the Father of Modern Danish-Norwegian Literature," was a Norwegian. Trade and commerce flourished. The last years of the eighteenth century were particularly fruitful; at that time, during the revolutionary wars, Denmark-Norway was able to preserve a neutral attitude, and down to their time there was no ill-feeling in Norway against Denmark and the union.

SWEDEN'S TIME OF STRIFE

THE BLOODLESS REVOLUTION UNDER GUSTAVUS III.

The Limited Power of the New King

ON the death of Charles XII. without issue, his sister Ulrica Eleonora, who had been married to Frederic, hereditary prince of Hesse, was chosen queen, but she was obliged to renounce the absolute sovereignty in February, 1719. The war soon came to an end in the new reign. Hanover received Bremen and Verden, Prussia the southern part of Nearer Pomerania, and Russia the provinces of Ingermanland, Esthonia, and Livonia, with Viborg Len, from Finland. Denmark was satisfied with 600,000 thalers; Sweden abandoned her claim to exemption from tolls in the Sound, and promised not to protect the Duke of Gottorp.

Ulrica Eleonora resigned the crown in March, 1720, in favour of her husband; Frederic received allegiance as king. However, a new form of government limited the power of the king still more. The king became quite dependent upon the Council of State and the Riksdag. The supreme power was in the hands of the Riksdag, which assembled every three years and had the right of supervising and altering all the decrees of the king and of the Council of State.

Sweden's "Time of Liberty"

National affairs were first discussed in the standing committees, among which the "secret committee" soon obtained the greatest influence. The nobles had the predominance in the Riksdag; they alone had a seat and a vote in the Council of State and filled all the important offices. The period between 1720 and 1772 is generally called the "time of liberty." For a long while after the long and devastating war the country was in a most wretched condition; the finances were in the greatest confusion. However, the situation improved more rapidly than might have been expected, thanks principally to the Chancellor, Count Arvid Horn. In order to further his country's interests he preserved a wise and cautious demeanour towards other nations. At home, also, there was plenty to do: new laws were necessary, and the finances had again to be set in order; all branches of industry required careful attention. In a short time manufactures and mining, commerce and navigation, revived.

Internal Strife in Sweden

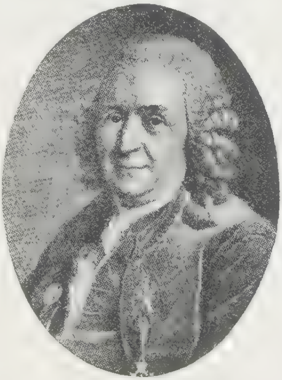
With increased prosperity, however, the voices of the malcontents made themselves heard. There was a certain section of the people who could not reconcile themselves to the loss of the Baltic provinces, and, goaded on by France, they had become dissatisfied with Horn's foreign policy; they wanted war with Russia in order to regain what they had lost. They derisively termed Horn and his followers "Nattmössor" (Night-caps), while they called themselves "Hattar" (Wide-awakes). In this way Sweden soon became the scene of fierce party quarrels. The contending parties had recourse to any expedient which might injure their opponents, and by which they could attract followers to their own side; as both factions were equally venal, corruption became more common. The neighbouring nations watched the internal strife with joy, for it promised advantage to them at the expense of Sweden, and foreign ambassadors spared no money to prolong the strife in the interests of their own states. The "Wide-awakes" received bribes from France, the "Night-caps" from Russia.

In the year 1738 the "Wide-awakes," under the leadership of Charles, Count of Syllenborg, succeeded in gaining the upper hand. In 1741 they declared war against Russia. The generals Wrangel, Lewenhaupt, and Buddenbrock, were defeated by the Russians, and at last were forced to surrender. In the meantime Sweden was engaged with the question of the succession to the throne, as Ulrica Eleonora had died childless in 1741. A few, and among them the peasants, desired the Danish Crown Prince (Frederic V.) as successor. This was actively opposed by Elizabeth, the Tsarina of Russia, who feared the power of a united North; she therefore promised easy conditions if the Swedes would elect the Gottorp prince, Adolphus Frederic, who enjoyed her favour. The "Wide-awakes" succeeded in effecting his election, and in the Peace of Abo, on August 7th, 1743, Russia gave back the greater portion of Finland.

FREDERIC I. OF SWEDEN
Hereditary prince of Hesse, Frederic married Ulrica Eleonora. When her brother Charles XII. died without issue, she was chosen queen, but resigned in favour of her husband.

The "Wide-awakes" maintained their power for several years. Like the "Night-caps," they aimed at promoting national industries; their methods, however, were extremely ill-advised and extravagant. It is true, manufactures flourished, but in a way which was unnatural and injurious to other branches of industry, especially to agriculture. Commerce and navigation were handicapped by various prohibitions and by heavy custom duties; the finances were in disorder, and the national debt steadily increased.

It must be admitted that the "Wide-awakes" rendered great service to the arts and sciences; they founded an academy of painting and sculpture and another for science, and lived to see the fruits of their labours. The study of natural science reached a high state of perfection; its most celebrated representatives were Linné (Linnæus), who died in 1778, and the physicist, A. Celsius, who died in 1744. The well-known mystic E. Swedenborg also belongs to this period. Among other great men should be mentioned the historian S. Lagerbring, and O. Dalin, and the philologist, J. Ihre. In the cultivation of poetry the Swedes took as their models French and English poets. Dalin, who is mentioned above, wrote epics, lyrics, satires, and dramas; he is recognised as the father of modern Swedish æsthetic literature.



A GREAT BOTANIST
Born in 1707, Carl Linnæus, more than any other man, enriched the science of botany. In 1742 he became professor of botany at Upsala University. He died in 1778.

King Frederic I. died in 1751. His successor, Adolphus Frederic, was a weak, insignificant man, but his wife, Louisa Ulrica, a sister of Frederic II. of Prussia, who was both talented and fond of power, desired to extend the authority of the king. However, her attempt to overthrow the "Wide-awakes" failed so hopelessly that the king and queen were still more humiliated. The king was not even able to prevent the "Wide-awakes" from attaching themselves to the enemies of Prussia in the Seven Years War and declaring war against Frederic II. The war was carried on so carelessly that Sweden completely forfeited her military reputation. It also aroused such indignation against the "Wide-awakes," with whose unsatisfactory government the people were already dissatisfied, that the "Night-caps" succeeded in overthrowing them and regaining their influence. If the "Wide-awakes" had been too extravagant with public money, the "Night-caps" were too economical. They declined to give the manufacturers the large loans and the assistance on which many depended, with the result that they were compelled to stop work. On account of the consequent lack of employment and distress, the "Night-caps" became so unpopular that in 1769 they were forced to give way to the "Wide-awakes." Thus the two parties continued their struggles, without, however, allowing the phantom king to take advantage of their strife by increasing his own power; even the threat of Adolphus Frederic that he would resign his crown had no effect. Russia, Prussia, and Denmark, who had in view the dismemberment of Sweden, naturally sought in every way to prevent any change in the constitution. Thus Sweden was for a time threatened with the same fate which soon afterwards overtook unfortunate Poland.

Gustavus III., the son of Adolphus Frederic, came to the rescue of the country. He was on the Continent at the time of his father's death, but on hearing the news at once hurried back to Sweden, firmly resolved to make an end of internal strife and to recover for the crown its former splendour. He gained the approval of the officers and soldiers for his plan. On August 19th, 1772, by a coup d'état he arrested the councillors and the leaders of the Estates, and on August 21st compelled the Riksdag to sanction a new constitution, by which the king received absolute power, appointed the members of the Council, which retained only the power of giving advice, and shared the legislative power with the Estates. This revolution was received with joy by the people, and was effected without bloodshed; those who had been arrested were set at liberty without being prosecuted or punished. The neighbouring nations were indignant at the coup d'état, and threatened war. Gustavus took vigorous precautions, and the storm was soon stilled.

A Revolution Without Bloodshed

In the years following his coup d'état Gustavus made good use of his new powers. He was talented, learned, and affable, and having been influenced by the liberal ideas of the Encyclopædists, which were being diffused all over Europe, he was strenuously endeavouring to carry out useful reforms. The law-courts were improved, the finances reformed, the freedom of the Press was introduced, and the fetters which impeded trade and other branches of industry were removed. Gustavus was especially interested in art and science; he founded the Swedish Academy in 1786, the Swedish Theatre in 1773, and the Musical Academy in 1771. The plastic arts were also making progress, in particular sculpture. I. T. Sergel, who died in 1814, was the greatest sculptor of his age. In literature the French style prevailed, and was adopted by Gustavus, who was himself a dramatist, and by several poets who had gathered round him—namely, I. H. Kellgren and K. G. af Leopold; while others who kept themselves free from French influence and went their own way were K. M. Bellmann, B. Lidner, and A. M. Lenngren.

GUSTAVUS III. OF SWEDEN
The son of Adolphus Frederic, in 1771 he succeeded his father. The early years of his reign were successful, but in 1792 he was fatally wounded at Stockholm.

Thus the first years of Gustavus's reign were fortunate for Sweden, and the king himself was very popular among the people. Gradually, however, the worse side of his nature gained the ascendancy. He was soon in want of money through his love of splendour and extravagance, and, in order to meet his necessities, he took measures which aroused great dissatisfaction, especially among the lower classes. It was the lower classes, however, to whom he looked for support against the nobility, who could never forgive him for his coup d'état. When he observed that his popularity was declining, he thought that he could recover it by a successful war. In 1788 he found a pretext for declaring war against Russia, and marched through Finland, across the Russian boundary, while the fleet was instructed to sail towards St. Petersburg at the same time. But he was scarcely across the boundary when the officers mutinied, and demanded that he should summon a Riksdag and conclude peace, for he had acted unconstitutionally in declaring war without the consent of the Riksdag. Gustavus hurried back to Sweden, where he won the support of the people, who were indignant at the revolt, summoned the Riksdag, and, on February 21st, 1789, carried the "Säkerhetsakt," which granted him almost unlimited power.

The war was continued, but the favourable opportunity was lost, and the war soon came to an end on August 14th, 1790, with the Peace of Werelä, which in every respect confirmed the former state of affairs. Gustavus desired to help his friend Louis XVI. against the Revolution; and accordingly, in 1791, concluded a treaty with Russia, and conceived the plan of advancing into France at the head of a Swedish and Russian army. However, a conspiracy was formed among the nobility, whose indignation had reached its height since the introduction of the "Säkerhetsakt." At a masked ball at Stockholm Gustavus was mortally wounded on March 16th, 1792, and died a few days later. Gustavus left a son, Gustavus IV. (Adolphus, 1792–1809), who was not of age, and the brother of Gustavus, Charles, Duke of Södermanland, undertook the government.

The King Shot at a Masked Ball

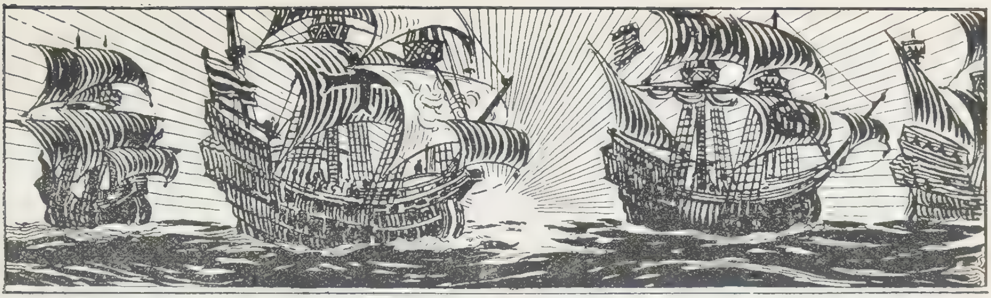
Hans Schjöth

GREAT DATES FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION

A.D.	
1509	Henry VIII. king of England. Albuquerque appointed Viceroy of the Indies
1511	Holy League formed against France
1513	Henry in Picardy. James IV. of Scotland killed at Battle of Flodden. James V. succeeds. Leo X. elected Pope. Rise of Wolsey. Swiss Confederation completed
1515	Charles of Burgundy succeeds to the crowns of Castile and Aragon. Francis I. king of France. Battle of Marignano
1517	Martin Luther challenges Indulgences
1519	Charles succeeds to Hapsburg dominions and is elected Emperor Charles V.
1520	Field of Cloth of Gold. Blood-bath of Stockholm. Luther burns the Pope's Bull. Magelhaens passes Straits of Magellan
1521	Diet of Worms. Adrian VI. Pope. Cortes in Mexico. War between Charles and Francis
1522	England joins the war. Knights' war in Germany
1523	Clement VII. Pope. Gustavus Vasa king of Sweden. Frederic of Holstein king of Denmark
1524	German Peasants' War.
1525	Battle of Pavia
1526	Charles marries Isabella of Portugal
1527	Sack of Rome by Imperial troops. Crowns of Hungary and Bohemia conferred on Ferdinand of Austria, brother of Charles V.
1529	Peace of Cambrai. Protest of Spain. Turks before Vienna. Fall of Wolsey.
1530	Confession of Augsburg. Formation of the Schmalcaldic League
1531	Death of Zwingli
1532	Treaty of Nuremberg. Pizarro in Peru
1533	England repudiates Papal allegiance. Ascendancy of Thomas Cromwell
1534	Paul III. Pope. Francis makes Turkish alliance
1535	Visitation of English monasteries. Charles V. in Tunis
1536	Pilgrimage of Grace. War renewed between Charles V. and Francis
1538	Truce of Nice
1540	Order of Jesuits receives Papal sanction
1541	Calvin supreme at Geneva. Algerian expedition of Charles V. Diet of Regensburg (Ratisbon)
1542	War renewed between Charles and Francis: Scottish forces routed at Solway Moss. Death of James V. and accession of infant Mary Stuart
1543	Henry joins Charles against France
1544	Peace of Crespy
1545	Council of Trent begins
1546	Death of Luther. Schmalcaldic War.
1547	Edward VI. king of England. Henry II. king of France. Defeat of Protestants at Muhlberg. Rout of Scots at Pinkie
1548	Interim of Augsburg
1549	Julius III. Pope. Fall of Somerset in England
1552	Maurice of Saxony heads German Protestants. Peace of Passau
1553	Mary Tudor queen of England
1554	Mary marries Philip of Spain
1555	Beginning of Marian persecution. Pacification of Augsburg. Paul IV. Pope
1556	Charles V. abdicates. Philip succeeds to Spain and Burgundy, Ferdinand in Germany
1557	Lords of the Congregation in Scotland. War between France and Spain.
1558	Loss of Calais. Mary Stuart marries Dauphin. Elizabeth queen of England
1559	Treaty of Cateau Cambresis. Francis II. king of France. Religious settlement in England
1560	Treaty of Leith. Charles IX. king of France. Ascendancy of Catharine de Medici
1561	Mary Stuart returns to Scotland
1562	Massacre of Vassy. Beginning of Huguenot wars in France
1563	End of Council of Trent. Peace of Amboise
1564	Maximilian II. emperor
1565	Mary Stuart marries Darnley
1566	Pius V. Pope
1567	Murder of Darnley. Mary forced to abdicate. Huguenot wars in France. Alva in the Netherlands
1568	Mary Stuart takes refuge in England
1569	Suppression of insurrection of Northern earls in England. Battles of Moncontour and Jarnac in France
1570	Treaty of St. Germains. Papal Bull deposing Elizabeth. Assassination of Regent Moray
1572	Revolt of Netherlands. Gregory XIII. Pope. Battle of Lepanto. Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Death of John Knox
1573	Alva recalled from Netherlands
1576	The "Spanish Fury" of Antwerp. Don John sent to the Netherlands. Pacification of Ghent. Rudolf II. emperor
1578	Death of Don John. Parma sent to Netherlands
1579	Union of Utrecht
1580	Annexation of Portugal to Spain. Desmond's rebellion in Ireland. Drake completes his voyage of circumnavigation
1584	Death of William the Silent; and of Anjou (Alençon), making Henry of Navarre heir to French throne
1585	Raleigh's first Virginia colony. Sixtus V. Pope. "War of the Three Henries" in France
1586	English in Netherlands. Babington's plot
1587	Execution of Mary Stuart
1588	Spanish Armada. Assassination of Henry of Guise. Christian IV. king of Denmark
1589	Henry IV. claims succession to Henry III.
1592	Clement IX. Pope
1593	Henry IV. accepts the Mass
1598	Treaty of Vervins; Edict of Nantes. Death of Philip II. and Lord Burleigh. Philip III. king of Spain
1600	Charter of English East India Company
1603	James I. of England. Union of English and Scottish crowns
1604	Charles IX. king of Sweden
1605	Paul V. Pope
1609	Twelve years' truce between Dutch and Spain. Charter of Virginia
1610	Henry IV. assassinated. Louis XIII. king of France
1611	Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden
1612	Matthias emperor
1613	Princess Elizabeth of England marries Elector Palatine
1614	Last States-General called in France till 1789
1617	Ferdinand of Carinthia recognised as heir to Matthias
1618	Bohemian revolt begins Thirty Years War
1619	Bohemians elect Frederic of the Palatinate. Ferdinand becomes emperor
1620	Battle of White Mountain. Voyage of Mayflower
1621	Philip IV. king of Spain
1624	Supremacy of Cardinal Richelieu in France begins
1625	Charles I. king of England
1626	Protestants under leadership of Christian of Denmark. Wallenstein comes to aid of emperor. Battle of Lutter
1628	Petition of Right. Assassination of Buckingham
1629	Withdrawal of Denmark. Emperor issues Edict of Restitution
1630	Dismissal of Wallenstein. Gustavus Adolphus lands
1631	Gustavus wins victory of Breitenfeld
1632	Wallenstein recalled. Gustavus killed at Lutzen
1633	Wentworth in Ireland
1634	Death of Wallenstein. Battle of Nordlingen
1635	Claim of Ship-money. France at war with Spain
1638	National League and Covenant in Scotland
1639	Death of Bernard of Saxe-Weimar. The Bishops' War (Scotland)
1640	Accession of Frederic William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg. Meeting of Long Parliament
1641	Execution of Strafford. Insurrection in Ireland
1642	Beginning of Great Rebellion in England. Mazarin's rise to power in France
1643	Louis XIV. king of France. Anne of Austria regent. Solemn League and Covenant between Parliament and Scots. Duc d'Enghien (the Great Condé) defeats Spaniards at Rocroi
1644	Battle of Marston Moor
1645	Battle of Naseby
1648	Peace of Westphalia. Beginning of war of the Fronde
1649	Charles I. beheaded. Commonwealth in England. Cromwell in Ireland
1650	Death of Montrose. Battle of Dunbar
1651	Battle of Worcester. Escape of Charles II. Navigation Act
1652	Anglo-Dutch war begins. War of the Fronde ends
1653	Cromwell made Lord Protector
1654	Charles X. king of Sweden. End of Dutch war
1656	Cromwell at war with Spain
1657	French alliance with Cromwell. Blake at Santa Cruz
1658	Capture of Dunkirk. Death of Cromwell
1660	Stuart Restoration in England. Louis XIV. assumes government in France. Charles XI. king of Sweden. Treaty of Oliva
1661	Death of Mazarin. Colbert in France. Clarendon in England
1662	Charles II. of England marries Catharine of Braganza. Dunkirk sold to France

GREAT DATES FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION

A.D.	
1665	Independence of Portugal under the house of Braganza recognised. Charles II. king of Spain. Anglo-Dutch war begins
1667	End of Dutch war. Fall of Clarendon. Beginning of the "War of Devolution." Louis XIV. invades the Netherlands
1668	Cabal Ministry in England. Triple Alliance (England, Holland, and Sweden)
1670	Treaty of Dover between Louis and Charles
1672	France and England attack Holland. Fall of the Grand Pensionary and rise of William of Orange (nephew of Charles II.
1673	European coalition
1674	England withdraws from war. Turenne's campaign in Alsace
1675	Death of Turenne. Victory of Great Elector at Fehrbellin
1677	William of Orange marries Mary, daughter of Duke of York
1678	Treaty of Nimeguen. Titus Oates and the Popish Plot in England
1679	Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye. Rising of Scottish Covenanters. Habeas Corpus Act
1681	Louis seizes Strasburg
1682	Accession of Peter the Great in Russia
1685	James II. king of England. Louis revokes the Edict of Nantes
1686	William of Orange forms League of Augsburg
1688	The Great Elector succeeded by Frederic III. Louis invades the Palatinate. William of Orange lands in England
1689	William III. and Mary accept Declaration of Right. Battle of Killiecrankie. Grand Alliance formed
1690	Battle of Boyne
1692	Massacre of Glencoe. Irish Penal Laws passed. Battles of La Hogue and Steinkirk
1694	Bank of England established
1697	Treaty of Ryswick. Prince Eugene defeats Turks at Zenta. Charles XII. king of Sweden. Party government initiated by Whig Junto
1698	First (Spanish) Partition Treaty
1699	Collapse of Scottish Darien scheme. Second Partition Treaty
1700	Spanish Crown accepted by Philip (V.) of Anjou. Northern war. Charles XII. defeats Danes and Russians at Narwa
1701	Louis acknowledges James Edward Stuart. England joins Grand Alliance. Frederic III., Elector of Brandenburg, becomes King Frederic I. of Prussia
1702	Anne queen of England. War of Spanish succession. Charles XII. invades Poland
1704	Marlborough and Eugene rout French at Blenheim. Rooke takes Gibraltar
1705	Joseph I. emperor
1706	Marlborough wins battle of Ramillies. Eugene wins battle of Turin
1707	Defeat of allies by Berwick at Almanza. Treaty of Union between England and Scotland united as Great Britain
1708	Battle of Oudenarde
1709	Battle of Ramillies. Charles XII. defeated at Poltawa
1710	Fall of Whigs in England. Conference of Gertruydenberg
1711	Archduke Charles becomes Emperor Charles VI. Fall of Marlborough
1713	Treaty of Utrecht establishes Bourbon dynasty in Spain. Frederic William I. king of Prussia
1714	Treaty of Rastadt. George I. king of England. Hanoverian dynasty begins. Philip V. marries Elizabeth Farnese
1715	Louis XV. king of France; Orleans regent. Jacobite rising of the "Fifteen"
1716	Eugene overthrows Turks at Peterwardein
1717	Great Britain, France, and Holland form Triple Alliance; later joined by Austria
1718	Treaty of Passarovitz. Alberoni in Spain. Spanish fleet destroyed at Cape Passaro. Death of Charles XII.
1720	End of Northern war. Promulgation of Pragmatic Sanction by Emperor Charles VI. Collapse of South Sea Bubble in England, and Law's Mississippi scheme in France
1721	Walpole's administration begins in England
1723	Orleans regency ends in France
1724	Ripperda in Spain
1725	Catharine I. in Russia
1726	Cardinal Fleury becomes First Minister in France
1727	George II. king of England. Walpole retains power.
1729	Treaty of Seville. Treaty of Vienna
1731	Second Treaty of Vienna
1733	Secret family compact between French and Spanish Bourbons. War of Polish succession begins
1735	War of Polish succession ends. Bourbon dynasty in the two Sicilies
1738	France guarantees Pragmatic Sanction
1739	War of Jenkins' Ear begins between Spain and Great Britain
1740	Frederic II. king of Prussia. Death of Emperor Charles VI.; Austrian succession claimed by Maria Theresa under Pragmatic Sanction, challenged by Charles of Bavaria. Frederic occupies Silesia; first Silesian War
1741	War of Austrian succession
1742	Charles VII. of Bavaria emperor. Fall of Walpole
1743	Battle of Dettingen. Treaty of Fontainebleau
1744	Marshal Saxe in the Netherlands
1745	Francis I. of Tuscany (Lorraine), husband of Maria Theresa, emperor. Charles Edward lands in Scotland and invades England
1746	Jacobite cause crushed at Culloden. Opening of Franco-British struggle in India. Dupleix and La Bourdonnais capture Madras. Ferdinand VI. king of Spain
1747	French invade Holland
1748	Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restores conquests
1751	Clive at Arcot
1754	Collisions of French and British colonists in America
1756	Alliance of Great Britain and Prussia. League against Prussia. French take Minorca. Frederic invades Saxony. Seven Years War begins
1757	Pitt in power. Clive's victory at Plassey. Battles of Prague, Kolin, Rosbach, and Leuthen
1758	Battles of Crefeld, Zorndorf and Hochkirch. Choiseul in power in France
1759	Battles of Minden, Kunersdorf, Lagos, Quiberon and Quebec. Pombal in power in Portugal. Charles III. king of Spain
1760	Battles of Leignitz, Torgau and Wandewash. George III. king of England
1761	Bute predominant. Pitt retires
1762	Spain joins France; Russia becomes neutral
1763	Treaties of Paris and Hubertsburg
1764	Suppression of Jesuits in France. Stanislas Poniatowski king of Poland. Battle of Buxar (Bengal)
1765	Joseph II. emperor. Grenville's Stamp Act
1766	Rockingham Ministry repeals Stamp Act. Pitt forms Grafton Ministry and becomes Earl of Chatham
1767	Jesuits expelled from Spain. Charles Townshend's Colonial taxes
1768	France acquires Corsica from Genoa. Middlesex elections
1769	Meeting of Frederic and Emperor Joseph
1770	Second meeting. Fall of Choiseul in France. North's Ministry in England
1771	Abolition of Parlement by Maupeou
1772	Partition of Poland. Gustavus III. king of Sweden
1773	Jesuits condemned by the Pope. North's Indian Regulating Acts
1774	Louis XVI. king of France. Maurepas restores the Parlement. Penal Acts against Massachusetts. Warren Hastings Governor-General of India
1775	Turgot's reforms in France. Beginning of American War of Independence
1776	Necker in France. American Declaration of Independence
1777	Joseph II. claims Bavarian succession. Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga
1778	France supports America
1779	Spain joins war
1780	First armed neutrality. Death of Maria Theresa
1781	Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown. Reforms of Joseph II.
1782	Fall of North. Whig Ministries in England. Rodney's victory of The Saints. Grattan's Parliament established in Ireland
1783	Peace of Versailles. Independence of U.S.A. recognised. Calonne in France. Coalition of Fox and North; the younger Pitt becomes Prime Minister
1784	Pitt returned to power; remains till 1801
1785	Pitt's India Act. Frederic II. forms the Furstenbund
1786	Frederic William II. king of Prussia
1788	Revolt of Netherlands against Joseph's reforms. Recall of Necker, and summoning of States-General



THE COMMERCE of WESTERN EUROPE

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION

THE EFFECTS OF THE SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE DISCOVERIES

THE permission obtained from the Pope by the rulers of Spain and Portugal to extend their power over unknown or untrodden regions was a result of the long-continued war with the Mohammedans, which to the successors of Gregory VII. and Urban II. was a continuation of the Crusade policy of the papacy. The sovereigns of the Iberian Peninsula finally succeeded in driving oversea the enemy who had come upon them in the eighth century.

The Struggles Against the Mohammedans

The bloodshed of 700 years was brought to a close by the conquest of Granada in 1492. It now became necessary to render the regained territory secure by occupying the Mediterranean coast of Africa. In fact, both Spain and Portugal undertook this task, but with the means at their disposal success seemed very uncertain. It was for this reason that Henry the Navigator, who died in 1460, endeavoured to find a new strategic base of operations, as well as new allies and means, to be used against the infidels. Columbus and his patroness, Isabella of Castile, were also inspired by the same thought. Spaniards and Portuguese alike were filled with the idea of making use of the treasures of India and China in their struggle against the Mohammedans. Yet neither Spain nor Portugal was able to carry out its plans in respect to the conquest of the Barbary States.

The Christians were able to capture and hold only single points along the coast, the so-called "presidios." The attacks of Charles V. on Tunis and Algiers were ineffectual, and Sebastian's campaign against Morocco ended in 1578 with a defeat that was decidedly injurious to the future influence of Portugal. The kings of Spain were obliged to defend the interests of their subjects against the Mohammedans in the Eastern Mediterranean also—above all, the commerce of the Catalonians, who, since the time of the Crusades, had been the rivals of the Italians and Provençals in the Levant. Moreover, Sicily had been under the dominion of Aragon for centuries, and Naples became a dependency of Spain in 1504. It was necessary to defend political and economic interests against the followers of Islam in this region also.

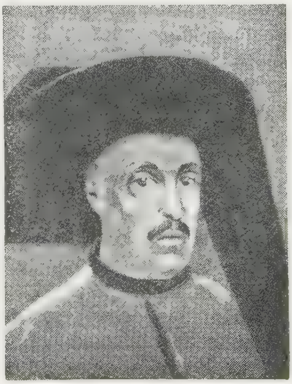
Naples a Dependency of Spain

The Great Empire of the Hapsburgs

Conditions in the Levant had become completely altered since the end of the Crusades. The Byzantine Empire was no longer in existence, and the Mohammedan kingdom of the Turks had arisen in its place. There were no longer any Genoese or Venetian settlements in the Black Sea region. Anatolia was now a Turkish province. Syria and Egypt had been under the dominion of the Sultan of Constantinople since the beginning of the sixteenth century. The sole remains of the colonial empire of Venice in the Eastern Mediterranean were a few islands, constantly threatened, and indeed conquered piecemeal. In addition to Spain and Italy, there was still another region which the Hapsburgs, on whose empire the sun never set, were obliged to defend against the Mohammedans. This was Austria, their hereditary kingdom. To be sure, dexterity and good luck had enabled them in the year 1526 to establish the great union of nations from which the Austro-Hungarian monarchy developed in later times; but, owing to the quarrels of the different ruling factions in the lands of St. Stephen, they were unable to avoid the loss of the greater part of Hungary. It was greatly to the advantage of the Hapsburgs that the protection of German Austria was looked upon as a common German, indeed as a common European, cause. Hence Suleiman II., accustomed as he was to victory, failed to plant the crescent on the walls of Vienna in 1529.

The Crescent's Failure at Vienna

The most important part of the policy of Spain, the repulse of the Turks at the time of their final advance against Christendom, was greatly obstructed owing to the fact that France, under Francis I., was all the while waging a war of self-preservation against the Hapsburgs. Feeling that the existence of his monarchy was threatened by the supremacy of Spanish power, Francis had entered into negotiations with the Porte as early as 1525, when in prison in Madrid. The Franco-Spanish War of 1526–1529, together with the contemporary attacks of Suleiman on Hungary, compelled the Hapsburgs to divide their forces in order to protect themselves on both sides. A few years later, in 1535, Francis I., fully conscious of the gravity of the step, formed an alliance with the Turks. This was the first open union which had ever been entered into by a Christian-Latin power with the followers of the Prophet. The Turks in return put the French king in possession of a Mediterranean fleet.



HENRY THE NAVIGATOR
The fourth son of John I., King of Portugal, he encouraged voyages of discovery, and, at his own expense, fitted out important expeditions. He died in 1460.

The Spaniards were not only prevented from becoming the rulers of the Mediterranean, but, owing to their position as champions of Christianity, were obliged to forfeit the remains of their commerce in the Levant. In this the Catalonians and the city of Barcelona were the greatest sufferers.

The Castilians had nothing to lose in the East, and were looked upon by the other Spaniards as the founders of a world-policy that appeared to be the height of madness. The decline of commerce in the Levant rendered more acute the antagonism between the different parts of the Spanish Empire, which were bound together only by dynastic ties. In the meanwhile France harvested the material fruits of her unchristian alliance with the Mohammedan East. A commercial treaty, drawn up on very similar lines to the old Hanse compacts, and offering a model for later treaties, was concluded in 1535. It was based on the principle of reciprocity as against other powers. The French in the East were to pay the same tolls and taxes that the Turks themselves paid to their government, and vice versa; further, it was agreed that the French should be legally answerable to their own consuls alone, and that they should be permitted to worship according to their own religion in Mohammedan lands. The French flag succeeded to the privileges of the Venetian, and was moreover displayed by all vessels of other nations sailing under French protection. In contrast to the Spaniards, the Venetians did not allow themselves to be driven from their trade with the Levant. As in earlier times, they would now have preferred to slip in between the hostile powers of the West and East; but during the sixteenth century it was necessary for them to be armed and on their guard against both the sultan, who desired to get possession of the remains of their colonies, and the emperor, or, rather, the House of Austria, whose sphere of interest in the plain of the Po and beyond the Adriatic extended dangerously near to the boundaries of the territory subject to Venice. Although the Continental possessions of Venice were likely to draw her into serious complications, without the revenues from these lands she would be unable to provide the troops and ships required for the defence of her position in the East. The false notion that the Oriental commerce of the Venetians came to an end because of the discovery of an ocean route to India, and that trade was wrested from Venice by Portugal, is old and seemingly ineradicable. In reality, Venice continued to carry on traffic with the Levant not only throughout the sixteenth

Eastern Commerce of Venetians

century, but until the beginning of the eighteenth, so that at least seven or eight generations passed before the commerce in question entirely lost its earlier importance. Had the Venetians been as stubborn as the Hanseatics, there is no doubt that they would have lost their Oriental trade much earlier than they did.

Business Enterprise of Venice

When they saw that Alexandria was declining for lack of an import trade, because the Portuguese had closed up the entrance to the Red Sea, they did not hesitate for a moment to desert the former mistress of the Eastern Mediterranean, and transferred their headquarters to Aleppo, for the reason that the Syrian city had once more become a market for the products of Asia. Arabs, Persians, and Armenians brought merchandise thither from India; for the Portuguese, much as they wished to do so, had not succeeded either in closing the Persian Gulf permanently, in blocking up the overland routes, or in driving the Arabs from the Indian Ocean. They had indeed been successful in rendering the old commercial routes more difficult of access, but they had by no means destroyed them. The fate of Venetian trade in the East did not lie in the hands of the Portuguese, but depended upon the moods, peaceful or warlike, of the sultan. How capable the Venetians were of adapting themselves to adverse circumstances was shown by the fact that they struck out an entirely new commercial route, and one, moreover, for which the chief instrument of their trade, their mercantile marine, was practically useless; this was the caravan road that led diagonally across the Balkan Peninsula from Constantinople to Spalato. All wares that did not find purchasers in the last-named city—where trade was entirely in the hands of Venetian merchants—were sent to the capital by ship. Thus Venice was still able to supply her old customers outside of Italy with merchandise from the Orient, in spite of Lisbon and Antwerp, although, to her great regret, she was not able entirely to do away with their competition.

Both before and after the period of discoveries the Upper Germans were the most reliable customers of the Venetians. It was an advantage to the South German merchant, now reaching out more vigorously than ever in all directions, that, in spite of the south-east passage to India, the Portuguese and the Netherlanders were unable to monopolise the entire trade in Asiatic products. The Germans had their choice of Venice, Lisbon, and Antwerp. There was no reason why they should neglect Venice; indeed, there was a far better market for the sale of German products there than in the newly-established commercial centres of the West.

Italy's Domination of Europe

How was it, then, that Venice could have so suddenly, as the traditional formula postulates, lost her commanding position in the world's trade? Even granting that the Orient had in reality been hermetically sealed by the Portuguese and Turks, this would not have been sufficient to destroy the trade of Venice, of which one of the chief supports was her domestic industry. During the sixteenth century, the height of the Renaissance, and until late in the seventeenth, Italy dominated the artistic taste of all Europe.

Venetians Retire from Competition

The commercial language, customs, and methods of Italians became widely diffused over Northern and Western Europe for the first time in the sixteenth century. Indeed, the discoveries through which the commerce of the Apennine Peninsula is said to have been destroyed actually contributed, if not to an increase in the commercial power of Italy, at least to an enlargement in its area of distribution; for Venetian and Genoese importers were among the very first to supply Seville and Lisbon with the merchandise that was sent out to the Transatlantic possessions in accordance with the Spanish and Portuguese system of colonisation. The older commercial races, the Italians and the Germans, had no reason for fearing the Spaniards and Portuguese; the English and the Netherlanders were far more dangerous rivals. It was in the North, along the line that divided Central from Northern European commerce that the Venetians were first compelled to retire from competition. About the year 1560 they suspended the regular sea voyages which they had been in the habit of making to the Low Countries and the British Isles ever since the year 1318, while, on the other hand, English and Dutch navigators had become constant visitors to the Mediterranean.

There can be no doubt that the centre of gravity of the world's commerce gradually swung westward to the Atlantic coast during the course of the sixteenth century, yet without bringing with it any sudden destruction to German or Italian trade. Both Germany and Italy stretched forth their tentacles over the Iberian Peninsula and the newly developing centres of the world's trade. Adaptation to altered circumstances was now possible, inasmuch as the old and clumsy method of barter had in a large degree been superseded by the use of money and credit; consequently, geographical displacements of trade were no longer of any great consequence.

Wonders of the New World

The New World proffered her peculiar flora and fauna to the conquistadores of the sixteenth century in their entire tropical profusion. The existence of a strange race of human beings who lived in other moral conditions was also of consequence to the masters of the new hemisphere, although phenomena of nature and civilisation were of but minor interest to men whose activities were almost exclusively limited to the obtaining of gold.

However, it was at least necessary to settle in the new continent, and to look at it as a territory for residence and subsistence. Had Europe, or even Spain, suffered from excess of population during the sixteenth century, the New World would have been from the very first what it really became only during the nineteenth century—a region of expansion for such civilised nations of the world as are lacking either in land or in means of subsistence. Since at that time Europe, and especially Spain, had too few rather than too many inhabitants, the New World was at the beginning an unlimited arena for the deeds of adventurers, a fair field for missionaries eager to make converts, and a tremendous crown demesne for the government, which bore and continued to bear the expenses of discovery and conquest, and naturally, according to the principles of government which then prevailed, desired an immediate reimbursement of its outlay.

The Early Settlers in America

But although emigration from Europe to America did not at first assume any considerable proportions, sporadic settlements were made by eager, enterprising, and highly educated leaders, lay and ecclesiastical, who sowed the seeds of Mediterranean culture in the New World, and, still remaining Europeans, founded that system of hemispheric division of production and distribution which was the keystone of commercial policy for more than two centuries. The transmission of European civilisation to America, so beneficial to both hemispheres, was dependent on the relations of the colonists to the native races, who were not thickly settled although sometimes highly developed. Had the methods of the conquistadores been adopted, the red race would soon have been annihilated.

However, the influence of Church and State tended to curb the unscrupulous egoism of colonial, mining, and commercial interests. As soon as ecclesiastical and political government took the place of previous anarchy, the native races could at least be rescued from extirpation, although their civilisation was allowed to drift away to destruction because of its heathen origin. Only the more barbarous of the Indians retreated beyond the sphere of European influence, seeking refuge in the forests and deserts. Their civilised brethren did not shrink from the consequences of association with the European intruders; marriage between Europeans and Indian women also contributed towards the establishment of friendly relations. In this way a race of half-breeds, or Mestizos, arose among the pure-blooded European and Indian peoples.

What the New World Received from the Old

The Old World was far superior to the New with regard to the possession of domestic animals. The llama, the vicuña, and a few varieties of birds were all that America had to offer to European settlers. The great wealth of the new continent in game was not taken into consideration at all by the Spanish and Portuguese colonists. Since practically all the domestic animals of the New World are of Old World origin, first having been imported from Spain or elsewhere—this applying not only to the tame but also to the wild cattle and horses—it follows that the exchange of civilisation favoured America from a zoological quite as much as it had from an anthropological point of view.

Although America was more fortunately situated in regard to flora than to fauna, nevertheless the New World received from the Old more than it gave in the shape of useful plants. Such American products as maize, tobacco, potatoes, and Spanish pepper can, indeed, be cultivated in the more temperate regions of the Old World. In like manner the pineapple, aloe, and cactus have been introduced into the sub-tropical zones; and cocoa and vanilla, together with some medicinal plants, flourish in the tropics of the Eastern Hemisphere. Even if we add to these American dye-woods and timber, the vegetable products that have been transplanted from the New World to the Old fall a long way short both in number and in importance of the total of species that have crossed the Atlantic in the other direction; in fact, the various kinds of grain, wheat, barley, oats, and rye are of themselves sufficient to equalise the balance.

It would take too long to enumerate all the varieties of fruits and vegetables, fibrous plants and herbs used for dyeing, which have been exported across the ocean from the three older continents, and have been found to thrive well in North and South America. To these, sugar-cane and coffee must also be added. Even the two chief varieties of cotton cultivated in America are of Old World origin.

Trade between Europe and America

Plants and animals were at first exported across the ocean from one hemisphere to the other without much attention being paid to them. Perhaps centuries passed before their useful qualities were discovered and properly valued—the potato, for example. During the first century or century and a half after the discovery, products of the animal and vegetable kingdoms played a very small part in the traffic between Europe and America. As yet there was nothing from either to be sent back to Europe as a return cargo with which to pay for the importations of European industrial products. Even the quantity of West Indian sugar sent to Europe in addition to dye-woods and drugs from Central and South America seems not to have been large; the use of sugar itself was yet very limited. In general, none of the products which in later times received the name of "colonial wares" had yet become well known as luxuries. Not until the seventeenth century did the manner of life of Europeans alter to such a degree as to favour trade in such products.

Nevertheless, permanent settlements were soon established in America by European immigrants, who required regular importations of the products of Old World industry, for they by no means fell to the level of self-sufficing barbarism. Next in importance to the possession of an unlimited area for residence and subsistence, the occurrence of the precious metals was the foundation of the being and prosperity of the Spanish-American colonies. Ever since the sixteenth century the gold and silver of the New World have exerted a powerful influence on the economic and political history of Europe.

America's First Shipment of Bullion

Although the production of the precious metals in America can be expressed in approximate figures, scholars have vainly endeavoured to discover the quantity of gold and silver on hand in Europe previous to the year 1500, when bullion was first shipped across the Atlantic. Perhaps £125,000,000 worth is not too high an estimate. However, there are other facts which, in addition to being firmly established, are of far more importance to the history of European possession and coinage of the precious metals. During the Middle Ages silver was the chief medium of exchange, but, owing to the untrustworthiness of silver money, ever since the middle of the thirteenth century wholesale trade had become accustomed to the use of the gold currency which had been employed for many years back in the Levant, within the Byzantine as well as the Mohammedan sphere of civilisation. The Florentine florins and the Venetian ducats, or sequins, served as models for the gold pieces of the Rhineland, France, and Hungary. The smallness of the output of gold in Europe prevented a further extension of the use of a gold coinage.

On the other hand, the use of silver greatly increased during the fifteenth century, and rose still more rapidly during the sixteenth. Over-production of silver was rendered impossible, owing to the fact that even in classic times there was a constant flow of money, especially of silver, into Eastern Asia; this explains the scarcity and high value of money, as well as the favourable ratio maintained by silver to gold. Apart from some temporary

The Age of Silver

fluctuations at the end of the fifteenth century the ratio of value of gold and silver was 11½ : 1. During the course of the sixteenth century the effects of the production of the precious metals in America were distinctly felt in Europe. Owing to the continued preponderance of silver, the ratio gradually became more and more favourable to gold, standing at 15 : 1 from about 1630–40; and this ratio was maintained with but few interruptions until 1874, when 16 : 1 was exceeded, and a rapid fall in the price of silver began. The extraordinary increase in the supply of precious metals during the sixteenth century was by no means an unmixed blessing from an economic point of view. The joint production of precious metals in Europe and America between 1493 and 1600 amounted probably to about £77,000,000 in gold and over £175,000,000 in silver—a total of more than £250,000,000. The New World remained behind the Old in the production of the precious metals until 1544; this was due to the richness of the mines in the Tyrol, Bohemia, and Saxony, as well as to the superior methods of mining and extraction employed in Europe. But when the silver mines of Potosi in Peru were discovered in 1545, and those of Zacatecas and Guanajuato in Mexico in 1548, when German miners were sent to America, and one of them, whose name is unknown, invented the method of extracting silver from quartz by the use of mercury, the production of America soon surpassed that of the Old World, and began to cause a fall in the value of the precious metals.

America's Silver Production

Although the exact quantity of silver and gold shipped from America to Europe is not known, one can at least form some idea of the increase from estimates of the total supply of the precious metals in Europe at different periods. Thus, if the supply in 1493 is reckoned at about £125,000,000, and that in 1600 at £325,000,000, the increase during the sixteenth century must have amounted approximately to £200,000,000.

With a constant increase in the supply of the precious metals, the purchasing power of money must sink, just as increase in the supply of any commodity is apt to cause a fall in its value, once the normal demand is satisfied; it follows that a fall in the value of money is attended by a rise in prices of all other commodities. A general rise in prices must be felt by all classes of society, especially in cases where there is no increase of income to correspond with the decrease in the purchasing power of money. Experience shows that, as a rule, men who are dependent upon wages and salaries for their support are not able—certainly not immediately—to increase their incomes proportionately to the increased cost of necessities of life. Hence, a crisis in prices is usually accompanied by economic phenomena, which are especially destructive to the welfare of the poorer classes. Workmen who received their pay in currency were better off during the fifteenth century, when wages were relatively high, than during the sixteenth, when, in addition to a fall in wages, there was a decrease in the purchasing power of money; thus, the proletariat grew in numbers in spite, rather than in consequence, of the opening of the treasures of the New World. The rise in the prices of commodities had also a depressing effect upon incomes derived from interest or rent. On the other hand, producers or dealers who were successful in bringing about an advance in prices were able to add to their wealth without the slightest exercise of labour.

Fall in the Value of Money

As has been proved by thousands of independent statements, civilised Europe underwent an economic crisis during the sixteenth century. The effects of the fall in the value of money and the general advance in the prices of commodities were felt in all directions—earlier in the West than in the East—and this state of affairs continued until well into the seventeenth century. Conditions did not change until about 1650, when a slight reaction set in, and not until the beginning of the eighteenth century was there another steady advance of prices.

Economic Crisis in Europe

The customary term, "revolution in prices," is certainly very inappropriate for the designation of movements that are so slow as almost to remind us of the gradual risings and fallings of continents. Only the attempts of merchants to effect a rise artificially, and the clumsy financial policy of certain politicians, have here and there given to these slowly consummating crises the character of revolutionary movements.

By turning the Cape of Good Hope, the Portuguese discovered an ocean route to India, the goal which the Spaniards under Columbus had so unsuccessfully endeavoured to attain. They set foot in a region with which Europe had been engaged in indirect trade for thousands of years, a densely populated country, abounding in its own peculiar products, possessed of its own independent civilisation, the very nucleus of the world's commerce. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of India had no wish to dominate the world's trade, and willingly placed their commerce in the hands of foreigners, through whose activities a market was secured that extended over the broadest spheres of lands and peoples. The Arabs were the masters of the intermediate trade with the coasts of the Indian Ocean, and from their hands the Europeans of the Mediterranean region, the Venetians leading, received the luxuries of India, which then passed through a third, fourth, and perhaps twentieth hand, each exchange aiding the merchants of the Latin and, for a long time, the Byzantine sphere of civilisation to secure the commercial supremacy enjoyed by them for so many years. Eastern Asia no less than Western Europe depended upon India for a large part of its commerce, which extended even beyond Japan, losing itself at an indeterminable distance among the islands of the Pacific. The Portuguese were good seamen and expert in war. Like the Spaniards, they were old enemies of the Mohammedans, whom they had already victoriously followed into North Africa, and now encountered once more in the world of the Indian Ocean. They took possession of the hemisphere that had been granted them by the Pope, nominally, rather than in reality; for a small, sparsely populated country like Portugal could think neither of colonisation nor of any serious effort to subjugate the native inhabitants.

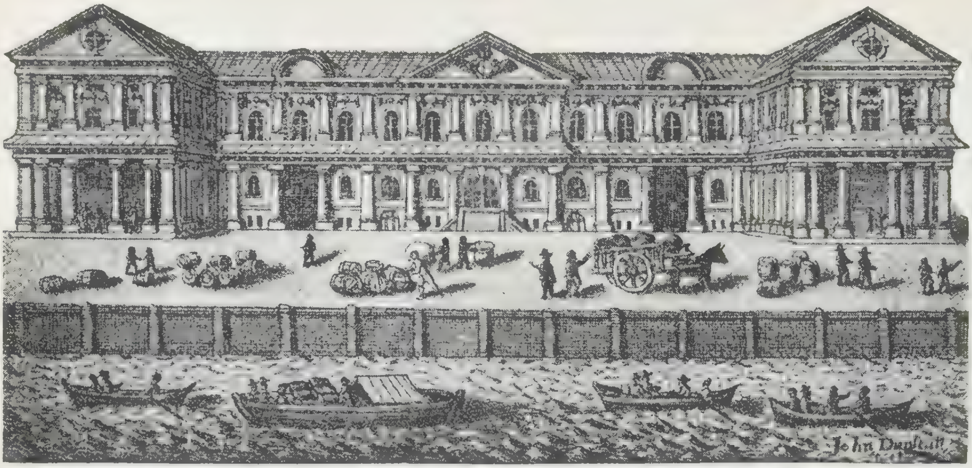
The Pope's Grant to Portugal

However, the hostile attitude of the Arabs rendered it necessary for the Portuguese to occupy and fortify certain points along the coast. In fact, the possessions of Portugal both in Asia and in Africa have never been more than coast settlements. The two objects which Portugal set out to attain—both far beyond her power—were the monopoly of the spice trade in Europe, and the driving away of Asiatic competitors, who acted as middlemen in the commerce with European nations. Together with the spice trade at first hand, the Portuguese carried on traffic in negroes, which had grown to considerable proportions since the introduction of slavery into Spanish America; the gold of West Africa was also a source of gain. Although the undertakings of the Portuguese were at first purely mercantile enterprises, in which no greater expenditure for materials of war had been entailed than in the case of the ordinary traffic in the Mediterranean in later times, the Portuguese Crown was obliged to make great military preparations, of which the expense increased from year to year. Like the Spanish, the Portuguese colonial trade was placed under strict state supervision and all financial affairs organised, nationalised, and put under crown control. A direct participation of foreigners, once permitted, was forbidden for the future.

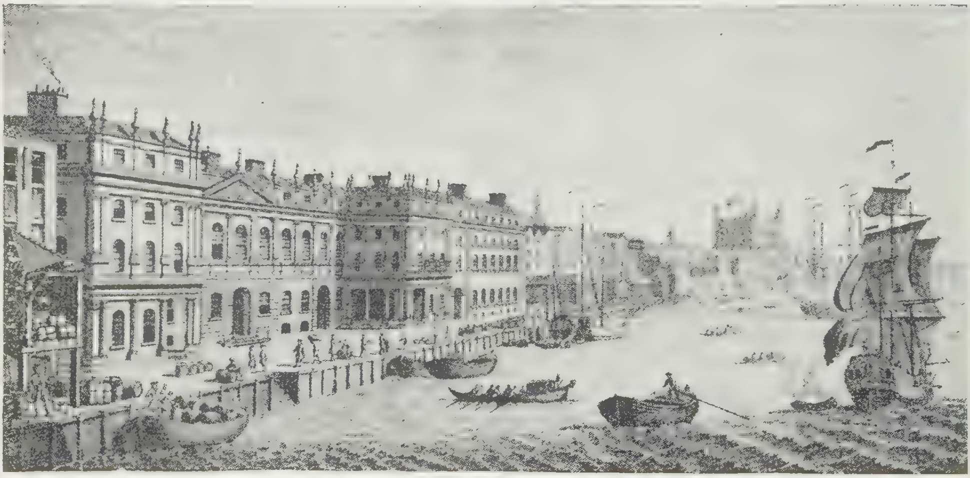
Sources of Portuguese Profit

King Manuel the Great concentrated the East Indian trade in the Casa da India at Lisbon, and finally declared it to be an exclusive right of the crown. Cargoes of spices had already been sent to England and to the Netherlands; a permanent royal depôt was now established at Antwerp. Once more the commerce of Western Europe possessed two centres in Antwerp and Lisbon. It was not long before Italian, Upper German, Spanish, and French merchants took up their quarters in the latter city. When the crown handed over the rights of monopoly in the Indian trade to farmers-general, the capitalists of Europe competed for access to this fountain of wealth. Lisbon was also an important centre of the trade in grain and in shipbuilding materials; North and South German merchants of Danzig as well as of Augsburg shared in delivering the raw products.

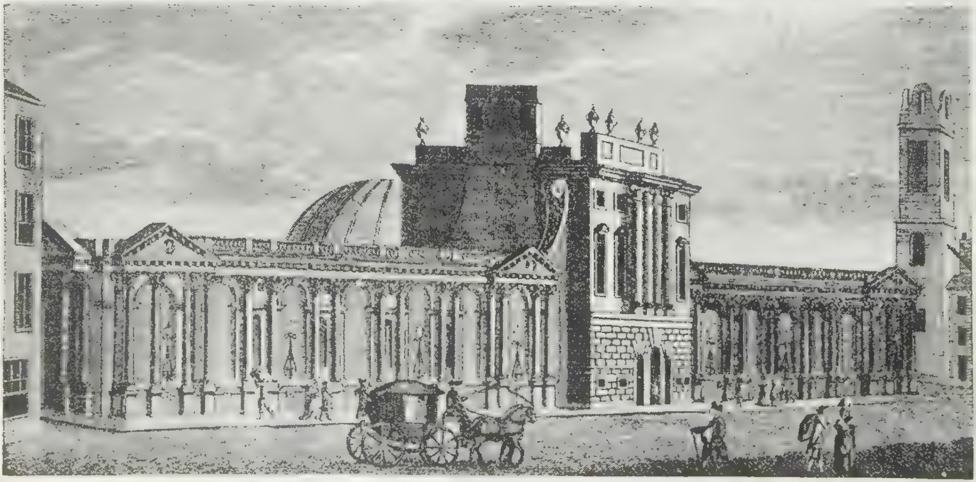
India the Fountain of Wealth



THE CUSTOMS HOUSE AS BUILT BY WREN AFTER THE GREAT FIRE OF 1666



THE CUSTOMS HOUSE IN 1753, SHOWING THE TOWER OF LONDON IN THE DISTANCE



THE BANK OF ENGLAND. THE BUILDING OF WHICH BEGAN IN 1734

NOTABLE COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS OF OLD LONDON

INTERNATIONAL CAPITALISM

MERCHANT PRINCES AND KINGS OF FINANCE

ORIGINS OF THE GREAT BANKS & EXCHANGES

ONE of the most significant features of the economic life of the sixteenth century was the introduction of Italian and Upper German capital into the sphere of Spanish and Portuguese oceanic trade. However, the finances of the sixteenth century, like those of all other times, were not limited to transactions founded on mere exchange of goods. Whether they would or not, merchants were forced beyond the bounds of commercial affairs and drawn into the currents of national policies, of which money, particularly ready money, is an indispensable factor. As yet, the machinery of European states was not well adapted to the requirements of an age already based on financial principles.

The Source of the State Revenues

The remains of ancient feudal institutions, founded on a more primitive economic system, were everywhere to be seen. Thus a large part of the state revenues came from the natural products of crown lands; there was no system of officials as yet sufficiently developed to be able quickly to raise taxes in the form of money and to accumulate them in a central treasury. For all grants of money the Crown was dependent on the estates of the realm, which were acquainted only with their own narrow class interests. But the courts lived in an atmosphere of far-reaching national and world policy.

It cost money, however, to carry out any policy, whether of peace or of war, especially since regiments of mercenaries, and in some cases standing armies, had come into use in place of the old feudal levies. Governments not only looked about for new sources of income, but also made whatever use they could of those who already possessed money; and sovereigns of the sixteenth century, the period when royal power reached its height, were as little backward in the first respect as in the second. Financiers and merchant princes were offered unbounded privileges in return for financial services, and one loan was apt to draw on ten or a dozen others in its train.

Dangers of the Large Capitalists

The modern conception of great powers, which arose at the end of the fifteenth century through the French invasions of Italy and the development of the universal monarchy of the Hapsburgs, created the modern centralised state, with its military and financial systems, out of the loosely bound confederation of more or less independent units—the state of the Middle Ages—and to this effect employed capital, so far as it was already in existence and organised, as its tool. At the same time the large capitalists were exposed to dangers they would scarcely have survived but for their private affairs being linked together with state interests.

Evolution of Commercial Pursuits

It is difficult to conceive that the events of a whole period of the world's history could have been so intimately connected with mercantile interests, particularly the affairs of an age which religious, dynastic, and constitutional ideals seemed so to dominate; not only seemed—for Reformation and counter-Reformation, the duel between the Houses of Hapsburg and Valois, and the war for the independence of the United Netherlands, arose from no mere imaginary motives: their sources must have reached to the very depths of the human soul, or at least have extended far below the level of self-deception. Before the most powerful of the merchant princes of the sixteenth century, the Augsburgers and Nürembergers, were compelled by the natural development of economic forces and the irresistible tendency of the times to turn from dealings in tangible commodities to speculation, to banking and exchange, and finally to purely financial pursuits. The Italians had already passed through all these transition states, and had acquired an astonishing aptitude in all branches of commerce. Italian money-changers, Lombards and Tuscans, followed the expansion of Italian trade into all countries. They bought and sold the precious metals, either coined or in bullion, bills of exchange, and promissory notes; they negotiated loans for merchants, attended to the financial affairs of the Roman Curia, and loaned vast sums to monarchs.

The Prosperous Days of Money-Lending

Their activities developed an international character, and they were therefore constantly obliged to struggle against the endeavours of the merchants of various states who sought to nationalise the business of money-lending. This the French temporarily succeeded in doing in the fifteenth century, at the time when the Florentine money-lenders were at the height of their prosperity.

A citizen of Bourges, Jacques Cœur, the foremost banker of his age, established connections with the Government, and delivered it from the hands of the international capitalists. But after the fall of this great financier France once more became dependent on the Italians in all matters concerning banking, exchange, and loans. The French kings of the sixteenth century favoured the Florentines, for political reasons, while, on the other hand, the Hapsburgs turned to the Genoese.

The Upper German merchants also were drawn into international finance through their business connections with the House of Hapsburg. A rapid rise, an overwhelming development of power, and a lamentable fall were the stages passed through by German wealth in less than a century. Long before the operations in banking and credit of the merchant princes of Upper Germany had attained full sway the resentment of the German people had been aroused in full measure; complaints were showered upon the diet, and the official spokesmen of the nation, Martin Luther among them, thundered against all doubtful commercial dealings and against usury. The ecclesiastical law against the taking of interest on loans was still everywhere in force. The delusion of a just, and therefore unalterable, price for every sort of commodity still dominated the economic thought of the age. When the Roman Catholic Church adopted a milder attitude towards the practice of usury the Protestants offered violent opposition, and thus both Catholics and Protestants were soon compelled to join hands with the general public in their hostility against mercantile life and affairs. The economic policy which had arisen in the small city communities of the Middle Ages—a policy of low prices, of small dealers and consumers, opposed not only to capitalism but to competition—was likewise completely in harmony with the ecclesiastical position.

Luther's Denunciation of Usury

It is not surprising that the masses of the populations of cities were stirred to their very depths when they beheld speculators arising in their midst, who advanced prices and carried on their financial operations to a practically unlimited extent. The most dangerous phenomenon of all appeared to be the combination of the already all-powerful single houses into syndicates and rings. In order to diminish the risks encountered in their speculations, capitalists united into limited liability companies that could be easily dissolved, and the gains divided in proportion to the original contributions as soon as their original object had been attained. Such associations were frequently able to create a local monopoly in articles of commerce—spices or metals, for example—and sometimes succeeded in influencing prices even in the world markets. However it may have come about, it is at least certain that the copper and pepper monopolies of the time shortly before the outbreak of the great social revolution—the Peasants' War—of 1525 served the popular agitators as a means for awakening the indignation of the populace—a means that was only the more efficacious the less the proletarians were able to understand such complicated matters.

Revolt of the Peasants

Nevertheless, it is remarkable how soon the non-mercantile classes became reconciled to the new method of making money without labour, which they had at first so violently opposed. Just as during the nineteenth century the commercial crises have neither assumed great proportions nor caused vast desolation until the private capital of the middle and lower classes has been placed in the hands of stock-jobbers, so was it at the time of the pepper rings. Innumerable small capitalists, whose one idea was the possibility of gain, and who

MONEY-LENDER TO KINGS JACOB FUGGER'S GENEROSITY TO THE EMPEROR CHARLES V

The Fugger family, established in 1367, became famous for their business enterprise. By their loans of money to the Emperors Maximilian and Charles V great schemes of national development were rendered possible, and the latter monarch showed his appreciation of these services by making Jacob Fugger's nephews counts of the empire. Here the able financier is seen destroying the documentary evidence of Charles V.'s monetary indebtedness to him, the emperor sitting by, apparently astonished at this great generosity.

From the painting by Karl Becker, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

not infrequently lost the whole of their little fortunes when the undertaking collapsed, became members of the associations and companies of the sixteenth century—a phenomenon which we have seen repeated in our own time in the speculations on the exchanges. Thus even peasants had a share in the dealings of the Höchstetters of Augsburg, and when the leading firm failed, lost their scanty savings. Had it not been for supplies furnished by small sources, the great masses of capital with which commercial houses conducted their affairs could never have been heaped together.

The Great House of the Fuggers

How German capital, and, in fact, all capital that was employed in international commercial operations, came to find itself upon the plane down which it glided during the course of the sixteenth century may be learned from the history of the Fuggers, the first mercantile house of the age.

In 1367 the founder of the family, Hans Fugger, a weaver of fustian, settled in Augsburg and attained to modest prosperity. His sons soon became distinguished wholesale merchants, and his grandson, Jacob II., who died in 1526, made the house famous throughout the world. By furnishing the equipment for the retinue of Emperor Frederic III. at the time of his meeting with Charles the Bold, Jacob Fugger opened relations with the House of Hapsburg, which was just then beginning to aspire to the position of a power of the first rank. This connection led to results important to both families. Archduke Sigismund of the Tyrol granted to the Fuggers, for the repayment of a loan, the yield of the Tyrolese silver mines.

Henceforth they devoted themselves to the mining operations, to which the rapid growth of their fortune was due. The copper mines at Neusohl in Hungary were also acquired by the house, which was now able to extend its trade as far as Danzig and Antwerp, and even to control the copper market of Venice. The Fuggers also journeyed to Lisbon, where they established a depôt for the spice trade shortly after preparations had been completed for the first East Indian expedition of the Portuguese. They shared in the expenses of the great expedition of 1505, contributing, together with other Upper Germans, the sum total of 36,000 ducats. After the Indian-Portuguese trade was placed under the control of the Crown, they repeatedly received large quantities of spices, mostly as payments on loans at high interest to the Portuguese Government.

East Indian Expedition of the Portuguese

But at the beginning of the sixteenth century, both in Germany and in Italy, dealings in commodities had ceased to form the chief business of the merchant princes, who now occupied themselves mainly with the affairs of the money markets, and devoted a large part of their energy to contracting loans for the various governments. By the second decade of the century of the Reformation the decision of the most important questions in the world's history lay in the hands of merchants. The appearance of Luther in the year 1517, and the election of Charles V. as Emperor of Germany in 1519, were both connected in a most extraordinary manner with the affairs of the house of Fugger.

As early as 1500 the Fuggers possessed a depôt in Rome, where they executed commissions entrusted to them by the Pope and other ecclesiastical dignitaries. Albert of Brandenburg, who had been elected Archbishop of Mainz in 1517, borrowed 21,000 ducats from the house in order to meet the expenses connected by the Curia with the bestowal of the pallium; he also received, on the payment of 10,000 ducats—also loaned by the Fuggers—the position of commissary-general for Saxony of the jubilee proclaimed by Leo X. The archbishop appointed priests to collect the money from the vendors of indulgences, and to hand it over to the agents of the Fuggers, who accompanied them. One half of the amount received by the agents was forwarded to Augsburg towards payment of the archiepiscopal debt; the other half was sent to Rome. It was over this business that Luther and Tetzel were destined finally to fall out. The flow of money to Rome had been for many years a matter of great annoyance to Germany, and the recently introduced traffic in indulgences furnished a welcome opportunity for delivering a simultaneous blow to the papacy and the great commercial syndicates.

The Fuggers as Princely Money-Lenders

Although the Fuggers were only indirectly involved in the causes which led to the revolution in the Church, it was certainly their money that procured the victory of Charles V. over his competitor, Francis I., at the election of an emperor, following the death of Maximilian I., in 1519. All such elections were nothing

DUTCH FAIR OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: A ROYAL PARTY VISITING THE ANNUAL MARKET AT RYSWICK more or less than complicated acts of bribery, the decision being inevitably determined by the amounts expended. The security offered by the Fuggers for the Spanish candidate put an end to the wavering of the electoral princes, for Francis I. was unable to obtain equally reliable guarantees. Of the 850,000 golden florins required by Charles V., the Fuggers supplied 543,000, the Welsers 143,000, and the Italians the rest. From this time forth the merchant princes themselves belonged to their puppets, body and soul; for it was necessary to retain sovereigns on their thrones if any return from the money already advanced, but not yet repaid, was to be expected. Moreover, the Fuggers were still less able to escape from bondage, inasmuch as they were convinced partisans of the Hapsburgs and of their Roman Catholic policy.

The Fuggers on the Side of the Hapsburgs

After the election of Charles V., in 1519, Spain became the centre of gravity for the house of Fugger, the creditors of the emperor-king having been assigned shares in the national income. "The Spanish business" absorbed the entire strength of the firm, and finally ruined the greatest mercantile establishment of the age.

Among the enterprises of the Fuggers in Spain, the leasing of the quicksilver mines at Almaden, of great value ever since the discovery of the use of mercury in extracting silver and gold, may be mentioned. German miners were sent by the Fuggers to Spain, and often to America. Inasmuch as the chief creditors of the Government were constantly obliged to grant new loans to the Crown in order to secure their old claims, they were often referred to the "silver fleets" returning from the New World and in part laden with the imperial "quinto," the 20 per cent. share of the Crown. Since the exportation of the precious metals from Spain was forbidden by law, it became necessary for the Fuggers and their compatriots to obtain special licences that they might be able to place their capital wherever it was most needed. Even the Government was obliged to maintain the strictest secrecy in regard to this matter, or the Spaniards would have forcibly prevented the removal of gold from the country. In this manner the stream of precious metal from America flowed on past Spain into the treasuries of the capitalists, who had also succeeded in drawing to themselves an additional share of the bullion of the New World through the importation of commodities into the as yet industrially undeveloped continent. The Fuggers, however, took but little part in the latter activity; their attention was already sufficiently occupied with the sale of the mining and natural products of the Crown possessions that had been yielded to them as pledges.

German Miners in Spain

The Fuggers also maintained permanent financial relations with the German line of the House of Hapsburg. As Ferdinand I. had vast domains in Naples, his chief creditors extended their sphere of activity over the southern part of Italy. The Government of the Spanish Netherlands also constantly availed itself of the assistance of Upper German and Italian capitalists.

After the death of Jacob II. the house of Fugger reached the zenith of its power and wealth under the guidance of his nephew, Anton (1526–1560). It was fortunate for the family that it had become a tradition not to divide the wealth of the various members, but to keep it altogether in one mass, governing it from a central point, in strict monarchical fashion. Although it is true that the relatives co-operated with the head of the family, the most important affairs of the house were, as a rule, under the exclusive control of a single individual, who transacted business even in the most distant countries by means of his factors and agents. Augsburg was the residence of these princes of European finance. Not until after the middle of the sixteenth century did the family ties begin to loosen. Single members then withdrew their money from the firm, and thus rendered it necessary for the house to depart from one of its most firmly established principles—that is to say, if possible, never to put any other capital, except that belonging to the family, into an undertaking. The more the use of outside capital increased towards the end of the century, the more difficult the position of the house became, especially during critical times.

Princes of European Finance

The turn in the fortunes of the firm arrived during the period of its greatest prosperity, and was brought about by the Schmalcaldic War, 1546–1547. Anton Fugger, who already at that time had serious thoughts of winding up the affairs of the house, must have had an instinctive presentiment of the inevitable end;

however, he was no longer able to do as he wished, bound as he was by bands of iron to the Hapsburgs. To hold his own against the Protestant party in Augsburg it was necessary for him to assist the Catholics to victory. And when Charles V. fled before Maurice of Saxony to Villach the Fuggers were obliged to come to his aid with 400,000 ducats—an unheard-of sum at the time—in order not to lose for ever the entire amount owed them by both branches of the Hapsburg family.

So things went on until the outbreak of the first great financial crisis, in the year 1557; this was followed by a protracted cessation of business. The age of decline had begun, not only for the Fuggers, but for all the great capitalists of Europe. The first period of international financial sovereignty was drawing to a close, soon to give place to a national, or at least territorial, economic and financial policy, which was to continue until the French Revolution and the great wars at the beginning of the nineteenth century prepared the way for the rise of new international financial powers.

Many years passed after the first signs of warning in the year 1557 before the final bankruptcy came. After the death of Anton Fugger, in 1560, the control of the house passed into the hands of Hans Jacob, his nephew, a well-educated, talented man, with a love for the fine arts, but lacking in the true spirit of commerce, who after a few years resigned his position in favour of the sons of Anton, "Marx Fugger and Brothers." The realty of the family was divided and the business in merchandise brought to a close. Thus, the Spanish affairs remained the only enterprise of the house, which rendered necessary constant communication with Antwerp, the most important exchange of Europe. However, the Spanish Government was in such a bad way financially that it suspended payment at the end of periods averaging twenty years each, and resorted to compulsory settlements with its creditors.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE BEAUTIFUL TOWN OF REGENSBURG Photochrome

Although the Fuggers were favoured more than other creditors of the state, they were, nevertheless, forced to assent to whatever conditions were imposed upon them. The most burdensome of all was the acceptance of certificates of credit. As a result they did not receive their loans back at full value, but in the shape of interest-bearing, unredeemable, "perpetual" debenture bonds that immediately sank below par value, and consequently could not be converted into specie without loss. Since the bankers in turn paid their creditors and those who had entrusted money to their keeping in debenture bonds of the same description, the result was a miserable series of lawsuits, followed by the absolute ruin, first, of the credit of Spain, and then of that of the bankers. The position of the Fuggers became unbearable after the accession of Philip IV. (1621–1665); they were now treated with disfavour by the all-powerful Prime Minister, Olivarez, notwithstanding the fact that in earlier times they had fared far better than the other German capitalists, on account of their undeniable services. They were forced to provide the sum of 50,000 ducats monthly for the expenses of the court, in return for which they received worthless assignments on the taxes.

Evil Times for the Fuggers

After 1630 the house was many times compelled to delay its payments, and in 1637 the Spanish affairs of the Fuggers were placed in the hands of creditors, for the most part Genoese. The deficit amounted to over half a million ducats, despite the fact that the claims on the Spanish Crown, which were as good as worthless, had been included among the assets. "The total loss," says Ehrenberg, "sustained by the Fuggers through their dealings with the Hapsburgs up to the middle of the seventeenth century could not have amounted to less than 8,000,000 gulden, Rhenish. It would not be far from the truth to say that the bulk of the earnings of the firm during its century of activity disappeared in this way alone."

Nor did the other South German mercantile houses which had ventured into the sphere of international finance fare much better than the Fuggers. The Höchstetters, Paumgartners, Welsers, Seilers, Neidharts, Manlichs, Rems, Haugs, and Herwarts, all of Augsburg, were, every one of them, obliged to suspend payment in the course of the sixteenth century, for the most part during the critical years 1550–1570. The Höchstetters, "the most hated monopolists of their age," were the first to fail—in 1529. The Welsers succeeded for many years in maintaining a position among the Upper German firms second only to the Fuggers. They were divided into two branches, one in Nüremberg and the other in Augsburg; the former house wound up its affairs in 1560. Bartholomew Welser, the first and only German who made an attempt to secure territory in the New World, thereby for a short time arousing hopes of German colonial possessions in America, was a member of the Augsburg branch of the family. In contrast to the Fuggers, who were so strongly inclined in favour of the Hapsburgs, the Welsers maintained a neutral position among the contending parties, and even entered into financial negotiations with the French Government, thereby suffering not only in consequence of the bankruptcy of Spain, but also on account of the failure of the national finances of France in 1557. Their credit, however, remained unimpaired, and subsequently the firm was even able to contract loans for the English Crown. The affairs of the house did not begin to deteriorate until the end of the century, but in 1614 the Welsers were bankrupt.

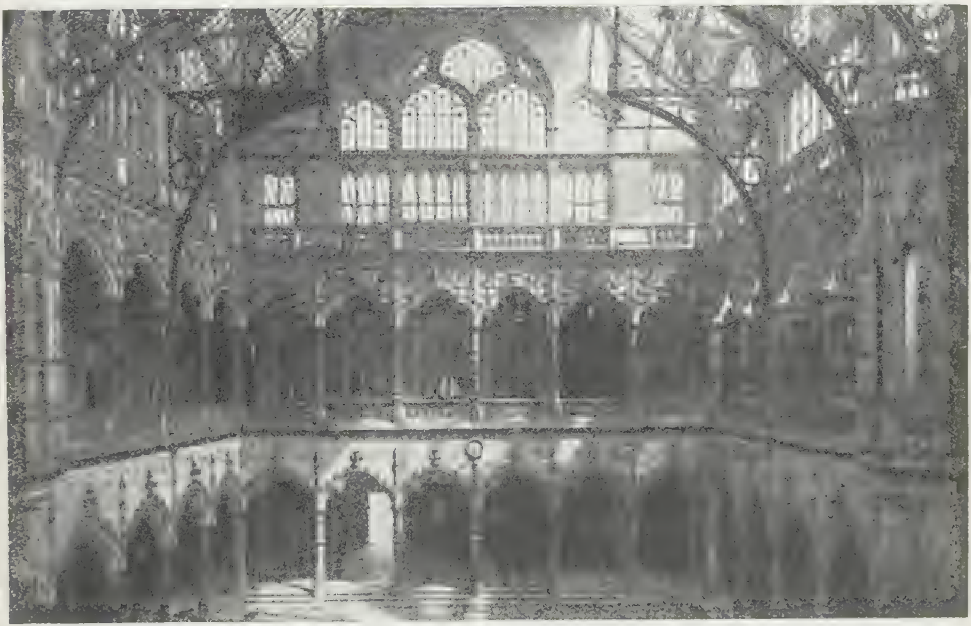
Collapse of Financial Houses

The Tuchers of Nüremberg, another great business house of the century, adopted the principle of never on any account permitting themselves to become entangled in the financial affairs of sovereigns or princes; hence they escaped the crises of the seventeenth century unscathed. The Imholfs, another large firm involved in national finance, were not absolutely ruined although forced to retire with considerable losses. With the exception of Augsburg and Nüremberg, the cities of South Germany had but little share in the international operations in capital and credit. The Italians, who were not only earlier in the field but showed a greater mastery in all kinds of business, had a longer career than the High Germans, who did not desert the traffic in commodities for that in money until the end of the fifteenth century. During the sixteenth century they were represented chiefly by the Florentines and the Genoese in the international markets.

Italian Masters of Business

After the Genoese had lost their position as a commercial power in the eastern Mediterranean, and had found it very difficult to carry on traffic in the western basin of the same sea because of the Barbary pirates, the spirit of commerce turned the surplus capital of the Ligurian seaport into new channels, especially into affairs of exchange and credit. The Genoese had been commercially connected with the Spaniards ever since the thirteenth century; their ability as navigators and their capital had been of great assistance to Spain in her occupation of America. They also undertook to supply a certain number of slaves annually to the transatlantic colonies,

VIEW OF THE TOWN FROM THE RIVER SCHELDT, SHOWING THE CATHEDRAL



ANTWERP'S TEMPLE OF FINANCE: THE INTERIOR OF THE BOURSE

THE WATERPOORT, A GATEWAY BUILT IN [illegible], AND THE OLD CASTLE

SCENES IN THE IMPORTANT SEAPORT TOWN OF ANTWERP [illegible] provided Seville with merchandise to be sent to America, and furnished the money necessary for the equipment of expeditions. Single Genoese firms, such as the Grimaldi, had already entered into financial transactions with the Spanish Government. A political alliance had developed from the union of economic interests. The desertion of Francis I. for the cause of Charles V. by the house of Doria in 1528 had a decisive effect on the second Franco-Spanish war. The governing party, called that of the optimates, or the wealthy classes, was divided into two branches, the old and the new nobility, the former engaged chiefly in financial affairs, the latter in dealings in merchandise. The masses were in favour of the new nobility, as traffic in goods was beneficial to the handicrafts, and hence to the prosperity of the working classes.

The Masses and the New Nobility

Nevertheless, in 1549 the new nobility, under Giovanni Luigi de Fieschi, were defeated by the older party led by the Dorias, who now entered into a still closer alliance with Spain. In return, the emperor, and later his son, Philip II., granted them a position of the first rank among his financial advisers, the Fuggers being the only other family which enjoyed the same privileges. Among the Genoese creditors of the Spanish Government, the most distinguished were the firms of Grimaldi, Spinola, Pallavicino, Lomellino, Gentili, and Centurioni.

The higher they rose in the estimation of the Spanish king, the more dangerous became their position during these times of regularly recurrent financial crises, for the favour of monarchs was not to be had for nothing; in short, the Genoese, like the Upper Germans, could not get any repayment of their loans other than unredeemable debenture certificates and worthless assignments of taxes. Nevertheless, they continued to maintain their connection with Spain until about the middle of the seventeenth century. By that time all solvent nations had to a great extent nationalised their economic and political affairs, and thus the age of international financial operations was over in any case. In the meanwhile the Genoese capitalists had obtained possession of vast territories in Naples through their connections with the House of Hapsburg, and consequently were able to view the complete prostration of their native city with a certain measure of composure. At about the middle of the seventeenth century the Florentines severed their connections with France, where monetary affairs had been in their hands for over a hundred years. During the early days of Florentine finances, at the time of the Baldi and Peruzzi in the fourteenth century, France had been one of the clients of the Tuscan bankers. These relations were renewed in the fifteenth century, when the Medici became the sovereigns of the banking world. During the sixteenth century, when, with the assistance of the Hapsburgs, the Medici obtained political dominion over Tuscany, the Florentine plutocracy nevertheless took the side of the Valois. Business with France continued to flourish, although financial relations ceased with England and the Netherlands as soon as these nations began to control their economic and commercial affairs with their own capital.

Genoese Possessions in Naples

The most distinguished Florentine capitalists of the sixteenth century were the Frescobaldi, Gualterotti, Strozzi, Salviati, Guadagni, and Capponi; and, in addition to the specifically Florentine houses, the Chigi of Siena, the Buonvisi of Lucca, the Ducci of Pistoia, and the Affaitadi of Cremona may be mentioned. The first crushing blow dealt to the Tuscan firms in their relations with France was the bankruptcy of Henry II. in the year 1557. The Huguenot wars broke out not long after this, and during their progress the finances of France became completely disorganised. One can only wonder at the rashness of such bankers as Girolamo Gondi, who still continued to transact business with the French Crown. At the end of the reign of Henry IV. the Florentines had disappeared from France, although the nation was obliged to make use of foreign capital until the year 1660.

Henry II. a Bankrupt

The modern exchange has developed from the market of the old Frankish-German Empire. The privilege of holding fairs and markets, granted to suitable districts by emperors and kings ever since the time of the Carlovingians, was the nucleus around which all the special rights grew up which later constituted the conception of municipal governments. In the midst of the old village communities the independent civilisation of the cities arose, first in the Latin countries, later in the Germanic, isolated it is true, and not destroying the earlier form of social life adapted to the villages. From this time forth village and town, peasant and citizen, were permanently established side by side as opposite types of civilisation; each was unable to attain economic prosperity without the assistance of the other, and for that reason they entered into an organised system of traffic invented by the town dwellers as the more developed of the two types. The weekly market and the precinct, or city boundary, are the characteristic tokens of this mutual adaptation of rural and urban interests.

The weekly market assured the city of a supply of the natural products of the neighbourhood, and guaranteed the country dwellers a place for the sale of their goods where prices would not be influenced by the tricks of over and under bidding; the precinct prevented the city industries from being pursued beyond its own limits, and thus assured it of the custom of its peasant neighbours. The towns experienced greater difficulty in their relations with the heirs of the old feudal lords, the landed nobility. Robber knights were a well-known phenomenon of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The civic estates, merchants and capitalists, had become dangerously powerful and prosperous relatively to the nobility of the country. Robber knight and "peppersack"—as the merchant was called in derision—represented two distinct spheres of interest, the agrarian and the industrial-commercial; and the war of social interests embodied in the two classes ended only in the sixteenth century with the overthrow of the landed nobility.

The Wars of Social Interests

Long before the state interfered in the struggle between the industrial and agrarian classes the municipal communities had succeeded in establishing their positions firmly, although in complete independence of one another. The city, as a whole, was looked upon as an association of consumers, requiring protection from the natural self-interest of the producers. The inhabitants of a town were all consumers to a certain degree, even the merchants and craftsmen of the city. But since in any town the special interests of the producers were opposed to the general interests of the consumers, it was necessary for the economic policy of the municipality to be one that strove to institute a state of affairs acceptable to both parties. The city government in its endeavour to bring about harmony found itself at least partially united with the organised industries, the guilds, and the various societies of craftsmen. It was found necessary to reduce as far as possible the rivalry between tradesmen, and to exclude the competition of all foreign industries. Since the city secured the home market for the productions of its own industrial classes, and at the same time helped them in their outside competition, it was, on the other hand, entitled to look out for the general interests of consumers through the introduction of tariffs on prices and wages, and laws regulating the quality of goods.

Benefits of the Town Fairs

It was also to the general advantage of town populations occasionally to introduce the competition of strangers by temporarily opening the city gates to all comers. This object was served by the annual fair, which brought profit to the town by an influx of strangers, and, though it exposed domestic industries to a temporary competition, it also brought them into touch with new circles of customers. In addition to towns, churches and monasteries often obtained market privileges, for the reason that on certain religious holidays they were much visited by pilgrims and guests; in this manner a brisk traffic would arise out of nothing.

These fairs were of an international type, and are still to be seen in the Mohammedan, Brahmin, and Buddhist countries. For example, the two chief markets of Paris, the fairs of St. Denis and St. Germain, were originally opened for the custom of pilgrims. The same may be said of what was once the greatest annual fair in England, held on an open field near Stourbridge Abbey. The conceptions of market and annual fair soon became one and the same, and it was a long time before men grew accustomed to call the markets of international significance that were repeated several times during the year by the special name of "fairs." Cities could not, however, maintain an important position in commerce as the headquarters of fairs alone. Staple towns also developed, and sometimes one town presented both aspects. Among staple towns, with or without annual fairs, two varieties, natural and artificial, may be

How the Towns Developed

distinguished. Natural markets arose at the termini of great commercial highways, especially of sea routes. Such were Venice, Genoa, Barcelona, and Bruges, where goods sent from distant lands were unloaded, and, in so far as they were not needed for domestic consumption, were resold and distributed. Every town was not so situated, nor did all cities produce to such an extent, that commodities and purchasers could be enticed to them from all sides. Towns past which the stream of commerce would have flowed without stopping sought to obtain by means of coercion the same advantages that grew up spontaneously in natural staple markets. The method of building up a market by force, such as was once to be seen at Vienna, consisted in obliging foreign merchants to offer their goods for sale in the city for a definite period, sometimes as long as six or eight weeks. They were also forbidden to make a circuit around such a market town, the only road open to them being that which led through the city itself. In all markets a foreign traffic developed independently of definite dates, often continuing throughout the year, or, at least, during the most favourable seasons. Foreign merchants of the same city or country usually had their own staple houses at such markets, as the Germans their *Fondaco* in Venice, or the merchants of Regensburg their yard in Vienna; in case they possessed no separate establishment, they had their special quarters in houses of the townsmen, as a rule in the neighbourhood of the money-changers and brokers.

SIR THOMAS GRESHAM

Founder of the Royal Exchange. He was elected Lord Mayor of London in 1537. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1559, and died twenty years later.

Both in the permanent marts and at the fairs, besides the older trade in commodities actually delivered and paid for in cash, there grew up other more elaborate commercial transactions, in which the Italians led the way. To these belong all the methods designed to obviate the necessity for the transportation of coined money, so dangerous and costly in those times, first and foremost among them being exchange and the whole system connected with it. At the end of the great fairs, when all transactions in actual

Byrsa Londinensis vel the Royal Exchange

THE ROYAL EXCHANGE OF LONDON, FOUNDED BY SIR THOMAS GRESHAM IN 1566

SHOPKEEPER AND APPRENTICE: SHOPPING IN THE TIME OF CHARLES I.

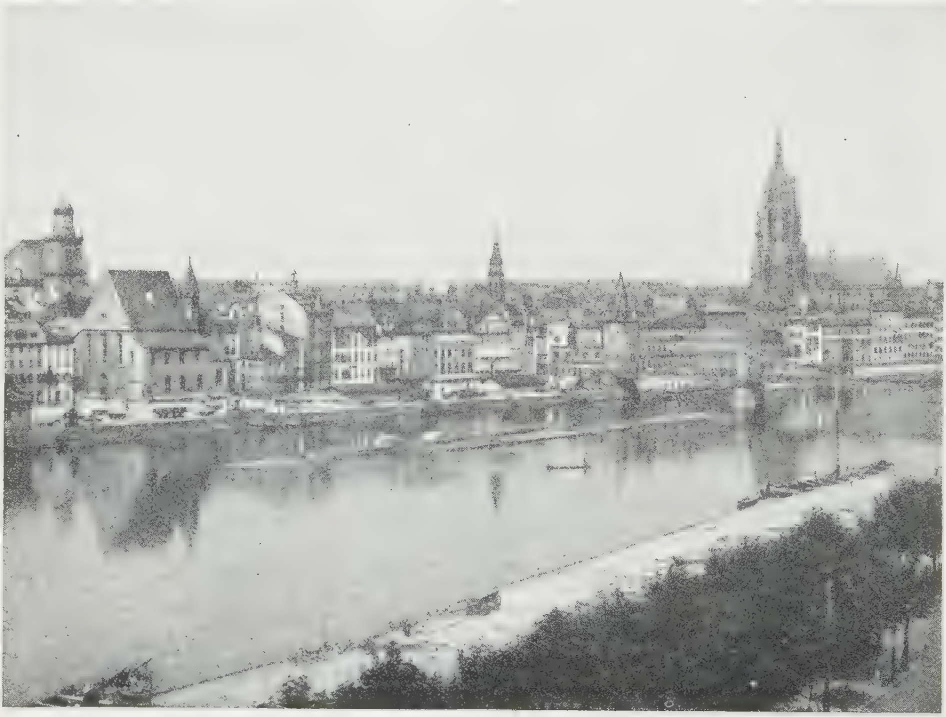
commodities were over, the money dealers met and adjusted their various claims in such a manner that only a final balance remained to be paid in coin. If any money was left over, it was frequently loaned at advantageous rates of interest until the time came for the next fair; thus the money-lending system also was closely connected with the settlements of accounts that followed at the close of each temporary market.

Markets the Meeting-places of Merchants

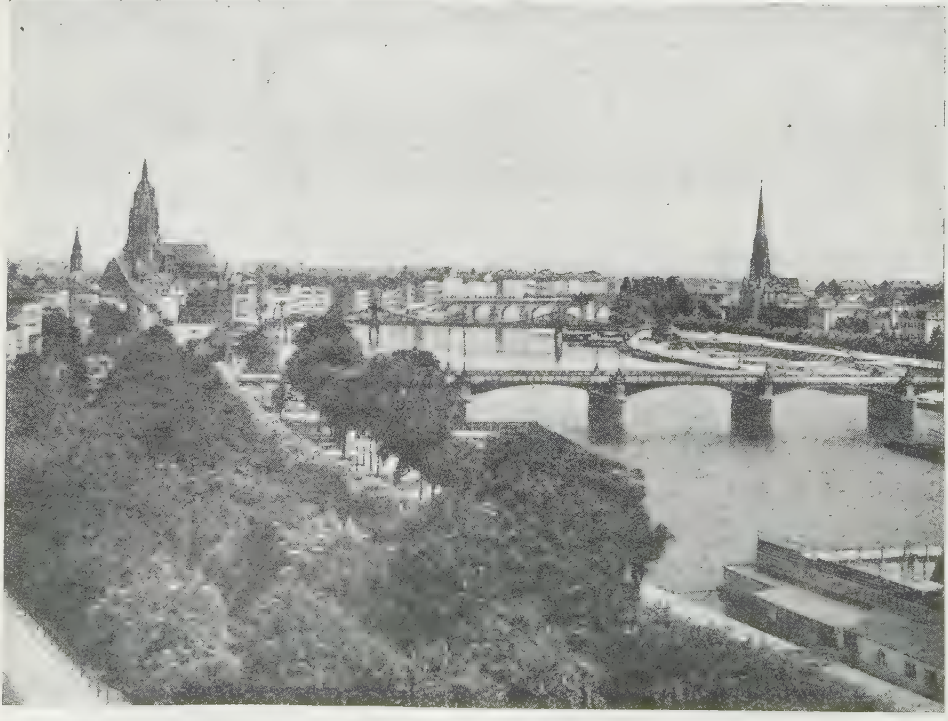
In the permanent markets, the great emporiums of European commerce, the custom developed for merchants to meet every day at an appointed place for the purpose of obtaining information from one another as to business affairs and of attending to matters concerning goods, money, and exchange. Business thus transacted was frequently rendered valid by law on the very spot by a notary, and contributed not a little to the establishment of fixed market prices for various classes of goods. Thus the Venetian merchants assembled on the Rialto, the Florentines in the arched hall, or *loggia*, of the Mercato Nuovo, and the Catalonians in the Lonja of Barcelona. In foreign countries, as in Bruges, for example, the Italians usually met in the houses of their consuls. The word "bourse," which has been introduced into almost every European language, was first employed in Bruges for the usual assemblies of merchants who met for commercial ends. In this chief terminus of the traffic between Northern and Southern Europe there was a house owned by the Van der Burse family, in which the Venetians had held their meetings ever since the fifteenth century. The house was called "de burse" for short, and thus the name of the Flemish family finally came to signify a place where such mercantile assemblies were held. The term "bourse" was already fixed in most European languages when a great edifice with halls and columns surrounding an open square in which business was transacted was erected in Antwerp. In England only was another term employed, and the bourse constructed in 1566 at the instigation of Sir Thomas Gresham took the name of "The Royal Exchange."

London's Royal Exchange

From the twelfth to the fourteenth century the bulk of the business carried on between the northern and southern commercial regions of Europe was transacted at the fairs of Champagne and Brie, at



THE CITY AS SEEN FROM THE LOWER BRIDGE OVER THE RIVER MAIN



SACHSENHAUSEN QUARTER OF THE CITY CONNECTED BY BRIDGES WITH FRANKFORT

FRANKFORT-ON-THE-MAIN: VIEWS OF THE FAMOUS PRUSSIAN CITY Photochrome

Troyes, Lagny, Bar-sur-Aube, and Provins. After the decline of the fairs at Champagne, Geneva became an important market for French, Italians, and Upper Germans. Louis XI. endeavoured to entice traffic back to French soil, and granted many privileges to the four fairs of Lyons, at the same time forbidding his subjects to visit Geneva. The French kings made Lyons the centre of their negotiations for loans and the recruiting-place for their armies when the policy of imperialism that arose during the sixteenth century was no longer to be satisfied by the earlier methods of conducting financial affairs.

The succession of loans to the French Crown continued its course from 1522 until the fatal year 1557, when Henry II., contemporaneously with his opponent, Philip II., suspended all payment of debts. Lyons completely lost its position during the disturbances that followed the outbreak of the Huguenot wars; nor did it rise again to importance until 1650, and then, not as a scene of international finance, but as one of the nationalised centres of French industrial and commercial life.

The Lost Position of Lyons

As the French monarchs had, from obvious motives, barred the money market of Lyons to their Hapsburg opponents, it was necessary for the Spanish Government to seek out other places in which to transact its financial business. Spain itself possessed several towns holding regular fairs, which had arisen in order to supply the needs of domestic traffic in goods; and these cities gained importance also for affairs of finance and exchange the more the Spanish court and Spanish consumers were compelled to turn to foreign lands for their requirements. The end of each fair at Medina del Campo, Villalon, and Medina de Riosecco marked the arrival of the term at which the foreign creditors of Spain put in their claims and, as far as possible, balanced their accounts.

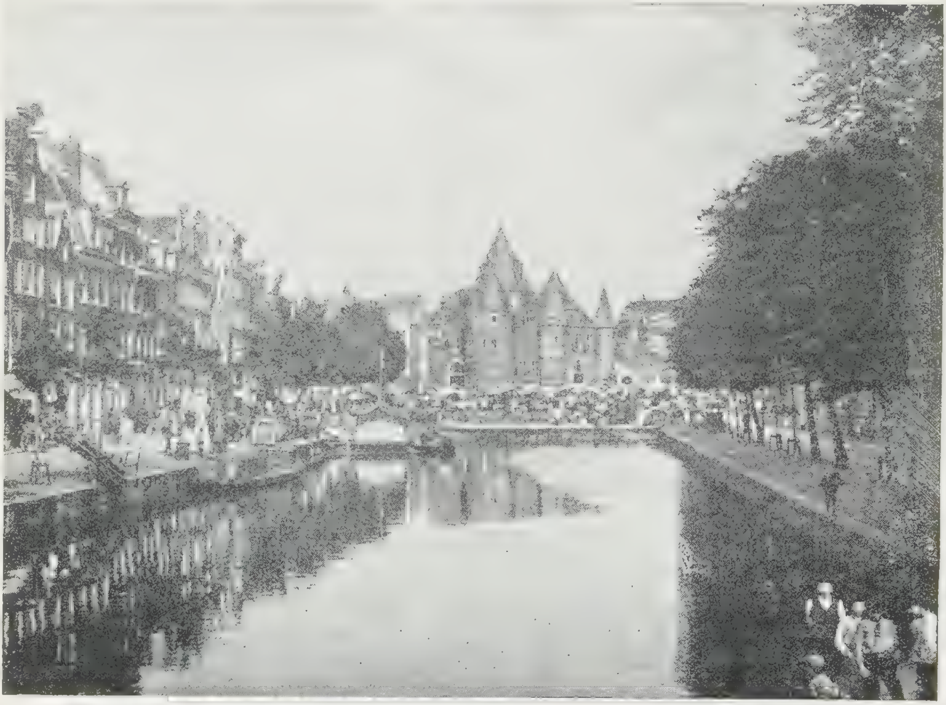
In order to injure the fairs of Lyons, Charles V. opened an opposition market at Besançon in Burgundy, attended by Genoese and Upper Germans, who as subjects of the emperor did not possess full commercial freedom in Lyons. However, the Genoese, dealing in money alone, not in merchandise, soon discovered localities more convenient for their purposes. The so-called Genoese fairs were not held in Genoa, but at first in small towns north of the Alps, in Polignv and Chambéry, then further to the south, in Rivoli, Ivrea, and Asti, from 1579 in Piacenza, and from 1621 in Novi. At this time the financial domination of the Genoese was beginning to totter, that of the Upper Germans having already fallen; and with the bankruptcy of the Spanish Government in 1627 the last support of the international capitalism of the sixteenth century gave way. But it was in the north that commercial activity most prevailed. The great fairs and cloth markets grew apace. Even after Antwerp had become a permanent staple town, with a bourse in which financial affairs were transacted, the old fairs still retained their importance by marking the time for the recovery of debts and the balancing of accounts. As in Bruges and Lyons, the native-born citizens were not the great merchants and capitalists.

Growth of Fairs and Markets

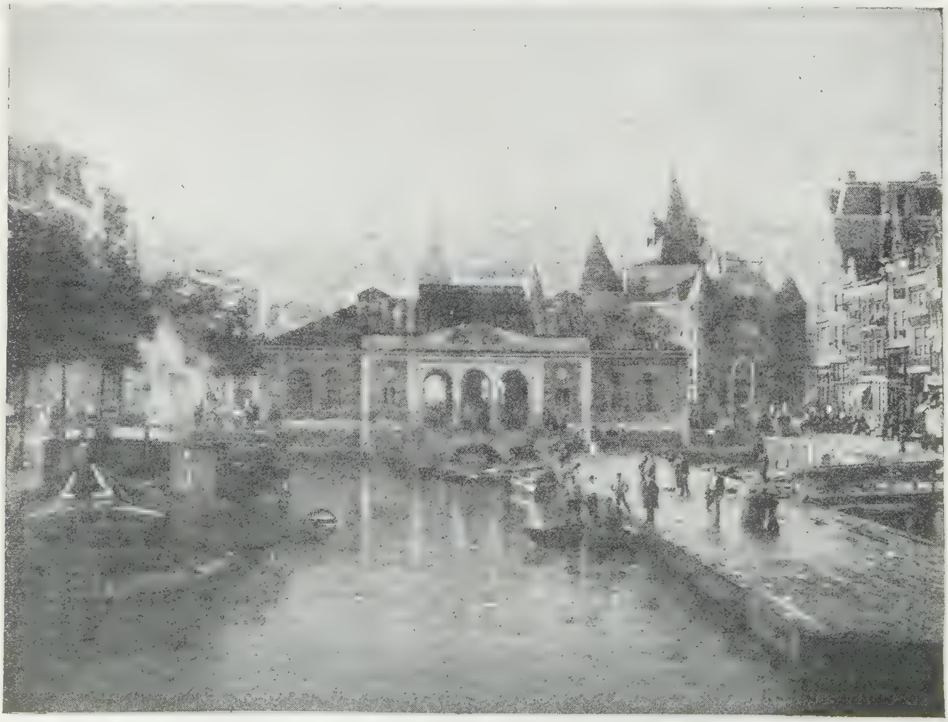
The commercial significance of the city depended upon the foreigners, among whom Upper Germans and Italians were the most distinguished. They controlled the mercantile trade and the traffic in loans, therefore governments in need of money, the municipality of Brussels, the kings of Spain, Portugal, and England, had their permanent agents in Antwerp. About the middle of the sixteenth century business was transacted to the average amount of forty million ducats a year. When Antwerp was practically destroyed as a commercial centre by the wars and disturbances of 1568-1585, several heirs obtained shares in the heritage of the ruined city.

The bulk of the world's commerce fell to Amsterdam; but the business of Frankfort-on-Main also increased to such an extent that this city became not only the first market and exchange of Germany, but an international centre of commerce, a position that it retained until late in the seventeenth century. The rise of Antwerp marked a new period in the economic history of the world. The great capitalists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, whose fortunes had been made during the period of Mediterranean commercial prosperity following the Crusades, turned from trade to politics and adopted the imperial policy of the period, which proved so destructive to them. As states became bankrupt the international capitalists also were ruined. Thus ended the first section of the history of international capitalism at the close of the sixteenth century.

The Rise of Antwerp



THE NEW MARKET AND OLD WEIGH-HOUSE, BUILT AS A TOWN GATE ABOUT 1488



THE BUSY FISH MARKET, WITH THE WEIGH-HOUSE ON THE RIGHT

AMSTERDAM, THE COMMERCIAL CAPITAL OF THE NETHERLANDS Photochrome

DUTCH COMMERCIAL SUPREMACY

COMPETITION FOR THE WORLD'S COMMERCE

Spaniards in the New World

At the end of the sixteenth century, a hundred years after the time of Columbus, Diaz, and Vasco da Gama, the two hemispheres, which had been granted to Spaniards and Portuguese by the Pope, were united under one sceptre. The development of the Iberian race, however, had been at a standstill for two generations. The Spaniards had reached the limit of their requirements for growth at the point where further possession of territory seemed no longer desirable and colonisation no longer profitable enough for them in the regions reckoned as being worthless—that is, worthless according to the notoriously false notion of political economy of the times, because they did not abound in gold or silver, or precious stones, and possessed no large population adapted for use as slaves. Portugal, dynastically united with Spain since 1580, had reached the limit of her capacity for development years before—the fatal limit where profits cease and the preservation of possessions already gained devours the entire income derived from them. Further progress was impossible; moreover, it was scarcely desired, and yet the rights of monopoly in the ownership of the earth still remained uncontested. No rival had as yet seriously disturbed the Spaniards in their sole possession of the New World, or the Portuguese in their exclusive commercial proprietorship of the East Indies.

Expansion of European Commerce

When the sixteenth century came to an end no European nation, with the exception of the Spaniards and Portuguese, owned one square foot of territory on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. There had been no lack of attempts to found settlements in regions of the New World not occupied by Spain, nor had inducements such as the fisheries, the fur trade, and the quest of a north-east passage been wanting. Nevertheless, all endeavours of the English and French to set firm foot on the continents of America had, down to the end of the sixteenth century, been miserable failures. Wars, want of the necessities of life, and lack of a marketable return freight for ships bound east had destroyed both colonies and colonists. It was far more enticing to turn corsair, privateer, or smuggler than to die of starvation in a squalid settlement or to be slain by Indians or angry Spaniards, who resented the intrusion of foreigners into what they considered their exclusive possessions. During the years of the Anglo-Dutch war with Spain, from 1568 onwards, it was more profitable and more attractive to prey upon Spanish treasure-ships. From this time forth the traffic with America which set the Spanish monopoly at defiance became a principle of European commerce, which had no scruples whatever as to right and wrong, lawfulness or unlawfulness. Smuggling led to the occupation of the unappropriated Lesser Antilles by Englishmen, Hollanders, Frenchmen, and Danes, with whom the native pirates, or filibusters, readily associated themselves.

Before the attempts of non-Spaniards to settle in America were renewed, the ban that had apparently been laid upon the East Indies was already broken. Dutch ships cruised in the Indian Ocean, brought home cargoes of spices with them, and awoke in other nations the desire to emulate them.

Factors in the Growth of Trade

But the growth of the Western European sphere of expansion and the increase of Transatlantic traffic were not due wholly or even chiefly to the participation of new commercial peoples or to the rise of permanent colonies. Foreign trade and the development of distant territories depended, not only in the seventeenth but in every other century, upon the necessities, demand, and consumption of the mother country or continent. The true inciting motive to increased traffic between peoples is not furnished by production alone, whether of raw materials or of manufactured articles, or of the portion of the completed products that falls to commerce; it is consumption, the direct expression of human requirements and desires. The consumer is master; the producer is his servant, and the middleman his go-between. The two latter may, it is true, often entice the former to increase his purchases, but, on the other hand, they must also await his pleasure.

The Early Commerce of the World

Had it not been for the fundamental changes that came about in manners and customs during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the commerce of the world would not have overstepped its previous limits, it would never have increased its relatively small sphere of activity.

Since the very earliest times, from the days of journeys to the Ophir of the ancient Oriental peoples down to the opening of the seventeenth century, the world's commerce had been little more than traffic in a few spices and luxuries of South-eastern Asia, articles for which there is so limited a market that they are scarcely taken into account at the present day, although the quantities dealt in are, if anything, greater now than ever before.

Neither during the times of the Phœnicians, the Romans, the Byzantines, the Arabians, the Venetians, and the Genoese, nor later in the days of Portuguese supremacy, did the character of the commercial relations between the Old World civilised nations of the temperatate zone and the lands of the tropics alter to any appreciable extent. Even the discovery of tropical and sub-tropical America did not at first bring about any decided change in the variety of articles handled in the world's trade, for the acquisition of the precious metals thrust every other form of commercial activity into the background. The cultivators of sugar-cane, however, soon began to furnish a commodity capable of attaining a largely increased consumption, and not subject to the artificial prices of monopoly, as was the case with spices.

Sugar the Oldest Article of Luxury

Sugar is the oldest of the various articles of luxury to which Transatlantic trade was indebted for its development. The plantation system of cultivation, in later times adapted also to the raising of other products, and leading to negro slavery, from which in turn developed a new branch of monopoly, originated in the production of sugar-cane in Spanish America. But, as we have already stated, everything depended upon the demand, upon the adoption of an article by larger and larger circles of consumers.

At about the time that the sugar-cane of the East Indies found a new home in the Western Hemisphere during the sixteenth century, and sugar first became an important article of commerce through its importation into Europe from America, American tobacco, on the other hand, became diffused over the Old World, and proved itself to be a herb no less easily acclimatised than acceptable to mankind. In tobacco, an article for wholesale consumption and a commodity of the first importance to commerce was acquired, not to speak of the significance to finance attained in later days through Government monopolies of this luxury, the use of which was at first so sternly discountenanced.

Like sugar and tobacco, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries cocoa, coffee, tea, indigo, and cotton became articles of wholesale consumption, and hence of the greatest importance to natural production and commerce. Now for the first time settlements and the acquisition of colonies became remunerative, and commerce between the Old World and the New assumed great proportions, for prior to this time no truly reciprocal traffic had been possible.

Demand for Tropical Luxuries

Trade was completely transformed, owing to its marvellously rapid development. The reason for all this lay in the fact that consumption developed a tendency favourable to foreign products. Europeans, indeed the inhabitants of temperate regions in general, were persistent in their demands for luxuries from the tropics, and supported alien regions of production and alien merchants, however greatly it may have been to their own disadvantage from an economic point of view.

The money paid by consumers for stimulants containing alkaloids was not wasted. These so-called stimulants have in reality a quieting effect on the nerves; they support the nobler powers of intellectual life, and, owing to their influence in counteracting the brutalising tendencies of alcoholism, have contributed not a little to the civilisation of the European peoples. The age of narcotic antidotes, which is also that of enlightenment and humanity—the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—succeeded to the period—from the fifteenth to the seventeenth—of which the chief characteristics had been drunkenness and gluttony. Gentler manners and new currents of thought found their most active upholders in precisely the circles in which coffee, tea, chocolate, and sugar had to a great extent taken the place of alcohol.

The first nation to flout the consecrated privileges of Spain and Portugal by venturing into their closed territories was the Dutch Republic. Holland had succeeded in freeing itself from the dominion of Philip II. in 1579, and had now taken upon its own shoulders the entire burden of a war with the greatest power of the age, the Southern Netherlands having returned to Spanish rule. The Dutch had already been successful in defending their interests in the carrying trade of Europe against both the German Hansa and the merchants of England. Owing to the geographical situation of their country they had become the recognised middlemen of the traffic between North and South. Moreover, even after the outbreak of the War of Independence, in 1568, neither Spain nor Portugal excluded the Hollanders, but allowed them to make their purchases of foreign products both in Lisbon and Seville, for the King of Spain regarded the revolutionary party only, not the peaceful merchants of Holland, as his enemies. But when the seven northern provinces finally gained their independence, and allied themselves with powers hostile to Spain, then Philip II. put an end to all free trade with the Spanish as well as the Portuguese ports, which were at that time subject to his dominion.

Philip II.'s Blow to Free Trade

After the fall of Antwerp, Amsterdam was, beyond doubt, the most conveniently situated spice market of Northern Europe. The question was, where was Amsterdam to obtain spices now that the ports of Spain were closed to her merchants? The provinces and towns of the new republic had become very independent of one another, owing to the absence of any strong bond of common economic interests; and thus attempts were made by other cities besides Amsterdam to procure on their own account, and directly from the regions of production, the various commodities which had been rendered unobtainable by the closing of the Spanish and Portuguese harbours. Private companies were formed in several towns for the purpose of importing merchandise direct from India; and by exchanging the spices, etc., thus obtained for the products of Northern Europe the promoters hoped to supply the deficiency in commodities indispensable to the traffic of the Continent.

Dutch Trade with the East Indies

The most important of the small companies established to carry on a direct trade with the East Indies was the "Compagnie van Verre" (Company of the Distant Lands), founded in 1594; and it was in the interests of this firm that the first Dutch voyage to Java, Bawéan, and Bali was undertaken in 1595, under the command of Cornelis de Houtman.

This company, like its rivals, scarcely differed from the ordinary shipping associations, which possess a historical importance from the fact that they were the precursors of joint-stock companies. When the object for which such an association had been formed was attained, the cargoes were divided among the partners, who hoped to make a profit from the sale of the goods. Through the influence of the great statesman, Johan van Olden Barneveldt, all the separate companies were incorporated into one in 1602; and a new type of mercantile association arose, which dominated and characterised the commercial life of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The United East India Company was a joint-stock association with rights of monopoly. It obtained from the Dutch Government the sole right of commerce with the East Indies in the very widest sense. Every Hollander was forbidden even to sail beyond the Cape of Good Hope, not to speak of carrying on trade, without permission of the company; on the other hand, it was open to every Hollander to become a shareholder and partaker in all the company's rights and privileges by paying a subscription. The originally unequal shares into which the capital of 6,600,000 florins was divided could be transferred without restriction. Towards the end of the seventeenth century a nominal value of 3,000 gulden per share was established for the convenience of traffic in the bourses.

Privileges of a Trading Association

The affairs of the company, which was divided into provinces, were managed by a committee of seventeen members called directors. There were many new features in the organisation of the Dutch East India Company, together with much that was in the old and characteristic of the constitutions of the guilds. Fundamentally new, however, was the endowment of the association with political rights of sovereignty exercised in the name and under the supervision of the States-General of the Netherlands. All subsequent trading associations established after the model of the Dutch East India Company are distinguished as political commercial associations. Such companies had the power to declare war and to enter into negotiations and treaties; legislation, administration, and the enforcement of justice were entrusted to them within their spheres of activity; and the Dutch government exercised its rights of sovereignty only in form so long as the company was able to maintain itself without assistance and remained solvent.

Traders with Power to Declare War

The Dutch East India Company formed the basis of the colonial empire of Holland in South-eastern Asia. The Portuguese were driven out of important points—Ceylon, Malacca, the Moluccas; and unclaimed regions, that is to say, territories inhabited by indigenous races only, such as Java, Sumatra, and Celebes, were occupied. A depôt in Java, which in 1619 received the name of Batavia, was the residence of the governor-general, who, when the Dutch colonies were at the zenith of their prosperity, in the middle of the seventeenth century, controlled as many as seven provinces.

The sphere of influence of the Hollanders extended as far as China and Japan, although trade was exposed to many serious difficulties in the Furthest East. One of the company's servants, Abel Jansz Tasman, circumnavigated Australia, or New Holland, and discovered Van Diemen's Land, now Tasmania, and New Zealand in 1642. But these events, however important from a geographical standpoint, had no immediate commercial result, for the barren coasts of Australia failed to entice settlers, and its wealth in gold remained, like that of California, undiscovered for over two hundred years.

Australia's Undiscovered Gold Mines

The Hollanders carried on traffic in spices in the same manner as the Portuguese had done: their one desire was to obtain and to maintain the highest possible prices of monopoly. In spite of the fact that spices were sold at auction in the Amsterdam market, and consequently were exposed to free competition, prices were kept constant through regulation of the amounts of production. The cultivation of clove-trees was restricted to the island of Amboina, that of nutmegs to the Banda group; superabundant harvests were reduced by the destruction of all products in excess of the quantity required for exportation, which, as a rule, equalled the average measure of consumption.

When, in 1621, the twelve years' truce with Spain, which had been so beneficial to the welfare of the Netherlanders, expired, a second joint-stock association, also furnished with rights of sovereignty, arose. This was the Dutch West India Company. Just as the Pope had once divided the earth between Spain and Portugal, so the Dutch government now apportioned it between the East and West India Companies. The Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn formed the boundaries of the hemispheres subjected to their monopolies. Although the Hollanders were unable to lay claim to international recognition of their proceedings, and although the orders given by the Dutch government to its subjects and commercial companies had nothing whatever to do with the other Christian nations of Europe, nevertheless the Dutch continued to act with the utmost unscrupulousness toward former possessors of the lands occupied as well as later intruders.

The Harsh Methods of the Dutch

During this same period the Dutch theorists—the teachers of "natural right"—Grotius, Salmasius, Boxhorn, and Delacourt, were dogmatising on the *mare liberum*, the freedom, or rather the openness, of the sea to all men, a conception quite in accordance with the spirit of the time considering that the pretensions of the Spaniards to monopoly were now completely overthrown. However, these patriotic philosophers made no mention at all of the fact that, although the seas had become open, their countrymen were everywhere doing their utmost to close them again to all competitors. Nevertheless, the Dutch thinkers proved that theory—for the most part unconsciously—declares that which is most advantageous for one's own time or for one's own people, even for one's own party, to be the best. The theorists of the seventeenth century developed the same principles of free trade that were realised in England 150 years later. It is remarkable that, without exception, the economically stronger nations have ever held forth to their weaker neighbours on the blessings of free trade, of unrestricted competition between states as well as individuals. Although since the end of the eighteenth century the free trade theories of the British have conquered the world, and contributed not a little to the commercial triumph of England, the assertions of the Dutch jurists of the seventeenth century in regard to the same principles were almost wholly ignored, although the economic practice of the Dutch was a cause of violent reactions as time went on.

The West India Company conducted itself even more offensively than did the East India; it was in reality a joint-stock association of pirates supported by the state, whose robberies found a counterpart only in the dealings of speculators in company shares at the Amsterdam Bourse. However, Holland has the West India Company to thank for Surinam and some of the Lesser Antilles; other regions in America occupied by the company—New Netherlands and Brazil—were lost again during the seventeenth century. In like manner the little North Sea nation was unable to retain its West African possessions later than the end of the eighteenth century. Since the shares in the two mercantile associations were the first effects to be handled in conformity with the regulations of a modern exchange, the Amsterdam Bourse has a legitimate claim to be considered the home of modern stock-jobbing. The building was constructed in the year 1613, and from the very beginning was the scene of an unremitting struggle between "bulls" and "bears." The time transactions of modern days, the evil custom of buying on margins—that is to say, purchase and delivery of stock for which one has not paid, against which laws have been enacted without avail—the exchange tax, exchange list, etc., were all either invented, or at least brought to a high state of development, at the Amsterdam Bourse. Inasmuch as the rise and fall of dividends paid by the India Companies depended upon events impossible to foresee, owing to the fact that they were taking place in all quarters of the globe—the average dividend amounted to 22 per cent.—speculation had the character of a game of chance. The desire for gambling became a national vice, as was shown by the notorious tulip swindle in the year 1630, a ridiculous parody of exchange transactions, carried on outside the bourse. Men speculated on the rise and fall in the prices of real and imaginary tulip bulbs, until finally the whole mad business, tulips and all, disappeared with a crash.

The Home of Modern Stock-jobbing

Until the end of the seventeenth century the Amsterdam Bourse was used for the purpose of contracting loans by the Dutch government, as well as by the executives of the provinces and the cities of the Netherlands. Naturally, the promissory notes and debenture bonds of public authorities were, in these times of war and disturbance, subject to great fluctuations. There was no longer an international loan market such as had once existed in Antwerp, now that the Italian and Upper German capitalists were bankrupts. Every state endeavoured, if possible, to make both ends meet with the aid of its own capitalists. But when Holland was forced out of the world market by the national economic policies of England and France, the capital thus set free accepted such opportunities for investment as were offered by the great industries which were just beginning to develop. In spite of all, however, capital became heaped up in the land, which not only had sufficient for all its needs, but was still gasping for more.

New Fields for Dutch Capital

Wealthy men showed less and less desire to take part in laborious or dangerous undertakings, and preferred simply to put their money out at interest Thus it happened that after the beginning of the eighteenth century impoverished sovereigns who were unable to obtain loans at home sought out Holland as a place for borrowing money. Amsterdam became the scene of international money transactions, and the Amsterdam Bourse the international stock market, whose rates of exchange were the standard followed by all the other European stock exchanges of the eighteenth century.

The Persecuted Jews

Once more, after a long period of comparative inaction, an element which has been of like importance to the history of the world and to the history of economics made its appearance; and although it was badly adapted to its more or less hostile environment, it nevertheless persevered, looking forward to a better future. Driven forth from all lands, and persecuted ever since the time of the Crusades, the Jews, even when tolerated for the good of the treasury, had no share in either the local or the international commercial affairs of Northern and Southern Europe. From the twelfth to the seventeenth century they had managed to maintain a precarious existence as money-dealers and usurers on the very smallest scale. After the conquest of Granada, in 1492, they were expelled from Spain together with the Moors, although a few who had been converted to Christianity were permitted to remain in the country, receiving the name of Marannos. But like the converted Moors, or Moriscos, they had the reputation of being merely nominally Christian, and in 1609-1611 they were finally turned out of Spain and Portugal neck and crop as conspirators and rebels.

The Jews under a New Name

A number of them found a place of refuge in the Netherlands, the Dutch welcoming their arrival as an opportunity for a demonstration of hostility to Spain. A Jewish quarter grew up in Amsterdam, and no hindrances were placed in the way of Jews who wished to share in the commercial life of the city. In a short time daughter communities, like the one at Hamburg, developed from the main colony at Amsterdam. Dutch-Portuguese Jews emigrated to England when the kingdom, closed to them since the time of Edward I., was once more thrown open by Cromwell, in 1657. Amsterdam was the door through which the Jews again found entrance to European civilisation. Scattered as they were over all parts of the world, the Jews were the connecting link of what was to be a new development of international capitalism.

For all that the business in money and credit and the non-European commerce of Holland was so extensive, she owed her wealth chiefly to her trade in merchandise with the rest of the Continent. During the seventeenth century the Dutch were the maritime carriers and middlemen of Europe; three-fourths of the mercantile marine of the world belonged to them. The power of the Hansa was gone; the Thirty Years War had effectually crippled Germany; England was experiencing the greatest crisis of her constitutional existence; France was still prevented from perceiving or attending to her economic interests owing to various political complications; in short, general conditions were now as favourable to the Netherlands, though still feeble in themselves, as they had been in former days to the Hansa. Thus the Dutch were enabled to control maritime trade until finally the tendency of the world's history became unfavourable to them, and the Great Powers vindicated their natural rights of superiority.

Maritime Trade Controlled by the Dutch

In the meanwhile, however, Dutch merchants and shipowners dominated the commerce of the Baltic, and consequently the grain trade of Europe. "Amsterdam obtained possession of the great surplus quantities of grain grown in the Baltic countries, and thus supplied not only Holland, but also Western and Southern Europe. According to a document of the year 1603, a stock of 4,000,000 bushels—that is to say, wheat enough to supply 800,000 people for a year—was kept constantly on hand."

By closing the mouths of the Rhine and the Schelde, the Hollanders destroyed the trade of the Spanish Netherlands as well as that of Western Germany. The latter region, indeed, became economically subject to them as far south as the Black Forest, and they were already masters of Eastern Germany beyond Hamburg and Danzig. They had long been superior to all competitors in Scandinavia and on the northern seas, whether as merchants or as fishermen, their connections extending as far as the coasts of the White Sea. Dutch navigators even cruised about the Arctic Ocean, striving to solve the mystery of a north-east passage. Southern Europe also had fallen into the net of their all-embracing commerce; they dominated the Mediterranean, and after the conclusion of peace in 1648 appeared once more in the harbours of Portugal and Spain.

Struggle for the World's Commerce

How great a burden the Dutch had been to England and France was shown by the violent reaction that arose against them in both nations during the latter half of the seventeenth century. In 1651 the English Navigation Acts were passed by the Commonwealth Parliament. A severe struggle now began for the freedom of English maritime trade and for supremacy in the world's commerce, a struggle in which the weaker nation finally submitted to the stronger, and sought by means of an alliance at a propitious moment with its former opponent to save what it could of its earlier power.

WESTERN EUROPE
FROM THE
REFORMATION
TO THE
REVOLUTION

THE
COMMERCE
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WESTERN EUROPE
IV

THE BRITISH MARITIME SUPREMACY

EXPANSION OF THE NATION'S COMMERCE

IN the eleventh century England had fallen under the political and economic dominion of foreigners. While the permanent foreign and native elements were gradually becoming reconciled to one another, the commercial dominion of strangers, in spite of its nomadic character, became still deeper rooted in the land. Although England yielded an abundance of natural products, there were no developed industries and no maritime traffic or shipping capable of competing with other countries, not to speak of any independent foreign trade. Nevertheless, the central government, in spite of all feudal limitations, was powerful enough to maintain a firm and consistent national policy.

England under the Yoke of Foreigners

The kings sought to relieve the economic difficulties of their subjects, and this at a time when throughout Europe economic policy lay almost exclusively in the hands of municipal authorities, or, at the most, under the control of more or less powerful provincial rulers. The struggle of England to free itself from the economic yoke of foreigners began with the establishment of companies, such as the Staple Guild and the Association of Merchant Adventurers.

An Age of Poverty and Unemployment

The accession of the Tudors, in 1485, was followed by a change in economic conditions that led to far-reaching results. This was the substitution of "enclosure" for the "open-field" system of agriculture. The landed proprietors of England no less than of the Continent opposed the old order of economic life, for the reason that it stood in the way of various new and profitable means of making money. When a large amount of farming land was turned into pasture for the sake of sheep-farming, the large wool producers found that their interests were injured by the small properties of peasants scattered over their estates, and that the common lands were a great hindrance to their plans for pasturage or for the alternate use of the land as meadow and ploughed field. Hence the large landowners turned their property into pasturage, regardless of the rights of occupants, enclosing common lands, with the assistance of accommodating sheriffs and magistrates, who belonged to their own class. Thus numerous freeholders and tenants were deprived of their land, and of these but a small proportion were able to lease new ground suitable for farming. As a result, the country swarmed with paupers and unemployed. Even the worse than inadequate relief of distress supplied by the monasteries was ended by their abolition under Henry VIII., without any substitute being provided. It became a question of vital importance to the nation, either to promote or to create new forms of industry with a view to the relief of temporary want as well as the employment of a future increased population.

The English Government their own Coiners

One way to this object was discovered by the economists of England in the time of Elizabeth. Among the first measures passed by the Elizabethan government was the currency reform of 1560, which had become necessary owing to the debasement of the coinage brought about during the reign of Henry VIII. The English Government was in the fortunate position of never having granted the right to coin money to subordinate powers, as had happened elsewhere in feudal Europe; while, therefore, one sovereign might cause a temporary derangement of the currency, another was able to reduce it to order, for the good of the whole country, which by this time was taking an intelligent interest in the most important economic questions. The measures passed by the Government for general economic betterment were approved by the nation, the advantage of state control in economic matters having been exemplified in the case of the currency. It is true that the English government was unable to look to the public for co-operation in regard to foreign affairs—however much the national intelligence had developed during the early Elizabethan period—until the country was threatened by a foreign invasion. Before a state of complete understanding between government and people had been reached in 1588, at the time of the Spanish Armada, the Crown, anxious to avoid any extraordinary taxation, had been obliged to contract loans of very doubtful advantage. At first the Tudors borrowed money in Antwerp, where the celebrated Sir Thomas Gresham occupied the position of financial agent of the English government. But as early as 1569, after the Duke of Alva had arrived in the Netherlands, and Antwerp had begun to decline, the financial requirements of the English Crown were supplied by domestic capital. The government of England had thus freed itself from the dominion of international money-lenders, and had thereby advanced several steps in economic development.

Erection of the Royal Exchange

The attainment of national independence in all things pertaining to money and credit found expression in the erection of the Royal Exchange by Sir Thomas Gresham in 1566 at his own expense. The queen had already recognised the services of this public-spirited financier by conferring knighthood upon him in 1559; indeed, it had long been the fashion for Continental governments to confer patents of nobility on the various German and Italian merchant princes who had been of especial service to them as money-lenders.

The imperialist policy of the Tudors was expensive, like that of the Hapsburgs and Valois. In all lands sovereigns were discovering that their incomes were no longer sufficient to meet their expenses, so much easier had it become to contract debts; and debts required settlement, or at least interest had to be paid on them. The populations of all the countries of Europe resisted the increasing demands of the governments; and as a result of undeveloped, badly managed systems of assessment and collection, so much money was lost to the national treasuries, that what finally found its way into the coffers of the state amounted to very little indeed. However, necessity led to the invention of various expedients for raising money, which were not only independent of the concessions of parliaments and popular assemblies, but yielded far greater amounts than had any previous source of income. This is the financial aspect of the development of the theory of Royal prerogative.

Sovereigns who Lived Beyond Their Incomes

The German princes had assumed long before, as heirs of the old Roman Empire, exclusive possession of all the useful prerogatives of royalty, such as the right to coin money, to dig for precious metals, to collect taxes, and to dispense justice; but as time passed these rights were gradually transferred to lesser powers, both temporal and ecclesiastical, and to towns and corporations. The income of a sovereign was limited to the yield of the crown possessions, and had he lost these also, he was powerless, as poor as the German emperors who followed the Hohenstaufen. Minor princes and cities now took upon themselves the duties of government, and in their restricted spheres exercised the same rights of administration as had once been executed by the sovereign himself over his entire domain; but with this step the feebleness of the disunited towns and lesser rulers increased, as was especially obvious when looked at from the point of view of entanglements with foreign powers.

Western Europe under Regalism

Since the incomes derived by princes from the crown lands proved insufficient, they resorted to taxation; but this resulted only in making parliaments and assemblies more and more disinclined to grant the demands of sovereigns. Consequently the latter unearthed and extended their ancient and inalienable royal prerogatives to relieve them of financial embarrassments. The acceptance of Roman law during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries greatly furthered the designs of the rulers. Especially in Western Europe regalism was soon in full sway, and was pursued without the slightest regard either to existing rights or to the welfare of subjects. Princes of the small states of Germany and Italy followed the example of the sovereigns of great kingdoms, if not with the same favourable results to their own ends, at least with the same thoroughness and rigour.

In England, the regulation of trade was by general admission included under the prerogative of the Crown, while taxation avowedly for revenue was not. But the Tudors found a convenient elasticity in the admitted rights of the Crown, and developed a system of granting monopolies—sometimes to favourites, but generally receiving substantial consideration for the grant—till the list of monopolies became formidable and burdensome, at one time including currants, salt, iron, gunpowder, playing-cards, cowhide, furs, sail-cloth, potash, vinegar, whale-oil, coal, steel, brandy, brushes, bottles, pots, saltpetre, lead, oil, mirrors, paper, starch, tin, sulphur, cloth, sardines, beer, cannons, horn, leather, Spanish wool, and Irish yarn. However, this system of conducting inland commerce was from the beginning so imperfect and faulty that it soon disappeared, leaving no trace behind. It was left to the Stuarts to make their vain attempt to extend the prerogative into the field of taxation.

On the other hand, a Crown monopoly of foreign trade was much easier to enforce and to maintain, owing to the fact that previous systems could be brought into connection with it. Several guild-like corporations, called "regulated companies," and formed after the model of the Merchant Adventurers, were instituted with the assistance of the government, which was, of course, well paid for its good offices. The names of these corporations alone are sufficient to convey a vivid idea of the extent of British commerce at the end of the sixteenth century, although it is true that they were not equally prosperous. There was a Russian or Muscovite Company, founded in 1554, a Baltic Company (1579), a Turkish Company (1581), a Morocco or Barbary Company (1585), and a Guinea trade monopoly. In addition to these, the merchants of Exeter and Bristol organised themselves into guilds, having constitutions similar to that of the Mercers' Company of London. Finally, in 1600, the East India Company, the first joint-stock association to be formed in England, was founded.

Commerce in the Sixteenth Century

English policy during the time of Elizabeth had already overcome the German Hansa, one of the most powerful enemies of national trade. England had also succeeded in getting the upper hand of the Italians, as was shown by the suspension of the voyages of the Venetians and Genoese. Consequently there remained but one rival in the field—Holland, the greatest of all; but so long as the Dutch were indispensable to the English as allies in the war against Spain and Portugal, the chief sea-powers of the time, a conflict was not desirable. That England was, however, already prepared to take up arms against the Netherlands may be seen from the events which occurred in 1564, before the uprising of the Dutch against Spain. England and Holland then fought one another with trade embargoes, and England finally removed her cloth staple from Antwerp.

Spain's Fall from Maritime Greatness

During the further course of events England sought to ally herself with Holland, as happened in reality one hundred years later, at the time of William III. The result of this attempt was the war between Spain and England, which culminated in the destruction of the Invincible Armada in 1588. In that great struggle it was finally manifested that Spain was deposed from the position of supreme maritime power, though many years and much hard fighting passed before her fleets ceased to be dangerous.

Shortly after the accession of James I., who, as a Stuart, was friendly to Spain, peace was concluded with Philip II. at London in 1604. The Spaniards granted the inhabitants of the now United Kingdom freedom of trade with all their possessions, excepting the East and West Indies. However, it was not long before the English found a way of escaping the latter difficulty. The question was, should England permit the Hollanders, who had already extended their trade to the Far East, as well as to America, alone to retain possession of the field? Fortunately, the treaty of 1604 itself furnished a pretext for intrusion into Spanish and Portuguese domains, inasmuch as according to its terms, the English were permitted to seek out and, under certain conditions, take possession of any West or East Indian territory not yet occupied by Spain or Portugal. Thus international law and national interests were—at least in one case—brought into complete harmony with one another.

England's Expanding Commerce

In spite of the expansion of England's maritime trade, and notwithstanding the wars into which the nation had been plunged in order to secure freedom from the economic dominion of strangers, the industrial activity of the English—so far as foreign markets were concerned—was, even during the time of the Tudors, restricted to the manufacture of wool products. Not until the first migration of Flemish weavers to England during the reign of Edward III. had the manufacture of wool attained to a state of development sufficient to warrant the exportation of cloth. By the middle of the sixteenth century it became necessary to forbid the exportation of sheep and wool, in order that the domestic spinning and weaving industries might not suffer for lack of raw material. Soon afterwards the second great immigration of Flemish weavers took place. The fugitives, driven from the Netherlands by the decrees against heretics issued by Charles V. and Philip II., were cordially welcomed by the British government, to the great disgust of the domestic industrial classes. From this time forth the wool industry of the Netherlands possessed no special feature that could not easily be duplicated on the other side of the Channel.

Fugitives Welcomed in Britain

During the reign of Elizabeth the important transformation in industrial conditions that had already taken place a century before on the Continent in several branches of manufacture began to affect the English wool trade. From its very nature the wool industry could not well be carried on as a handicraft, inasmuch as the same material passed through many hands—spinners, weavers, fullers, dyers—before the cloth was complete and ready for use.

Nor did the finished product reach the consumer until it had been exposed for sale in the shops of wholesale and retail dealers. No single establishment was able to fulfil all these conditions. Dealers who owned capital, and even the sheep farmers, found it an easy matter to obtain control of the craftsmen through advances of raw material and wages; and thus the cloth industry soon took the form of a capitalised system of manufacture. Weavers, fullers, and dyers no longer laboured directly for their customers, but for a capitalist, who was the connecting link between the different classes of producers, and at the same time supplied the markets with the finished product. The wool trade did not at once become a great industry, such as is pursued in factories, but continued to be carried on in the homes of the weavers and in small workshops, for the government protected house labour and prevented the introduction of factory industry—at least so far as the manufacture of wool was concerned—until late in the eighteenth century.

The Early Days of the Wool Trade

The control by the central government of commerce and industry which in other countries had gradually been won from the central governments by independent cities, companies, and territories, was undisputed in England. The passing of the Apprentices Act in 1562 had the effect of determining the organisation of English industry for centuries. This Act was a law dealing with the most important of social questions—the time of apprenticeship (seven years), and matters concerning journeymen, contracts, time, and reward of labour. The municipal authorities were entrusted with its execution in towns, and in the country, the magistrates.

The Act of Elizabeth remained in force until 1814, although it had long ceased to be observed in many particulars, since new forms of industry and new branches of commerce had sprung up to which it did not apply. Although the Tudors had many times been permitted to take the law into their own hands, and without opposition, because their policy was in harmony with the wishes of the British nation, this was not the case with the Stuarts, against whom an active resistance that passed all previously known limits developed in both people and Parliament. Their friendly relations with Spain were not popular, although it would have been advantageous for England to ally herself with this nation against Holland, her more dangerous rival; moreover, such an alliance could not have been otherwise than favourable to the importation of English products into the Pyrenean Peninsula and South America.

The Stuarts Friendly with Spain

Thus, when the earlier Stuarts desired to collect the money necessary for carrying out their foreign policy they found neither Parliament nor people disposed to give them any assistance; and since they endeavoured to win their point by invoking the aid of absolutism and divine right, the consequence was that the opposition of the nation increased. Parliament claimed the right of distribution of monopolies in 1623, withdrawing it from the Crown, and fought the system of forced loans. When it granted the taxes on tonnage and poundage to the king, not for life, as to his predecessors, but for a term of one year only, Charles I. endeavoured to govern without a Parliament, and to collect taxes without further authorisation than his own will. Still, the English people were not moved to action by economic motives alone; the question of religion, without doubt, predominated, and, according to popular opinion, political interests, in the stricter sense of the term, were of greater importance than economic affairs were.

INVENTOR OF THE STOCKING LOOM: THE ORIGIN OF THE GREAT DISCOVERY

Many of the world's greatest discoveries have been simply born, the invention of the stocking loom being a case in point. The Rev. William Lee, to whom the discovery of this epoch-making machine was due, derived the idea of his wonderful creation from watching the movement of his wife's fingers while knitting. Constructing his machine, he removed it from Claverton, in Somersetshire, to London, and Queen Elizabeth made a personal examination of its working. On the invitation of Henry IV., Lee took up his residence in France, but did not live to reap the reward of his invention.

From the picture by Alfred Elmore, R.A.

But just as the material desires of man are expressions of an invincible natural force that mocks all attempts at repression, so also in the lives of nations affairs relating to material welfare invariably press their claims whenever there is a pause in the constant struggle in the spiritual world. The war with the Netherlands for the independence of English foreign trade and for the dominion of the sea was postponed for many years; but when Holland declined overtures for an intimate union with the English Republic, the Parliament—Cromwell was not yet Protector, but was occupied with the Worcester campaign — by passing the Navigation Act, threw down a direct challenge to its commercial rival.

Already under the Tudors, and even at the time of the Plantagenets, English merchant vessels had been protected by means of discriminating taxes, coasting ships in particular having been favoured by various reservations. In the Act of 1651 all the old regulations were renewed and supplemented. From that time no importation of extra-European goods to England was allowed except under the English flag. Commodities of European origin could be sent to England in English ships only, or in vessels belonging to the nation in which their cargoes were produced. It was also determined that voyages should be direct, from port to port, without any stop being made at the Dutch intermediate stations. The coasting trade was reserved to the national flag, and, for the improvement of the home fishing industry, the importation of salted fish was forbidden. Directions as to the manning of English merchant vessels proved that Cromwell looked upon the merchant marine as the training school for the navy.

Dutch Ships Captured by the English

Although, owing to the relative weakness of the English mercantile marine, it was long before the Navigation Act had the favourable economic results anticipated, its immediate political effect was a naval war with Holland (1652–1654), in which the English navy, under Robert Blake, showed itself to be in no wise inferior to the fleets of Holland manned by crews of far greater experience in battle. The great territorial expansion of the Dutch made it possible to deal more serious blows at them, and during the year 1653 the English captured over one thousand Dutch vessels in various parts of the world. According to the terms of the peace of 1654, made on party grounds by the anti-Orange oligarchy under the leadership of the brothers De Witt, Holland agreed to recognise the Navigation Act as well as the supremacy of the British flag in English waters.

But the victory of the English under Cromwell over their ancient enemies, the Spaniards, was of far greater value to the Englishman of the day than the successes won against the Dutch; not because the colonial power of Spain was a hindrance to British expansion, but for the reason that the Spaniards represented Catholicism. The result of the war was the acquisition of Jamaica and the port of Dunkirk. The latter might have been a foothold for English power on the Continent, like Calais in former days (1347–1558), but Charles II. sold the city to Louis XIV. in 1662. That the monarchy of the Restoration had no intention of adopting a commercial-political policy other than that introduced by the Commonwealth was shown by the renewal of the Navigation Act in 1660 and 1664—so to speak, a second and a third enlarged and improved edition of the original Act.

Commercial Concessions to the Colonies

In New England the long-wished-for region of distribution and consumption was acquired, a region which the English sought straightway to close to the competition of foreign merchants. Each time the Navigation Act was renewed clauses were inserted according to which the products of British colonies could be sent to English ports alone, even when intended for another land, and European goods could be exported to the colonies only on English ships, and direct from England and Wales. It was not till the Union of 1707 that English privileges became British by their extension to Scotland. The second naval war with Holland broke out in 1664 as a result of a dispute with the Dutch West India Company. During the course of the hostilities New Amsterdam—the New York of to-day—and Cape Coast Castle in Guinea were captured by the British. The first guineas were minted, at this time, of gold brought on the vessels of an English company from the Guinea Coast.

As the war had resulted in great damage to English commerce, peace negotiations were begun at Breda, which, in spite of the sudden appearance of a Dutch fleet in the Thames in 1667, were definitely favourable to England. The Peace of Breda granted permanent possession of New Netherlands to the English, who were now masters of the entire Atlantic coast of North America from Acadia to Florida. Considerable light is thrown upon the dependence of German commerce at this time by the fact that, although contrary to the provisions of the Navigation Act, the Dutch were allowed to carry German goods to England in their own vessels.

Holland in Alliance with England

A third naval war with the Dutch followed (1672–1674), when England, in alliance with France, supported Louis XIV. in his attempt to annihilate Holland. Although England gained no new territory by the Treaty of Westminster, she nevertheless prevented Holland from carrying out her intention of forming an alliance with Spain, when the two former mistresses of the sea saw that their interests were equally prejudiced by the rapid development of English maritime power. The troubles with Holland finally ceased when the House of Orange once more stood at the head of the state in 1672, and renewed their dynastic connection with the Stuarts.

The result was an adjustment of the interests of the two nations. Holland, satiated with wealth, desired rest and peace, and after having established a permanent alliance with England, contented herself with opposing the encroachments of the French, who had now become dangerously powerful in Europe as in the colonies.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRANCE
AND THE GROWTH OF NATIONAL INDUSTRIES

THE wars between England and the Netherlands were but a prelude to the tremendous struggle with France between the years 1688 and 1815. The new Hundred Years War, that lasted with but few intermissions from Louis XIV.'s third war of conquest until the Congress of Vienna, was, looked at from the point of view of to-day, the final and decisive contest for the dominion of the world's commerce. Spaniards, Portuguese, Hollanders, French, and British—all had striven for it in vain, and with insufficient powers. What was this monopoly of the world's commerce but a phantom that beckoned to each nation in turn, only to vanish into air? The unconquerable impulse for independence and action displayed by the nations of Western Europe, which had been crowded together at an early day by the migrations of peoples, would no more permit the establishment of a commercial than a political world monarchy; and since the very same qualities were developing in the daughter nations in the New World, their dependence on the mother countries became constantly less likely to continue. Yet the pursuit of this phantom of exclusive commercial dominion caused European civilisation to develop more rapidly and to expand over wider regions than any sober estimate of possibilities would have anticipated. Private economic and fiscal endeavours found firm support in the governments and in the colonial policy of nations, for the living representatives of all these varied interests breathed the same stirring atmosphere of imaginary gains and advantages.

The Daughter Nations of the New World

Of the five powers which at one time or other entered on the rivalry for maritime supremacy—Spain, Portugal, Holland, England, and France—the last named was the last to take a part. After Philip II. had made peace with France at Vervins, shortly before his death, and the wars of the Huguenots had also come to an end in 1598, one of those pauses in the tumult of human affairs ensued during which such peoples and states as are possessed of vitality are able quickly to recover their power, even though a short time before they may have been standing on the very brink of the grave. In France the monarchy took charge of the labour of civilisation, and, moreover, encountered at first little or no opposition. Henry IV., assisted by Sully, succeeded, by the aid of commercial treaties, colonising associations, the promotion of industry, and, above all, by encouraging agriculture, in guiding the French people into the same tendencies of national economic policy that had already led to such great results elsewhere. Richelieu himself, the powerful subduer of the feudal nobility, in seeking to free the Crown from their dishonouring tutelage, pursued the same course, so far as his participation in the Thirty Years War allowed him to direct his attention to economic questions.

Richelieu and Economic Questions

But it soon became apparent that the French had been too late in entering the ranks of colonial nations, and that only the leavings of the Spaniards, Portuguese, Hollanders, and English remained to them. French colonists settled, it is true, on the St. Lawrence, in the Antilles, in Guiana, in West Africa, and in Madagascar, yet without any very serious attempt to make these territories their own, and their attention was constantly being taken from their new possessions by political entanglements nearer home.

A new and bitter quarrel arose with Spain during the days of Richelieu and continued long after the close of the Thirty Years War, lasting until the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659. At the same time, in the disturbances of the Fronde, the last struggle was fought between the three independent and privileged powers, the clergy, the nobility, and the parlements, and the absolute monarchy, which threatened

France's Long Quarrel With Spain

them all alike. This movement was occasioned by the incredible mismanagement of the national finances, which had begun during the days of Richelieu, and had gone from bad to worse during the ministry of Mazarin, 1642–1661. Ever since the national debts of France had passed from the hands of foreign capitalists into those of domestic money-lenders, the so-called "Partisans," the abuse had been current of farming out the rates and taxes to the state creditors in order that they might be able to repay themselves from the sums collected. The result was boundless oppression of the masses, deception of the Government, and enrichment of capitalists.

The King's Victory over the People

A concerted attack, under the leadership of the Parlement of Paris, was made on the unlimited monarchy; and the populace of the capital joined in it. But as the disturbances of the Fronde continued, to the great injury of the industrial classes, a reaction followed in Paris, and the king and his all-powerful Minister finally obtained the upper hand in this last struggle of feudal institutions against unlimited monarchical power.

A sequel to the events of the Fronde followed, when, after the death of Mazarin, the chief cause of the ruin, his financial tool, Nicholas Fouquet, who had outdone even the court of Louis XIV. by the magnificence of his household, was sent to prison. The same judgment was passed on the entire tribe of Partisans, although they had been a power in the state—in fact, above the state; a precarious support to lawful authority during times of disturbance, and often rather an aid to princely "condottieri" of the stamp of an Orléans or a Condé, who had become more dangerous to the King of France than Wallenstein had been to the Emperor Ferdinand.

Colbert, the Great Minister of Finance

Jean Baptiste Colbert, the new Finance Minister, whose influence had greatly contributed to the overthrow of the Partisans, retained his difficult position from 1661 until his death, in 1683. His first great work was to consolidate the state liabilities, which rested on a thousand separate titles and bore high rates of interest, into a single national debt, paying interest at 5 per cent. This relatively mild method of acknowledging the bankruptcy of a nation was even then not new to France, and was often resorted to in later times. But Colbert was obliged to forgo the task of extinguishing the national debt, as well as any attempt to meddle with the privileges of the nobility and clergy, for upon them depended the foreign and domestic policy of Louis XIV., and the Minister of finance had no other desire than to be his faithful servant. The wars of this period caused many more loans to be raised and the public finances once more to be thrown into disorder. The nobility and clergy were subdued and transformed into court domestics, as it were, by deference to their privileges and the offer of certain personal advantages.

The Royal Power at its Zenith

A significant change had taken place in the policy of the sovereigns of Europe. Previously kings had been able to keep the privileged classes in check through alliances with the third estate; but now that the kingship had attained to the zenith of its power, it transformed clergy and nobility into pillars of the Government, not in order to oppose the masses, its former ally—the latter had as yet no idea of revolting—but merely that it might be lifted above all bickerings with the privileged classes, and realise the idea of a centralised government, impartially looking down upon the doings of men from the heights of its absolute position. The king had, in fact, become the highest expression of governmental force, to which all personal or class rights were as nothing. This form of kingship, which created the unity of the modern state out of the welter of competing independent jurisdictions, was by no means lacking in a conception of its social mission; but the latter remained in the background, certainly so long as the throne was surrounded by troops of privileged courtiers, whose chief office was to increase its splendour and stability.

To be sure, now and then a law for the improvement of economic and social affairs made its appearance; for example, Colbert decreased the land-tax (taille) for the benefit of the peasants, the most oppressed of all the social classes. However, the tendency of the unlimited monarchy was far more in the direction of a general and indiscriminate policy of national welfare than in that of protection of the feeble and oppressed. The power and, above all, the military capabilities of the state were to be augmented by an increase in the prosperity of the people; and in order to heighten military efficiency, all endeavours were concentrated in the ideas of protection of the state from without, of increase of territory, and of general expansion.

The fall of the Spanish Empire was looked upon by France as an invitation to step into that nation's place, and to seize the position of supremacy in Europe, on the high seas, and in all colonial spheres. This vast political programme not only contained within it the germs of renewed struggles with the Spanish and German Hapsburgs, at whose expense France expected to acquire the "natural boundaries" previously denied her, but was a cause of renewed war with Holland and England, the sea powers of the age.

In no empire the world has yet seen have nation and kingship reached such a state of solidarity as in the France of Louis XIV. All variances that arose under his rule and under that of his successors—the downfall of the old monarchy, the great revolution, the empire—had their foundations in the defeats suffered by the French in the struggle with the English. Just as Spain, Holland, and England herself had done, so did France sacrifice hundreds of years of her existence to the attainment of an illusory dominion of the world, established on a monopoly of the world's commerce.

France in the Time of Louis XIV.

In order that the French, who already saw certain plunder before their eyes in the fallen Spanish Empire, might drive the Dutch and English from the seas, it was necessary for them to mobilise all their military strength and at the same time to open up all their economic resources. The policy of imperialism required wealth such as was possessed by Spain in her mines and by Holland in her commerce. It was also necessary for England, France's rival—in fact, for any nation that expected to maintain itself against Louis XIV.—to invent new means for carrying on the struggle. The undirected pursuit of small economic interests with limited spheres was certainly not a means of creating such resources as were needed by powers of the first rank in their struggle for the world market.

However, the economic conditions of the smaller circles, of corporations, cities, territories and provinces, must at least have suggested thoughts for the guidance of a national policy based on a regard for the public welfare. It was necessary to transfer that which had already been done on a small scale into a greater sphere, to develop and to perfect it.

In fact, the mercantile system, or Colbertism, as it has been called, after its classic representative, merely consisted in an extension in the use of economic-political measures that had long been employed in restricted areas. As soon as the state drew within its paternal protection economic affairs which had previously been left to their own powers of development, like every eager beginner it went too far in the matter, without consideration for the activities of natural production. The latter are of a private, individual nature, the sources of numerous economic phenomena which gradually shade off into the very highest spheres of national and world economy. However, on the whole, mercantilism stood the test of its time; that is to say, it succeeded in Western Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It gave to peoples and to states that which they had not before possessed, indeed that which they could not possibly have acquired through the action of the unregulated forces to which they had been accustomed.

Colbert's Mercantile System

Nothing short of the centralised power of a modern nation was able to perform that which neither cities, nor leagues of cities, nor the provinces of Germany and Italy, nor even the independent provinces of larger states, had been capable of effecting; all of these were obliged to waste a large amount of the forces at their disposal in the conflict of their special interests. Nations of the first rank that included many lesser circles within themselves did away with all internal friction, and produced from the sum of the forces out of which they had been evolved effects of constantly increasing magnitude. A description of the mercantile policy of each single community would lead to endless repetitions; let us, therefore, take France as a representative example. The organisation of the finances, which finally resulted in an annual revenue of 100 million livres (600 million francs) without any increase in the burden of taxation, was, comparatively speaking, one of the least of Colbert's services to the state. Of far greater importance, both financially and economically, was his policy in regard

How Colbert Served the State

to the customs. The old provinces of the north and west, Isle de France, Champagne, Burgundy, Picardy, Normandy, Poitou, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, were, as soon as the former lines of custom-houses had been done away with, united into one revenue district; the newer provinces (provinces étrangères), however, retained their own special tariff rates, for various financial reasons. The mercantile principle of a protective tariff against foreign nations was adopted in the customs regulations of 1667. Through keeping the products of foreign industries out of the domestic markets by means of excessive duties, French industry was incited to greater activity, and money that would otherwise have gone out of France was retained in the country.

Fostering French Industries

Industries still lacking to the nation were artificially called into life and furthered in every possible manner—for example, the manufacture of looking-glasses and laces previously made in Venice only, of stockings knitted after the English fashion, of cloth woven according to methods employed by the Dutch weavers, and of the same sort of brass and pewter ware that had in earlier days been imported from Germany.

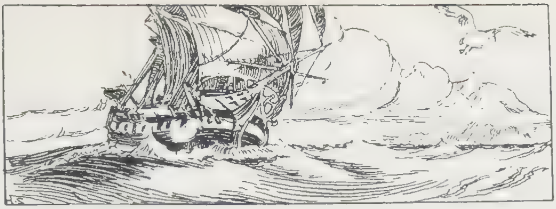
In fact, Colbert did succeed in furthering the technical capacities of the French to an extraordinary degree. However, his legislative works, such as the book of commercial laws (Ordonnance du Commerce, 1673) and the Code Noir (slave law in the colonies) proved to be of more permanence as monuments to his fame than his industrial regulations. In order to bring money into the country, and to render secure the economic foundations of France, it was necessary that industrial activity should not be limited to the production of articles for domestic consumption, but that commodities for export should also be manufactured, and consequently that regard should be had for commercial affairs. "Colbert, who was descended from a family of merchants," says Ranke, "may perhaps have set too high a value on the actual possession of money, but he brought his mercantile endeavours into complete harmony with the chief interests of the state—the elevation of the lower classes, the unifying of the nation, and the strengthening of its position in the world." He furthered domestic traffic by means of highways, canals, and posts. Foreign trade was promoted by encouraging the exportation of manufactured products and the importation of raw materials, through the construction of depôts, harbours, and naval arsenals. An efficient navy was built, and the merchant marine increased to such an extent that the services of Dutch vessels were no longer required.

The Great Aims of Colbert

At the same time, however, in order that the forests of France might be preserved, merchants were allowed to purchase ships built in foreign countries. Maritime commerce was protected not only by the monopoly of coast and colonial trade, but by discriminative taxes favouring domestic vessels. Colbert also hoped to ensure the prosperity of trans-oceanic commerce by means of monopolies modelled after the Dutch India Companies. However, such associations were formed with the greatest difficulty, and as a rule their lives were short; none of them attained to the importance of the Dutch and English corporations. The Levantine Company (1670–1690), whose headquarters were Marseilles and Smyrna, the chief trading place in the East, where competition with the Dutch did not present insuperable difficulties, was the most prosperous. The Northern Company experienced less good fortune in the Baltic; the East India Company, though firmly established in India, was ruined in its military struggles with the British; and the West India Company, active on both sides of the Atlantic, existed for ten years only, from 1664–1674.

Peace between Holland and England

Colbert's mercantile policy, like that of Cromwell, was directed against the supremacy of Holland; indeed, the very existence of the Dutch nation was threatened by the attack undertaken by Louis XIV. in alliance with Charles II. in 1672. However, freed from all danger on the side of England by the Peace of Westminster in 1674, and supported by the Germans, the Netherlanders managed to weather the storm, and even succeeded in negotiating a favourable commercial treaty in 1678. In order to avoid being exposed to the same difficulties again, William III. linked the fate of Holland with that of England, thus causing the rivalry between the two nations to subside. After William ascended the English throne in 1688, England and Holland were companions in the struggle with France.



THE RISE OF EUROPEAN TRADE

AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE COMMERCE OF THE WORLD

A SHORT time after Colbert's death, in 1683, the friendly relations which had hitherto existed with England turned into mutual hostility. Colbert had succeeded in restoring France to the French people—that is to say, he emancipated his country from the mercantile dominion of foreigners, and rendered it economically independent. Louis XIV., however, was not content with securing for the material existence of France the isolation considered indispensable to national development and power; he also wished to establish the same exclusiveness in respect to religion.

The Flight of Protestants From France

Since the Protestant minority stood in the way of his idea of establishing a Gallican or national Church, the king revoked the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and sought to convert such of his subjects as were members of the Reformed Church by means of coercive measures. In spite of a law forbidding emigration, thousands of Protestants fled the country and sought refuge in Switzerland, Holland, England, and Brandenburg. France was not injured so greatly by the consequent decrease of population as by the transplanting to foreign soil of French skill and the capacity for producing articles of French industry and culture—silk, cloth, hats, gloves, glass, paper, ornaments, etc.

The French Defeated on Land and Sea

Just as in France, the spirit of religious exclusiveness prevailed in England too; but in England no obstacle was placed in the way of emigration. The colonies in North America, with which the mother country now possessed such a lucrative trade monopoly, had been founded by Nonconformists or Dissenters, including Roman Catholics. James II. lost his throne, and was obliged to seek refuge at the court of Louis XIV. in 1688, as soon as he ventured to interfere with the Test Act. William III. of Orange now became leader of the great league formed for the purpose of resisting the encroachments of France and of re-establishing the European balance of power. From this time forth, as already stated, England and Holland were allies against France. The French fleet, under Tourville, was destroyed at La Hogue, on May 29th, 1692, by the united English and Dutch squadrons under the command of Admiral Russell. Although superior to any of her enemies taken singly, France was defeated in the third predatory war on the sea, and in the War of the Spanish Succession on land.

It is remarkable what far-reaching effects were exerted by the war with which the seventeenth century ended and the eighteenth century began upon the economic conditions of the two hostile nations. The Bank of England was established, and the National Debt consolidated amid the clash of arms; and during the same years the finances of France were so utterly deranged that they could not be put in order again until the drastic settlement of all accounts at the Revolution.

London Goldsmiths as Bankers

After the first public banks had been established in Genoa and Venice—Italian financiers had succeeded in putting into circulation notes, or paper money, in the place of specie, at the end of the sixteenth century—the development of the banking system was passed on to the Dutch. The cheque bank of Amsterdam, founded in 1608, became a model for banks whose chief office was to attend to the debit and credit accounts of merchants, based on the principle of a guaranteed deposit. In London, the goldsmiths of Lombard Street had long been engaged in banking, an important branch of their trade being money changing, from which large profits were obtained during periods of a confused currency. They also received deposits,

Founding of the Bank of England

which they put out at interest, and in addition negotiated loans for the Government. When Charles II. suspended payment of his debts in the year 1672—the last state bankruptcy in England—the goldsmiths of Lombard Street, to whom the king owed one and a third million pounds sterling, also became insolvent. Although the establishment of a public bank was immediately proposed, the project was not executed until the time of the third French war of conquest, during the reign of William III. It was with the greatest difficulty that money was obtained for the purposes of this war, owing to the lack of a proper financial organisation, although England had rather a superfluity than a lack of capital. The Restoration period had been a time of great occasional prosperity, and capital had already turned to seductive but unsafe schemes, like the South Sea Bubble.

WILLIAM PATERSON
An able and far-seeing financier, he founded the Bank of England, becoming in 1694 one of its first directors. His Darien scheme of colonisation proved a failure.

After the first million pounds of the consolidated English national debt had been subscribed for in 1692–1693, the Government contracted a new loan of one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling at eight per cent. According to the plan introduced by William Paterson, a Scotsman, who took the bank of St. George at Genoa for his model, a corporation formed of national creditors received the right to carry on banking, to the exclusion, however, of all other mercantile affairs, and to issue notes redeemable on presentation, as in the system already in use among the goldsmiths. In a short time the Bank of England became an indispensable feature of the financial life of the nation, and to this day it remains one of the strongest pillars of international finance and credit.

The Bank of Scotland was founded soon after, in 1695. United dynastically with England in 1603, Scotland had always been treated very much like a foreign country so far as commercial matters were concerned, and had no share in the privileges due to it as part of the United Kingdom. When the Scots made an independent attempt at colonising in Darien, on the Isthmus of Panama, the English took a material part in frustrating their scheme in 1699. Not until the parliamentary union of 1707 did Scotland succeed in bringing the economic differences between the two countries to a settlement; but Ireland was still excluded from the Union, and was treated like a colony beyond seas.

The rivalry of France and Britain in the Spanish and American markets was the commercial basis of the War of the Spanish Succession. Even during the war itself France obtained, through commerce with Spain and with Central and South America, a large portion of the financial power which enabled her to carry on the struggle with England to a comparatively favourable termination in spite of constant defeats. Britain, however, was able to prevent Spanish-American commerce from becoming the exclusive possession of her rival. The Spanish Empire was torn asunder at the Peace of Utrecht, as had ever been the desire of Britain; the Spanish Netherlands, Naples, Sardinia—exchanged for Sicily in 1720—and Lombardy passed into the hands of Austria; Britain herself obtained two of the most important posts in the Mediterranean, Gibraltar and Port Mahon in Minorca, and across the Atlantic, Acadia, now Nova Scotia.

A Period of Wild Speculation

The British considered the Asiento agreement, through which they, instead of the French, were granted the exclusive right of supplying Spanish America with negro slaves, to be their greatest success. The apparently insignificant favour of being allowed to accompany each fleet of slavers by two vessels of not more than six hundred tons burden, and loaded with other than living freight, was an immediate source of illegitimate gain to British merchants. Liverpool became enriched through both the slave trade and veiled smuggling. When, after the close of the War of the Spanish Succession, the British Government farmed out the negro Asiento to the South Sea Company—by South Sea, the ocean on both sides of South America is to be understood—a period of wild speculation such as is usually terminated by a catastrophe no less destructive than purifying to the financial atmosphere followed. Shares in the South Sea Company rose when the latter received the Asiento, and were in great demand, since after the close of the war, British capital was no longer taken up by the Government; in addition the company wished to provide for the extinction of the National Debt. The price of South Sea shares, soon rising from £100 to £1,000, grew too high for the small speculators. All sorts of tempting but fallacious associations were established, and however unreasonable and absurd they may have been, were subscribed to with the greatest enthusiasm. Finally, the frenzied speculation, which had its counterpart in France at the same period, was ended by the bursting of the "bubble" and the remedial measures desired by Walpole (1720). The South Sea Company remained actually solvent, and managed to continue its existence until after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, when it lost the Asiento.

The effects of the foreign affairs in which Britain had been so successful soon became apparent in the improved domestic policy, which had been completely revolutionised since the year 1688. To be sure, the kingdom had very much the appearance of a ball tossed to and fro by the Whigs and the Tories; and the many-headed Parliament also seemed to stand at a disadvantage when compared with the closely-knit despotism that governed France. But it was precisely the agreement between Crown and Parliament which rendered possible the accumulation of the largest funded debt that had yet been known to history. So long as the two forces had been hostile to one another, the credit of the nation had remained at a very low ebb—at such a low ebb, in fact, that a policy of expansion like that of William III. or of Anne would have been out of the question.

THE OLD MERCERS' HALL, WHERE THE BANK OF ENGLAND WAS FIRST ESTABLISHED

The Whigs looked upon the Bank of England as their creation, and they also interested themselves in the national loans, owing to the fact that Britain's participation in the War of the Spanish Succession was to them a party issue. On the other hand, the Tories prided themselves on the advantageous terms of peace of 1713 and 1714—master-strokes of their leader, Bolingbroke. Nor did the economic antagonism of the two parties lead to a narrow commercial policy. Although the Tories were predominant among the land-owning classes, and were the representatives of agrarian interests, they did not annul the protective tariffs and the restrictions on imports and commercial privileges with which the Whigs defended the interests of merchants and manufacturers. On the contrary, the Tories obtained increased incomes from their estates by means of these very tariffs, and thus had no such cause for complaint against a national policy of mercantilism as had the agriculturists and landed proprietors of France. Consequently there grew up a peculiar national commercial policy in Britain, which has been called "protective solidarity."

Britain's Great Foreign Commerce

British foreign trade increased threefold during the century beginning with the accession of William III. and ending with the French Revolution—from an annual value of £12,000,000 to one of £36,000,000 sterling. European trade was the most important; next followed American, then Asiatic, and finally African. Had it not been for a contemporaneous increase in domestic industry, it would scarcely have been possible for the British to have retained the balance of trade in their favour.

An Era of New Industries

The older system of industry was adopted in England during the sixteenth century, and it preponderated in all the staple branches of manufacturing until the close of the eighteenth. England remained behind the rest of Europe throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, during which period a new method of conducting industries, the factory system, came into vogue on the Continent. The origin of factories cannot be traced. This much only may be said with certainty—new forms of industry were gradually introduced into spheres over which the guilds had no control, and such industries were by their very nature adapted to the methods employed by the large manufacturer. Paper-making—for which we have evidence even in the fourteenth century—smelting, carried on in establishments attached to mines, cotton spinning and weaving, for which the raw materials were imported from the Levant, printing, brewing, and sugar-refining, partook largely of the nature of factory industries. The establishments that were called into existence by Colbert and his imitators in order that articles which had previously been imported might be produced at home by domestic labour were organised throughout after the manner of factories. Wherever the mercantile system was introduced, looking-glass, tapestry, silk, army-cloth, porcelain, and tobacco factories were erected, partly as state, partly as private undertakings. Their prosperity depended upon the nation into which they were introduced and the skill of its inhabitants. The manual dexterity of Italians, High Germans, and French was not to be found everywhere; but owing to unfavourable circumstances both Italians and Germans were driven from competition in the world market during the seventeenth century.

Revolution in the Cloth Industry

Until the eighteenth century, with the exception of metal industries, which were carried on outside the cities—the strongholds of the craftsman and the guild—there was no factory organisation in England. The introduction of the use of coal in metal-founding seems to have been a result of the experiments of Dud Dudley about 1620. The most important trades, such as wool and linen weaving, tanning, and dyeing, still retained the nature of house crafts. Indeed, even the crafts that were brought into England by the Huguenots, such as the manufacture of silk in Spitalfields, were organised according to domestic industrial methods. Although there were cotton-weavers in England, this branch of the textile trade was of little importance, inasmuch as British manufacturers were unable to compete with the West Indians. And yet the cotton industry was destined one day to subject the whole world to the industrial supremacy of England. This became possible owing to the discovery of improved methods for carrying on all branches of weaving—a trade that had never fallen into the hands of the guilds. The replacing of hand labour in the workman's home by machine labour in factories brought about a complete transformation in the cloth industry.

A long series of inventions began with the spinning-machines of Watt, Hargreaves, Arkwright, and Crompton, and the power looms of Kay and Cartwright. The factories of Richard Arkwright, built in 1768, at first driven by horse and later by water power, were a source of such wealth to their founder that from this time forth the employment of machinery in industry was assured. In the meanwhile, James

Watt had succeeded in inventing a steam-engine capable of practical use; and the Boulton and Watt works at Soho, near Birmingham, supplied the first machines used in spinning and weaving establishments, breweries, and mills. The making of pottery and porcelain had also assumed the proportions of a factory industry, as exemplified by Josiah Wedgwood's establishment at Etruria in Staffordshire. In a comparatively few years there was scarcely an industry to which the new sources of power had not been adapted—wool, linen, and silk followed the lead of cotton.

Britain Supreme in the Industrial World

During the sixteenth century the British Isles still bore the yoke of foreign merchants, although the burden had been much decreased by the shaking off of the Hansa. In the seventeenth century the English had become equal to the Hollanders, and, after having contributed their share in bringing about the downfall of Spain, they began the struggle with France for the possession of the trans-oceanic colonies and various commercial advantages. The commercial struggle still hung in the balance, though the colonial struggle had been brought to a decisive conclusion, when suddenly, owing to an extraordinary growth of national intelligence, various new and improved methods of manufacturing were introduced, which, together with inventions of machines and engines, secured to Great Britain the supremacy of the industrial world.

The region of commercial conquest was situated not only on the Continent of Europe, but in other parts of the world, especially in South-eastern Asia, where the British East India Company had been at work for 150 years, without achieving any great success. It had maintained itself with difficulty against Portuguese and Dutch, and several times had been on the verge of collapse, as, for example, during the days of the Commonwealth. Later, during the reign of William III., it was threatened by an opposition company established by Whigs, until finally the two associations were united in 1701.

Prosperity came with the dissolution of the empire of the Great Mogul. To be sure, France began to compete at the same time, but the French were so badly supported and so abominably deceived by their own Government that they were unable to maintain their position. As soon as the East India Company began to extend its influence over India, the British Government took the management into its own hands, assuming the office of superintendence on the passing of Lord North's Regulating Act in 1773 and the younger Pitt's East India Bill in 1784. India, however, did not become a market for manufacturers until freedom of trade was granted in 1814, when British machine industry was in a position successfully to compete with the hand labour of the East, despite the amazing cheapness of the latter.

Industrial Progress of the French

In spite of the fact that, owing to the War of the Spanish Succession and to the Seven Years War, France had lost her North American possessions, and was at the same time obliged to retire from competition with Great Britain in the East Indies, nevertheless during the eighteenth century the mercantile and industrial progress of the French people was remarkable. It is true that during the declining years of Louis XIV. the finances of France were in a wretched condition, and immediately after the War of the Spanish Succession the Government instituted measures that had the effect of a bankruptcy upon the nation. The evil results, however, were chiefly felt by the successors of the old Partisans, for whom there was but little sympathy. But the misery of the lower classes sank only the deeper into the hearts of such patriots as were able to look out beyond the narrow sphere of class interests. Still, the wars had not been a cause of misfortune to all classes. As soon as peace was concluded, capital became heaped up, as in Holland and England, and hungry for profitable investments.

The Craze for Speculation in France

During the regency of the Duke of Orleans the excited impulse for speculation was furthered by the financial system introduced by John Law, a Scotsman, who founded two joint-stock companies—a bank of issue in 1716, and a colonial association, the "Compagnie d'Occident" in 1717, also called the Mississippi Company, with which he united the remains of an East Indian-Chinese trading association under the name "Compagnie des Indes" in 1719. The bank was supported by the Government, Law himself receiving the office of superintendent of finances, and it finally pledged itself to pay the National Debt. France was soon flooded with inconvertible notes, and all the while specie was gathered into the state treasury.

Inasmuch as the redemption of the notes was impossible, they became worthless, and were called in from circulation. The shares in the Mississippi Company, of very little value in themselves, became "fancies," and were driven up from a nominal value of 500 livres each to 20,000 livres; and when, in order to moderate the extravagance of these dealings, the Government began to lower the prices by degrees, a sudden revulsion took place in public opinion, and all men sought to get rid of their shares, which finally resulted in their being worth about twenty francs apiece. John Law had fled in the meantime, and the winding up of the affairs of his companies followed. For two generations the effects of this lesson were visible in France. The affair was not forgotten until the days of the Revolution, and even then the revolutionary leaders did not forget to include Law's performances in the catalogue of the sins of the "Ancien Régime."

A Sin of the "Ancien Régime"

Misfortunes in war and finance had never prevented the people of France from realising to the fullest extent their private economic advantages. Between the heights where the privileged castes lived free from earthly cares and sorrows, and the depths in which the oppressed masses dragged on their miserable existence, lay the great middle class of craftsmen and tradesmen, scholars, to whom it was a matter of regret that they did not possess a position in the state worthy of their material and intellectual significance.

The owners of industries had brought French arts and crafts to a high state of perfection, and the entire prosperity of the export trade rested upon their activity. In spite of domestic drawbacks, the foreign commerce of France had increased fivefold during the eighteenth century; and the traffic with the colonies had grown to ten times its former proportions, although the colonial area had diminished. But there were still valuable possessions among the colonies which France had managed to retain, above all, San Domingo—the eastern part of the Spanish Haiti, ceded to the French in 1697—Guadeloupe, and Martinique in the West Indies, and Réunion in the Indian Ocean. In 1789 the colonial commerce of the French exceeded that of the British by about 150 million livres. Once more during the eighteenth century the possibility of regaining their lost colonies from the British was opened to the French people, when during the American War of Independence the three nations that had been forced from the sea by Britain—France, Holland, and Spain—entered into an alliance with the revolted colonies. In fact, at the Peace of Versailles, in 1783, France was awarded the Senegal region, Tobago and Pondicherry, while Spain recovered Minorca and Florida; but the trade with the United States was retained by Great Britain, although they were now accessible to merchants and ships of all nations.

France's Colonial Possessions

During the last years of the eighteenth century men began to look upon the commerce of nations from a broader point of view. Both the English Navigation Act and the traditions of Colbert's system in France had, at least in theory, lost the greater part of their pristine lustre. When France renovated the Bourbon Family Compact in 1761, during the Seven Years War, rights of reciprocity were granted to all lands belonging to members of the House of Bourbon—that is to say, to France, Spain, the Two Sicilies, and Parma. In 1787, shortly before the Revolution, the new conceptions of economic freedom having become common property, Great Britain and France entered into a commercial agreement, the so-called Eden Treaty, in accordance with which the high protective duties were decreased, and prohibitions removed from many articles of import. The Revolution, however, put an end to any further development of commercial agreements, and caused the old quarrel as to the supremacy of the sea to burst forth anew.

Struggle for the World's Commerce

While Holland, England, and France were competing with one another and increasing their powers in the struggle for supremacy in the world's commerce, national life was at such a low ebb in Germany that the Holy Roman Empire, which had itself once dreamed of world dominion, became little more than a prey to the dominant races of Western Europe. As early as the end of the sixteenth century signs of decay had become visible in all directions; the Hansa was gradually approaching its final dissolution, and the power of the Upper German capitalists was broken. It was during this period of enfeeblement that the Thirty Years War began, and transformed Germany from the most densely populated and best cultivated country in Europe into a desert. Since agriculture began again for the most part with the reclaiming of barren land, and absorbed into itself almost the entire working power of the people, German industry was unable to break through the limits of local demand without the assistance of foreign capital, and as a result German commerce became linked to foreign interests by ties that could not be broken. Western Germany on both sides of the Rhine fell into the hands of the Dutch, who barred the mouths of the Scheldt and the Maas so effectually that the Spanish—since 1714 the Austrian—Netherlands, or Belgium, were also cut off from traffic with foreign nations.

Since the end of the seventeenth century French articles of luxury, art, and fashion were imported into Germany from the West, for ever since the accession of Louis XIV. France had taken the place of Italy in setting the fashions. The decay of the fairs at Frankfort-on-Main, which had possessed a Continental importance during the sixteenth century, was a token of the economic servitude of Western Germany. The British were predominant from Hamburg, where the Merchant Adventurers had established themselves as early as the sixteenth century, to Saxony and Silesia. Although the North Sea cities retained their character as depôts for foreign trade during the very worst years of the economic dependence of Germany, and in the eighteenth century were quite capable of taking an independent share in the world's commerce, the harbours of the Baltic were deserted; Lübeck, once the queen of the North, as well as the smaller ports. Danzig alone—under the rule of Poland—remained the great centre of the export trade which was carried on from the richly productive region of the Vistula; yet even Danzig, like Hamburg, was little more than a link in the chain of Dutch and English economic interests.

Where the British Predominated

The more the principles of the mercantile system were accepted by the various German Governments, the worse became the condition of the small principalities, and especially of the industrial cities of the empire, like Nüremberg; for such towns were so shut in on all points by customs duties and prohibitions on trade that they were compelled to forgo all competition in foreign markets. There was no unity in Germany such as is brought about by a strong central government or by the rigid application of the mercantile system. Each of the minor states to which complete independence had been granted by the Peace of Westphalia imitated the policy to which the great powers of Western Europe had come through a long course of development, but this policy had no meaning whatever in a small state. In Prussia and in Austria only was it possible for the mercantile system to be carried out to success; there, indeed, it attained to the most favourable results, creating economic unity from various dynastically joined provinces, and transforming a heterogeneous mass into an organised structure.

The Old German Empire

It is true that the old German Empire still had an emperor, and even, since the year 1663, a permanent Reichstag; but after the imperial modifications of the sixteenth century, which had left both imperial army and finances in a half-organised state, so that not even such beneficial measures as the regulations respecting the coinage of 1524, 1551, 1558 could have any practical effect, a period of complete inaction of all governmental functions followed during the seventeenth century. Even the atrocious disorder that reigned in the currency at the beginning of the Thirty Years War, due chiefly to the activities of money-clippers, was insufficient to induce the imperial government to take any steps towards establishing order; it merely renounced its rights in favour of the lesser provincial rulers.

The wars with the Turks and the French alone were of general interest sufficient to keep alive a consciousness of common life and aims in the German people. It was all the more remarkable that, after some fifty years of negotiations, the empire actually passed a law in regard to an economic-political matter. This was the Imperial Industry Law of 1731. "The unheard-of had occurred; the German Empire, after a pause of centuries, finally roused itself to the enactment of a uniform legislative measure, through which the chief difficulty that had previously stood in the way of corporation reform was overcome. However, it immediately became evident that uniform legislation without a uniform

The German Empire Roused Into Action

executive is, in a certain sense, very much like a wooden poker." In fact, the organisation of the guilds, originating as it did during the age of mediæval city states, was an anachronism in the days of the mercantile system; it was at least necessary for it to adapt itself to the requirements of the new economic life of nations. Long ago, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, craftsmen and small merchants had united into independent associations in order not only to limit mutual and foreign competition, but to overcome the supremacy of the capitalists, who were members of the more or less distinguished patrician families of the towns.

The New Economic Life of Nations

The control of industrial affairs in the cities gradually became transferred from the guilds to the municipal authorities. Then followed associations of the guilds themselves, some of which extended their power over the whole country—indeed, beyond the boundaries of the empire. Inasmuch as the trades corporations represented the interests of the master craftsmen alone—and of these only the wealthier—journeymen and labourers were compelled to form their own associations, which from the end of the fifteenth until well into the eighteenth century carried on an embittered class struggle with the masters.

Such drawbacks to trade were legislated against in France in the industrial regulations of Henry III. in 1581 and of Henry IV. in 1597; here, as in England, the central government sought to control the guilds and associations of craftsmen by means of legislative and administrative measures. In Germany also the ruling princes had the same praiseworthy intention of putting an end to the nuisance of constant industrial quarrels so hurtful to the community; but, owing to the vast expansion of the various associations of master-craftsmen and journeymen, extending far beyond the boundaries of their territories, the sovereign princes were unable to accomplish their object until the imperial law of 1731 was passed, showing them a way to help themselves out of the difficulty through the introduction of uniform measures. Improvements, of course, depended on the goodwill, the intelligence, and the power of the rulers, in whose hands lay the weal and woe of the crumbling German Empire. The minor ruling princes of Germany were able to accomplish but little compared with what was done in Prussia and Austria after these large states had once adopted the mercantile system—that is to say, at the end of the seventeenth century. Both the external and internal policies of the two nations began to develop at the same time, as did also their rivalry, when, by help of the mercantile system of Western Europe, their monarchs sought to increase the productive capacity of their countries, which were so much behind the times.

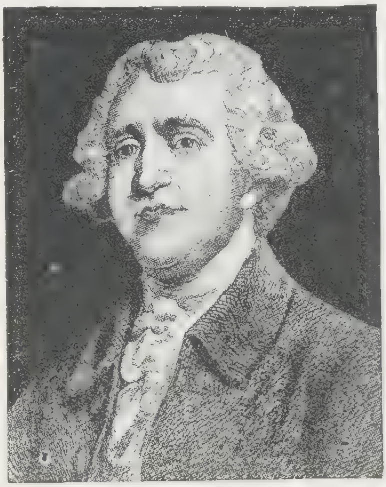
The German Empire Crumbling

The Great Elector Frederic William (1640–1688), the founder of the military power of Prussia, who united Eastern Pomerania and Prussia with Brandenburg, was also the originator of an economic policy that extended far beyond the narrow limits of an ordinary German territorial state. In his naval and colonial plans he paid homage to the spirit of the time. Unfortunately, he endeavoured to hasten natural development too rapidly, with the result that the colonies hurriedly established on the Guinea Coast and on the island of Arguin were complete failures, while the Dutch and the French looked upon their new rivals with no friendly eyes. The Great Elector occupies a brilliant place in the history of commerce, inasmuch as he was the originator of the Prussian system of territorial posts and of the canals that connect the rivers of Eastern Germany. By means of the Müllrose canal he guided the traffic between the districts of the Oder and the Elbe through his rapidly developing capital of Berlin.

Failure of Prussian Colonies

His grandson, Frederic William I., laid the foundations of German bureaucracy, and showed how a government could pay all claims, whether domestic or foreign, without contracting a national debt—indeed, could have a balance left over at the end of each year to go towards forming a state treasury. Seeing that since the end of the Thirty Years War no possession was more necessary to the state than inhabitants, he offered a refuge in his dominions to some 20,000 Protestant refugees who had been driven from Salsburg by their intolerant archbishop, Firmian; in fact, the Great Elector had long ago begun internal colonisation by welcoming Huguenot refugees, who transplanted various branches of French industry to Prussian soil, as well as Irish Catholics flying from

Protestant intolerance. In contrast to the Huguenots, the Salsburgers settled down as agriculturists, chiefly in East Prussia. Hussites from Bohemia and Swiss Protestants also found a second home in Prussia, while the Irish swelled the army. As an opponent of the exportation of money, and consequently of the importation of foreign manufactures—cotton goods, for example—Frederic William I. furthered the domestic cloth industry. A "Russian Company" was founded for the carrying on of traffic in cloth with the Muscovite empire, and a depôt was erected at Berlin, where small producers could offer their goods for sale after they had been subjected to inspection.



JOSIAH WEDGWOOD

A native of Burslem, he raised English pottery to a fine art, and made a fortune out of his works at Etruria. Born in 1730, he died in 1795.

After Frederic II. had used up in the Silesian war the army and treasure left him by his father, he was obliged to look out for fresh supplies; but not until the interval of peace that followed the Seven Years War, in 1763, was he able to carry out his plans of economic improvement. And he, the greatest sovereign of the eighteenth century, clear-sighted, intelligent, and absolute in power, was likewise a mercantilist; that is to say, he was an instructor of an economically backward people in certain theories of commerce. He attained the chief object of exterior commercial policy, a balance of trade, with but little difficulty: the value of imports was from four to five million thalers less than the value of exports annually. However, the king was unable to establish successful transoceanic connections, and the German-Asiatic companies of Emden were failures from the very beginning. Various domestic institutions, such as the Bank of Berlin, the Society of Maritime Commerce, and an institute of credit, formed in order to prevent the families and property of the nobility dwelling east of the Elbe from falling into the hands of usurers, were attended with far greater prosperity. If it required the power of the state to create these institutions, the same was true of the calling of new branches of industry into being. It was only with great difficulty that Frederic II. introduced silk-worm culture and silk-weaving into his kingdom. Workmen were needed for all these things, and he enticed them into his dominions by means of awards of money and grants of land. Especially when, after the first partition of Poland, West Prussia fell to his share, agriculturists were necessary and were supplied from the over-populated districts of South-western Germany, particularly from Würtemberg. Nevertheless, in 1785, shortly before Frederic's death, Prussia possessed little over 5,500,000 inhabitants.

Prosperity of Domestic Institutions

Prussia's Financial Troubles

Such a small nation, one, moreover, that was obliged to bear the arms of a power of the first rank even in times of peace, could not preserve its status for any great length of time without suffering from various financial troubles, however much it husbanded its resources. Frederic's administration, particularly the methods of government monopoly and taxation for revenue, organised by the Frenchman, La Haye de Launay, and carried out with the assistance of French financial experts, awakened the hatred of his subjects. The coffee monopoly was characteristic of his reign; it practically suppressed a commodity whose use took large sums of money annually from the kingdom. But in spite of all his peculiarities, Frederic the Great promoted the economic prosperity of his kingdom.

When the Prussian government was once more established after the troubles of 1806–1807, the views and requirements of the people had so altered that practical mercantilism could be looked upon as a thing of the past. Prussia adopted the principles of economic liberalism earlier than did any other German state, for the reason that throughout its development attention had been paid to the preliminary steps towards liberty. The end of the Thirty Years War failed to bring peace to the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria. French, Turks, and insurgents rendered it necessary for Leopold I. and his sons, Joseph I. and Charles VI., constantly to engage in wars, which had to be borne by the already exhausted provinces of Old Austria and Bohemia. Moreover, the once prosperous trade with Italy had come to an end, and there was no market for the products of the fertile Austrian soil. During the reign of Leopold I. attempts were made towards building model workshops and manufactories and establishing monopolies, but there was a lack, not only of money, but of contractors and competent officials. Escape from financial difficulties was sought through foreign loans, raised in Holland, England, Genoa, and the imperial cities of Germany. By the foundation of the City Bank in Vienna in 1706 the Government secured a means of obtaining money without going abroad, and drew upon the deposits there for the loans it needed.

Austria in Financial Difficulties

Until the reign of Charles VI. there was no consistent commercial policy, based upon a developed mercantile system, in Austria. The emperor desired Ostend to be a point of departure for trans-oceanic traffic, because of its favourable situation in the Spanish—since 1714 Austrian—Netherlands, but the East India Company, established for this purpose in 1722, soon fell a victim to the jealousy of Holland and England in 1731. He was far more successful in his endeavour to obtain a share in Mediterranean commerce through the Adriatic harbours of Trieste and Fiume, free ports since 1719, as Venice was no longer in a condition to offer any opposition. On the other hand, the attempt to further Eastern trade by means of a great Oriental monopoly company was a complete failure, and brought with it a disaster similar to that which had resulted from Law's companies in France. The deliberate policy of centralisation adopted during the reign of Maria Theresa was also directed towards unifying the financial and economic affairs of the Bohemian and German provinces; while, on the other hand, the isolated condition of the Hungarian, Italian, and Flemish portions of the empire was allowed to remain unaltered. In the first-named provinces even the inland duties were removed and the customs service regulated in 1775. In like manner the national debt was consolidated, the currency set on a firm basis—according to the twenty-florin standard agreed upon with Bavaria in 1753—and the Vienna Bourse became a central point for dealings in money, exchange, and stocks.

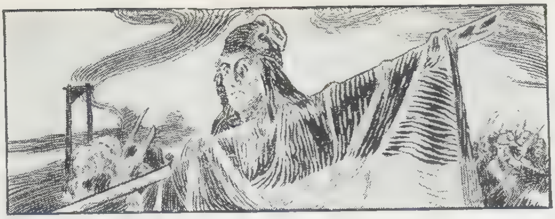
The Reign of Maria Theresa

The reign of Joseph II. was also rich in improvements. Among its failures may be included the beginning of the indebtedness of the Government in 1782, that unfortunately lasted until 1889. In spite of many protests, Joseph II. adopted in 1784 the system of prohibition of various commodities for the sake of protection, which remained in force until 1850. All foreign goods that either were or could be produced at home, or seemed to be superfluous, were not permitted to be imported for sale. To be sure, men were allowed to bring with them over the frontier certain articles for their own personal use, but heavy duties were exacted. Under the protection of this prohibitory system of Joseph II. the industries of Austria began to develop greatly; a large export trade was carried on with Hungary, which, until 1850, was a separate customs district, and with the Ottoman Empire. Joseph II. also sought to transform the Austrian Netherlands into a maritime commercial country, but in 1785 the Dutch successfully resisted all his attempts to break through their blockade of the Scheldt.

Government of the Small States

Thus, during the eighteenth century, notwithstanding that there were Prussian and Austrian regions of production of considerable extent, there was no distinctively German sphere of commerce. Small states and provinces were governed by no definite policy, although, in spite of their weakness and the amazing capacities for misgovernment of some of their sovereigns, a few of them attained to industrial and commercial significance, as, for example, the Electorate of Saxony. Most of them were content with bringing forth an excess of population, of which large numbers were sold to foreign countries during the wars of the time by unscrupulous rulers as food for cannon. For this reason a great advance in progress was shown when an excess of population was first used for colonising purposes: by Prussia in her eastern provinces, and by Austria in Hungary and Galicia. In most countries the century was a mere parenthesis, and Europe had at the beginning of the nineteenth century to start afresh.

RICHARD MAYR



EUROPE

FIFTH DIVISION

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEONIC ERA

The French Revolution is an event—if we may legitimately apply that term to a series of occurrences extending over five years—which forms, perhaps, the most definite epoch, the moment most pregnant of change, in European history since the fall of the Western Roman Empire; unless we except the decade following Luther's challenge to Tetzel, or the voyage of Columbus.

The French Revolution changed the social order of half the continent immediately, though its work in that field is not even yet completed. And it also caused, though it did not at once effect, a fundamental change in the political order, the gradual democratisation of governments, the ultimate control of articulate Public Opinion over State policy. But besides these permanent results it evoked that unique phenomenon, the Napoleonic Empire; and by doing so it drew the Muscovite Empire more definitely than before into the main current of Western history, so that the division into East and West, which we have hitherto observed, of necessity disappears.

Throughout the whole period of the Revolution, the militant Republic, and the Empire, France, or France impersonated by Napoleon, dominates the historic stage so completely that the subdivisions of the narrative are fixed by French events; and we have only deviated from this principle so far as to devote a separate section to the affairs of our own country.

Thus in the succeeding pages the reader will follow the story of the fall of the French Monarchy, the Terror, the Rise of Bonaparte, the Military Dictatorship, the Empire and its downfall; to be followed hereafter by the story of the European reaction, succeeded by the Nationalist reorganisation and the social and political development of popular ascendancy.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PERIOD

By Dr. J. Holland Rose

HISTORY: FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE HUNDRED DAYS

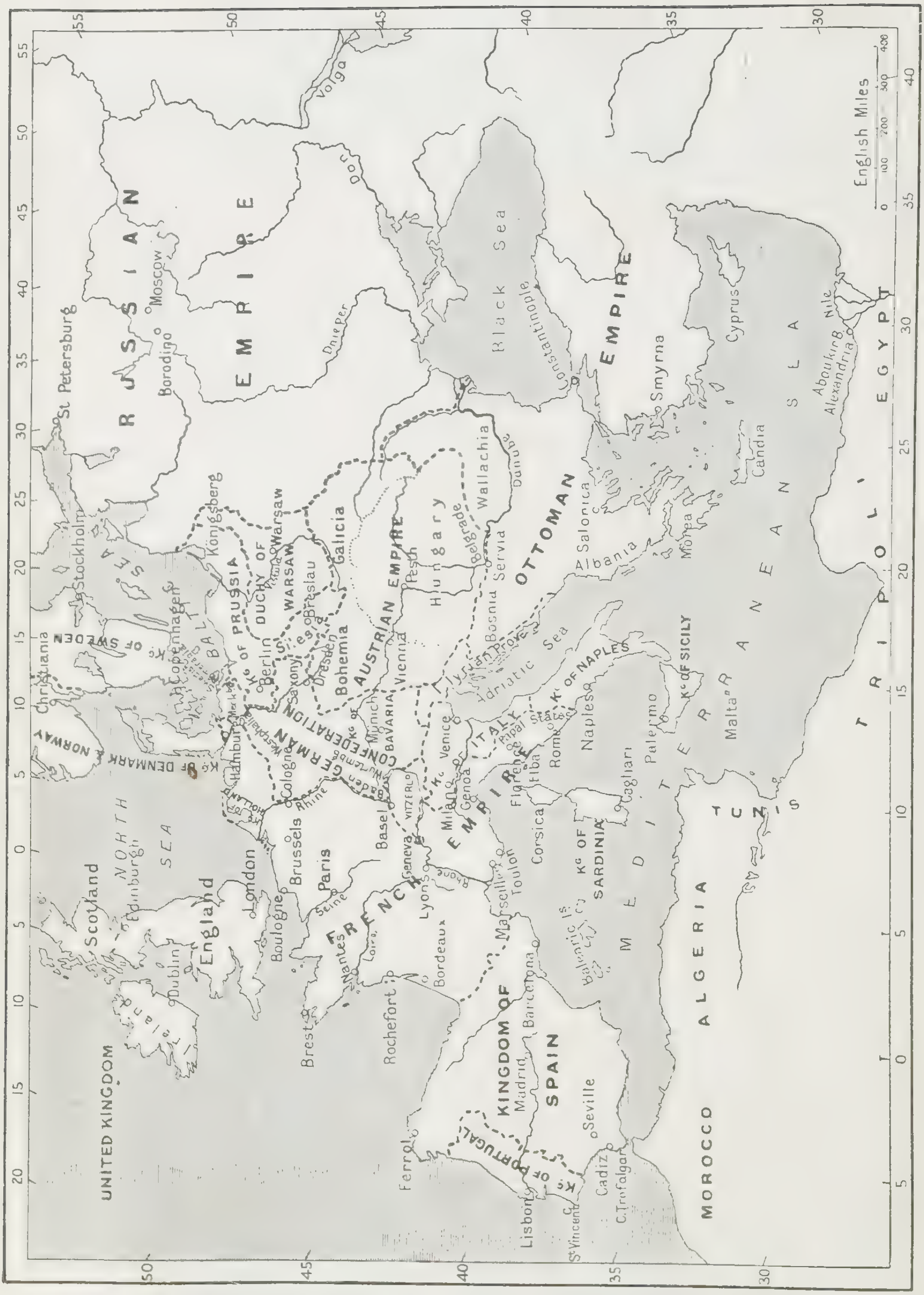
By Arthur D. Innes, M.A.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

By H. W. C. Davis, M.A.

HOW TRAFALGAR CHANGED THE FACE OF THE WORLD

By Sir John Knox Laughton



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE FIFTH DIVISION OF EUROPE

The fifth division of Europe differs from preceding divisions of our History in the fact that the territorial interests cease to be localised, for with the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Era the whole continent comes up for general treatment. In the four divisions of Europe with which we have dealt a distinction was maintained between the eastern and western nations, but now, and to the end of the Grand Division, European history is treated as a whole; the point of view is chronological rather than geographical. The map shows the disposition of the countries of Europe during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era, with the history of which this division of our work is concerned.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION & NAPOLEONIC ERA

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PERIOD

By Dr. J. Holland Rose

It used to be the fashion, in the generation which was dominated by the personality of Thomas Carlyle, to dwell in rhapsodic strains on the cataclysmic character of the French Revolution. Similes of the explosive order were worked very hard, the result being that the average reader, who too often confuses similes with arguments, came to regard that great event as an outcome of the workings of the *kosmos* no less inevitable and terrible than the periodic quakings and rendings of the earth's crust, to which it seemed to have some hidden relation.

History as a Science

But times have changed. The volcanic or earthquake similes have worked themselves out. After all, they explain nothing. They do not show why the revolution broke out in France and during the reign of Louis XVI., still less why it ran the course which it did, only to be followed by the ascendancy of Napoleon. The present age is nothing if not scientific. History is now recognised as a science, and not as one of the inferior domains of literature, to which Dr. Johnson contemptuously assigned it. Historians seek to attract not so much by glowing descriptions as by presenting illuminating explanations of the course of events, especially those which affect the progress of the species.

Reasons for the French Revolution

They strive to bring their narratives down from the misty heights of tragedy to the lower levels whereon men act, not as demigods, but as fallible creatures, where the action ceases to be epic in order to be human. What their story loses in picturesqueness it partly regains in philosophic interest. If the historian of to-day fails to dazzle the imagination, he at least ought to seek to enlighten the understanding. Viewed from this standpoint, which may be termed philosophical or evolutionary, the French Revolution will be regarded, not as an appalling explosion, but as the greatest and most terrible of all the many movements of modern times which have aimed at the emancipation of mankind from outworn usages. There were many reasons why the outbreak should have occurred first in France of all European lands. We cannot imagine a great revolution taking place in England in the year 1789, firstly, because feudalism and monarchy never had been so deeply planted and so rigidly developed here as they had been in France, and, secondly, because the champions of political freedom had won nearly all that they strove for in the political revolution of 1688.

France Under its Absolute Monarchy

The century that elapsed after that event was essentially conservative, and though Britons had many grievances both against George III. and the landed aristocracy, yet there was no talk of dethroning the king and expropriating the landlords even at the close of that most disastrous War of American Independence. The apathy of our people in the years 1780–1789 was equally surprising and distressing to professed reformers like Charles James Fox.

In France everything was different. There were three forces that had long been repressing the growth of the nation. The first of these was the royal power, which, in theory at least, was as absolute under Louis XVI. as under Louis XIV., *le grand* *monarque*, who said, with perfect truth: "L'Etat c'est moi." A second and far more burdensome influence was that exerted by feudal customs from which all the life had gone. Defensible as many of these had been in the Middle Ages, when the barons were expected to protect their peasants in return for the dues and services which they exacted, nothing could be urged in their defence in an age when the great lords neither defended the realm at their own charges, nor fulfilled the duties of landlords, but were occupied mainly in acting as courtiers at Versailles and Paris.

Imminence of National Bankruptcy

The third of these untoward influences resulted largely from the extravagance of the monarchs and the almost complete immunity of the nobles and titled clergy from taxation; it was the imminence of national bankruptcy. All the great powers were in difficulties as a result of the many wars of that generation; and Great Britain especially suffered severely from the American War of Independence; but after its close she had the good fortune to gain a statesman, William Pitt the younger, whose careful husbanding of the nation's resources soon brought her back to prosperity.

At the same time, in France the extravagant policy of Calonne plunged that nation deeper in the mire and led to those conflicts between the king and the old juridical bodies, the Parlements, from which there seemed to be no escape save by the summoning of the States-General in May, 1789. This last step furnished a humiliating proof of the helplessness of King Louis XVI. in face of a difficult but by no means hopeless situation. In theory an absolute monarch, he had not the political foresight, the insight into men, or the needed firmness of will, to carry through by royal decree that most necessary of reforms, the subjection of the privileged orders to the national taxation. Nowhere else in the world was there the same financial need; and nowhere did a great state drift so helplessly as France after the American War of Independence. Her participation in that struggle was in reality a serious political blunder. While dealing a deadly blow at England, she stored up for herself a day of reckoning. Her soldiers, after helping those of Washington to found a free commonwealth, became missionaries of democracy when, on their return to France, they found the old abuses rampant, the higher ranks of the service more than ever closed to commoners, and the pay of the rank and file falling hopelessly in arrears.

France's Day of Reckoning

The importance of this source of discontent has probably been underrated. Writers have descanted on the revolutionary forces let loose by Voltaire and Rousseau; and it is true that the cultured classes, which had laughed at the mordant ironies of the philosopher of Ferney and had accepted the new social gospel proclaimed by the Genevese seer, thenceforth for the most part allied themselves with the critics and assailants of the old order of things both in Church and State. But the influence of these writers and of the whole cohort of the Encyclopædists did not extend very far. The workmen of the towns and the whole mass of the peasantry were not moved by such writings, for the simple reason that they could not read.

But they were aroused by the stories told by the many thousands of French troops who now knew what liberty was, and looked on the old grievances with eyes which had been enlightened. There indeed was an influence which worked like leaven through the whole of the army and permeated large parts of the industrial population. The hitherto unavailing efforts of the *intelligencia* to overthrow the autocracy and bureaucracy in Russia furnish an instructive commentary on the beginnings of the French Revolution.

Beginnings of the Revolution

They show that the well-educated classes alone cannot bring about a great political change. The débacle can begin only when the masses are set in motion, and when the soldiery refuse to act for the throne against their fellow citizens. Mazzini has finely said that a revolution is the passing of an idea into actuality; but to this terse and suggestive statement we must add the proviso that the brain which conceives the idea must have full control over the nerves and muscles of the body. That controlling power which produced the events of 1789 emanated very largely from the troops that fought for the cause of freedom in the New World.

Now, a brief comparison of the condition of France with that of the other great powers will show them to have been free from the chief influences which made for the overthrow of the French monarchy.

Nowhere else, except in England, had the national consciousness been so vividly aroused; in no land, except Spain, was the monarchy so all-pervading an institution. Germany and Italy were merely geographical names, devoid of any political significance; in those picturesque mosaics there was little cohesion and no life. Russia was too barbarous, and Spain too torpid to struggle for popular liberty. In Great Britain the forces of the time might have tended towards revolution but for the timely reforms of the Whigs and Pitt. Further, none of these powers suffered from that concentration of wealth at the capital which left the country districts denuded, and drew to Paris hunger-stricken throngs of peasants in the hope of picking up crumbs from the table of Dives.

A Weak King on the French Throne

The great thinker, Montesquieu, as far back as the year 1748 had seen whereto this was tending when he penned this damning indictment of the policy of Louis XIV. and Louis XV.: "Monarchy is destroyed when the prince, directing everything to himself, brings the country to the capital, the capital to his court, and the court to his own person." Add to the foregoing considerations these last: that this centralised monarchy was now in the hands of a sovereign wholly incompetent to bear the weight of responsibility; and that in France, far more than in any other land, the body politic had been infected by the virus of democracy—and the reasons of the political outbreak which occurred in France in 1789 will be intelligible.

The reader who peruses the stories of misgovernment, class favouritism, and gross stupidity in the handling of finance, will perhaps wonder why the outbreak did not come sooner—say, during the reign of Louis XV., a far worse ruler than Louis XVI. We may reply that reasons partly material and partly personal brought the doom on the head of the more innocent monarch. The financial strain of the American War led to the financial troubles which caused the convocation of the States-General; and the summer of 1788 was marked by a prolonged drought which ended in a violent hailstorm. The winter of 1788-1789 was also among the severest ever known, the result being that the elections for the States-General were held amid scenes of want and excitement.

The Queen's Evil Influence in Politics

Nevertheless matters might have gone smoothly had the king and his chief Minister, Necker, possessed foresight, initiative, and firmness. They lacked these qualities, and the result was an irritating indecision and vacillation on the burning question of the constitution of the States-General. For details the reader must consult the general narrative. Here we may note that Louis was at one with his subjects on the financial and other practical reforms which were so urgently needed; but he resented the step taken by the Tiers État, or Commons, of declaring themselves to be the National Assembly of France. Thereafter he gave ear to his queen and to the other reactionary advisers who led him to attempt the feeble coup d'état of July 13th-14th.

Thus we may say that the final causes of the popular outbreak, by which Paris successfully defied the monarchy, are traceable to the incompetence of the king and to the spasmodic and ill-advised interference of Marie Antoinette in political affairs. That unfortunate queen had the charm and spirit of her mother, Maria Theresa, but none of her tact and sagacity. In 1774 she induced Louis XVI. to dismiss the great reforming Minister, Turgot, because his economies injured a court favourite; and her behaviour in matters political was generally the outcome of sentiment and passion.

Dumont, the friend of Mirabeau and Bentham, went so far as to ascribe the French Revolution solely to the failings of the king and queen. This is defective reasoning. To attribute a great and complex event to a single cause, and that a small one, is irrational. But we may admit that those failings gave the final tilt to events which resulted from other and weightier causes.

The Bastille Captured by the Populace

To attempt to divide up into periods a great movement like that of the French Revolution, which possesses an inner unity amid all its external diversities, is a somewhat futile task. Even at the time of the first defiance of the royal power by the Tiers État in the latter half of June there was seen the stern insistence on the sovereignty of the people which rendered compromise difficult, if not impossible. The capture of the Bastille by the Parisian populace on July 14th led to scenes of violence both in the capital and the provinces, which showed the weakness of the governing power and the strength of the anarchic forces now coming to a head. Nothing is more remarkable than the ease with which feudalism and the absolute monarchy were then struck down.

The Reign of Terror Begins

The abolition of agrarian abuses and feudal privileges was decided in a single sitting of the National Assembly on August 10th, 1789. The prerogatives of the old monarchy went by the board in the debates on the royal veto and the outlines of the future constitution. A few irritating occurrences at Versailles, and the secret use of the money of the Duke of Orleans to stir up sedition at Paris, sufficed to send forth the "dames des halles" and the dregs of the populace in a turbid stream westwards, which overbore the feeble defences at Versailles and brought back king, queen, and court to Paris, October 5th and 6th. The National Assembly soon followed them; and, in a limited sense, we may say that the Reign of Terror had its beginnings in the events which centred around the capture of the Bastille, the "jacquerie" of July–August, and the victory of the mænads of Paris at Versailles. Thereafter the Government fell more and more under the control of a suffering and excitable populace.

Nevertheless, the final triumph of the anarchic forces came slowly, and it might possibly have been averted had the more moderate leaders, whether Royalists or Democrats, come to some understanding. But it is one of the peculiarities of the French Revolution, as that gifted woman, Mme. Roland, finely remarked, that while the movement was great, the men of the time were mediocre. From this statement we must except one truly inspiring personality; and Mirabeau, though possessing the width of vision and magnetic gifts which mark the statesman, lacked one of the essentials of a leader of men in that he never inspired confidence. The National Assembly showed a most unworthy jealousy of its ablest member by passing a decree—November 9th, 1789—which shut out him or any member of the House from the king's Ministry.

Mirabeau "the Tribune of the People"

Excluded from all control of affairs, Mirabeau finally drifted into ambiguous courses, taking money secretly from the king in return for advice—which Louis very rarely followed—and yet posing before the world as the great tribune of the people. In reality, his aims were thoroughly sound—namely, to rid the king of all reactionary tendencies, to make him figure as leader in a popular movement, and to strengthen the reformed monarchy so as to enable it to defy the Parisian demagogues. The scheme broke down mainly owing to the suspicion which his notorious vices inspired both in the king and the Democrats; but also because men in authority, like Necker—the chief Minister until September, 1790—and Lafayette, commander of the Parisian National Guards, refused to act with him. The union of these three men for the support of moderate reforms and the renovated monarchy might have stemmed the course of anarchy. As it was, power passed from the king's Ministry, even from the once popular Lafayette, to the political clubs.

Preachers of the Social Gospel

For while the friends of order remained in disunion that very event which Mirabeau most feared was coming to pass—"anarchy was organising itself." The Jacobin Club, at first a reunion of men of all parties, became both more extreme in its views and more powerful throughout France. Men of clear-cut theories and incisive speech, like Robespierre, there gained a hearing which the National Assembly often denied to them. The social gospel, first set forth by Rousseau in his "Contrat Social" in 1762, and now preached by "the sea-green incorruptible," as Carlyle dubs Robespierre, proved to be an impelling force of the first magnitude. It was spread everywhere by newspapers and pamphlets which reported the debates of the Jacobin Club; and the managers of that institution, with a foresight not to be found in the royal counsels, affiliated to the mother society in Paris the many thousands of clubs which sprang up in the provinces.

The result was seen in the heightening of democratic fervour which marked the years 1790–1792. By the departmental system, which came into force early in 1790, the French people gained local self-government very nearly on the basis of manhood suffrage. The summer of that year saw titles of nobility abolished and the Church of Rome in France compelled to fit in with the new local organisation, her bishops and priests being required to submit to popular election and to take an oath of allegiance to the civil power which invalidated their allegiance to the Pope. The attempt to enforce this measure—called "The Civil Constitution of the Clergy"—led to a schism in the ranks of the clergy. The pliable minority who bowed before the civil power were termed "constitutionals"; those who refused to take the oath were known as "non-jurors." From that time we may date the beginnings of a religious reaction against the Revolution which finally aroused the Royalist and intensely Catholic west in a series of desperate revolts.

This same ill-omened measure likewise completed the disgust of the king at the course of events; and after the death of Mirabeau, on April 2nd, 1791, the king attempted to flee, not to Royalist Normandy, as Mirabeau had advised, but to the eastern frontier, where he would come into touch with the Austrians and the bands of reactionary emigrant French nobles assembling in the Rhineland. The attempt failed miserably at Varennes at midsummer of 1791, and the schism between king and nation was now seen to be complete. This date, therefore, marks a fatal point in the course of the Revolution. It was impossible long to keep at the head of affairs a king who desired to run away to the Austrians; and thereafter a Republican party began to form.

France the Centre of Difficulties

Nevertheless, an attempt was made by all moderate men to avert anarchy by bolstering up the royal power; but it failed in face of the passions which had been aroused. The new National Assembly was more extreme than its predecessor; and when Francis II. of Austria, brother of Marie Antoinette, seemed to imply that he had the right of interference in French affairs, the party of enthusiastic idealists, known as the Girondins, who were now uppermost in the Ministry of Louis XVI., pushed him on to declare war against Austria. Prussia, Sardinia, and the Holy Roman Empire thereafter declared against France, which found herself beset by alarming difficulties.

The outbreak of the war is perhaps the most sinister event in the whole course of the French Revolution. Imagine the fury which would have been aroused in England if before the outbreak of the Civil War French troops had invaded this country with the avowed object of rescuing Charles I. and his consort Henrietta—a French princess—and of putting down the popular party. The instinct of nationality shows that this would immediately have ruined the royal cause, and have led to a general rising against a prince thenceforth deemed a traitor to his people. Power would at once have passed to the extreme party, which demanded his deposition and the adoption of the most vigorous measures against the common enemy. If, after his deposition, the ranks of the invaders had been strengthened by a Spanish army with English nobles acting as its vanguard, we can picture the rage which would have fallen on all other Royalists or their adherents. The agony of the nation would have led to deeds of violence impossible at ordinary times, and to the ascendancy of any faction, however desperate, which had vigour enough to beat off the invaders and avenge the outraged dignity of the nation. "Salus populi suprema lex." At such a crisis desperadoes figure as heroes, and even a massacre of supposed traitors ceases to be odious.

Failure of the Royal Scheme

Transfer this supposed case to France in 1792, and the overthrow of the monarchy, the September massacres, the victory of the extreme party at the polls, the proclamation of the Republic by the Convention, the astounding military efforts which beat back the Prussians and Austrians, the execution of Louis XVI. as an accomplice of the invaders—all this becomes intelligible. We pity the king, but there can be little doubt that he secretly desired, and even worked for, the declaration of war in April, 1792, in the hope that this would bring the forces of Central Europe in triumph to Paris for the rescue of himself and the confusion of his foes.

His conduct at every crisis was miserably weak. Early on the morning of August 10th, which was to see his overthrow, his bearing was so uninspiring as to unman the defenders at the Tuileries. A hero would have rallied round him the wavering battalions of the National Guard, and imposed on the Marseillese and the populace. The queen then showed that she was the daughter of Maria Theresa; but she soon came to despair of success and gave her consent to that tamest of surrenders by which a Bourbon left his palace and sought refuge with the National Assembly. Heroism was shown on that day only by a few

The lost Opportunity of Louis XVI.

Royalist gentlemen and by alien mercenaries, the Swiss regiment, which even in its death agonies sought to protect the shield of the fleur de lys. A little olive-cheeked lieutenant of artillery who looked on at that last struggle to uphold the honour of the old monarchy believed that if the Royalist troops at the Tuileries had been well led they would have won the day. Such was the judgment of Napoleon Bonaparte. It is needless to review here the events of the republican wars and of the Reign of Terror. My aim has been to point out the meaning of events and the interaction of forces that brought France to that awful year 1793, which Victor Hugo has so vividly depicted. The fanaticism of the Jacobins appeared in the energy with which they pressed back the invaders at the close of 1792, and threw down the gauntlet to England and Holland on the question of the River Scheldt. Danton's gigantic phrase, "Let us fling down to Europe the head of a king as gage of battle," came to be literally true.

Execution of the French King

On February 1st, 1793, eleven days after the execution of Louis XVI., the French Convention declared war against England and Holland, and five weeks later against Spain. This aggressive policy led up to another sharp crisis, France losing Belgium and having her north-eastern districts invaded. But again the emergency called forth all her energies. The incompetent Girondins were flung on one side; the unscrupulous Jacobins seized on power, and, discarding parliamentary forms, governed despotically through two secret committees, those of Public Safety and of General Security.

Little by little the "levée en masse," decreed by the Convention and organised by Carnot, made headway against the invaders on all the frontiers and crushed the Girondin and Royalist opposition in the south and west. At the same time Robespierre and his colleagues sought to purge France of her bad blood by systematically setting about the Reign of Terror, the prelude, as he believed, to the golden age foreshadowed in the writings of Rousseau.

The Ghastly Failure of Robespierre

The experiment was a ghastly failure. France fell back exhausted on the more feasible of the schemes of the earlier revolutionists; but the time of Robespierre's ascendancy—from July, 1793, till July, 1794—led to one result, the importance of which, perhaps, has not been sufficiently emphasised. The disillusionment and despair which settled upon France at the end of the Reign of Terror and led to a sharp Royalist reaction a year later directly favoured the supremacy of the army. That must always happen when the political problem seems insoluble, and when the army alone wins decided successes.

To recur once more to English history, the shortcomings of civilians at the close of the Civil War and during the Commonwealth made the supremacy of the greatest soldier of the age inevitable. So, too, the French Republic in 1794–1796, though strong enough to crush the revolts of malcontents and Royalists, failed to harmonise the claims of liberty and order, failed to build up a durable constitution—that of the Directory leading to constant friction—and therefore failed to maintain that equilibrium between the civil power and the army which has ever been the crux of French politics.

Now, too, there arose a mighty genius who would perhaps in any case have gained the mastery which Burke in 1790 foretold would be the outcome of events in France. The little Corsican, Napoleon Bonaparte, had done much towards saving the Republic in the great street fight of Vendémiaire, October, 1795, at Paris, and ere long men were to see the danger of cutting the Gordian knot of French politics by the sword. That same trenchant sword ended the Austrian domination in Italy, brought that fair land under the control of France, and compelled the Hapsburgs to sign the humiliating terms of the Treaty of Campo Formio in October, 1797.

Rise of the Great Bonaparte

The conquest of Italy was the most brilliant feat of arms of the eighteenth century. Its results were incalculably great. France, previously exhausted by civil strifes, now gained wealth enough to enter on a new cycle of war—not now for the propagation of liberty, but for aggrandisement or plunder. The Italians received an impulse towards political freedom and unity which they were never to lose. The old European system received a shock which brought about the mighty changes of the nineteenth century.

But greatest, perhaps, of all Bonaparte's conquests in 1796–1797 was his conquest of France. The mind of that people, baffled in the quest for liberty, disgusted by the sordid strifes of parties at Paris, now turned away from political affairs and sought satisfaction in following the career of the young general, who alone of his compeers seemed able to extend the bounds of freedom.

The man who has thrilled the imagination of France has always been in reality her master. At the close of the Italian campaigns, Bonaparte felt the need of keeping his prestige unimpaired, and as he deemed the invasion of England to be impossible, he entered on the Egyptian expedition with the aim of crippling her power in the East, and also of throwing up in brilliant relief his achievements against the petty and persecuting conduct of the civilian Directors at Paris. In a material sense, the expedition was a failure; but the young general fully realised the personal aim which has just been noted. Returning to France in the autumn of 1799, he was hailed with delight as the conqueror of the East.

Bonaparte the Master Spirit of France

The real state of affairs in Egypt was not known by Frenchmen; all that they knew, or cared to know, was that the Directory had brought about further wars in Europe, those of the second coalition, had lost Italy, and had made their own countrymen miserable. Bonaparte's "Coup d'état" of Brumaire, November 9–10th, 1799, brought about the overthrow of the Directory. But it did far more; it put an end to parliamentary institutions in France. The generals and malcontents who helped him to scatter the elective councils at St. Cloud paved the way for military rule. The complicated constitution of December, 1799, proposed by Siéyès and approved by a "rump" of the councils, proved to be easily adaptable to his requirements; and in most essentials the future constitutions of the French Empire of 1806—1814 were laid down in secret conferences held at the close of 1799, in which Bonaparte was the master spirit.

It is well to remember the salient outlines of the constitutional history of the decade 1789–1799. In the spring and early summer of 1789 it seemed that parliamentary institutions had for ever prevailed over all forms of autocracy in France. The triumph was consolidated by the very democratic constitution of 1791, which left the monarchy with functions little more than nominal, and assigned the reality of power to a single Assembly, elected on a very extended franchise. With the disappearance of monarchy a year later, democracy in an extreme form seemed to be the only possible form of government in France. But at that very time the crisis produced by the war led to the strengthening of the executive powers, and to the extension of the functions of committees which supervised various departments of state. In the terrible emergency of the spring and summer of 1793 these committees began to trench on the sphere previously reserved to the elective chamber; and during the Reign of Terror parliamentary government was largely in abeyance.

Fall of the Great Robespierre

After the fall of Robespierre the Convention regained many of its functions at the expense of those of the secret executive committees. Nevertheless, in the constitution of 1795 we find the idea of a supervising committee acquiring permanence. The five Directors, who were charged with the supervision of the Ministers of State and the general control of the executive and of foreign policy, were the lineal descendants of the secret committees of the Reign of Terror. On the collapse of the Directory in Brumaire, November, 1799, their powers devolved on three consuls, among whom the First Consul alone, Bonaparte, had the reality of power. He, therefore, as First Consul, received the heritage bequeathed by the terrible committees of the Reign of Terror; and if one examines carefully the causes which brought about this triumph of the one strong man over the discordant parties around him, one finds it to be due mainly to war.

The Growing Popularity of Bonaparte

A time of severe national crisis demands a strong executive, and the general experience of mankind has been that at such seasons the strongest of all governing committees is a committee of one. The eleven members of the Robespierrist Committee of Public Safety were in 1795 ultimately replaced by five Directors, and four years later these in their turn handed over their powers to three consuls, the second and third of whom were merely ciphers multiplying the power of the First Consul. Shortly after the conclusion of a most advantageous peace with England—the Peace of Amiens, in March, 1802—Bonaparte gained so much popularity as to be able still further to depress the legislative bodies and extend his own authority. He now became First Consul for life, with powers which were to be virtually hereditary in his family. Thus, by success in war, diplomacy, and the handling of parties, he attained to heights of power never reached even by Louis XIV.; and the change of title to that of emperor in May, 1804, was little more than nominal. It has often been found that attempts to level down mankind to a plane of safe mediocrity have brought about a situation in which one able man avenges the slights inflicted on genius, and builds up a personal power far more imposing than that which the would-be reformers endeavoured for ever to destroy. In a very real sense the Napoleonic despotism is the Nemesis which dogged the steps of the men of 1789–94.

Bonaparte Becomes Emperor

Never were there faculties so varied and transcendent concentrated in any one man. Coming of a race which had been toughened by clan strifes and family vendettas in Corsica, he saw, as if by instinct, the weak point of opponents either on the field of battle, in the council chamber, or the legislature. On his father's side he traced his descent to forebears who had played no small part in the party feuds of mediæval Florence; and their spirit lived on in the man who threaded with ease and safety the mazes of revolutionary politics that had led so many promising leaders to death. He was the able soldier whose advent Burke had foretold and Robespierre had feared; but he was also by far the ablest statesman France had found since the days of Richelieu, and resources much greater than those of the age of Louis XIII. were now at his disposal.

In many respects he sought to bring back revolutionary France to the customs of the old monarchy. Indeed, the general drift of his civil policy at the time of the Consulate (1799–1804) may be indicated by saying that it was a compromise between the more feasible of the measures passed in 1789–92 and the best of the laws and customs of old France. This is especially true of the Civil Code—afterwards named the Code Napoléon—which cleared away the perplexing growth of local laws in favour of a code which was clear, symmetrical, and, on the whole, very well adapted to the needs of the French people. Though the work of redaction was due mainly to skilled jurists, yet he superintended it and in parts stamped it with his own personality and genius. Later on, the Code was extended to many parts of Italy and Germany, and it forms the most enduring tribute to his organising abilities.

Napoleon's Policy of Compromise

The remark hazarded above is also applicable to the Concordat, or treaty with the Pope (1801–2). By it Bonaparte officially recognised the Roman Catholic system in France, ended the schism which had begun in 1790, and bound her closely to the Holy See. On the other hand, he compelled the Church to forego its claims to the tithes and lands confiscated in the early part of the Revolution. Thus, while restoring a state system of religion in France, he also became the guarantor of the agrarian settlement of the Revolution, which all the peasants and farmers sought to uphold. While spiritualising the life of France in form, he materialised it in essence. The strength gained by this astonishingly clever compromise in what had been an almost atheistical society enabled him to carry through another measure highly repugnant to Jacobins and progressives of all shades. This was the founding of the Legion of Honour, in which he sought to include in several grades of merit and reward all those who had distinguished themselves in military or civil affairs. The sequel was to show that this institution was but a half-way house on the road leading to the restoration of titles of nobility abolished in 1790.

Founding of the Legion of Honour

Besides discrediting philosophic speculation, unbelief, and the passion of equality, which had been so characteristic of the period of Jacobin supremacy, Napoleon favoured the return of the emigrant nobles, sought to attract them to his court, and gradually made it the most sumptuous and brilliant in Europe. Now that prosperity had returned under the enchanter's wand, Paris fell back contented into the old pleasure-loving ways, and, as long as their great ruler won battles and gave *panem et circenses*, the quest of liberty seemed an idle dream.

The restless activity and love of power so characteristic of Napoleon were far from exhausted by the immense task of reorganising France after a decade of upheaval. While the institutions of modern France were rapidly taking shape under his master-hand, he was spreading her influence far and wide. During the brief Peace of Amiens (1802–1803) schemes were on hand for the extension of the French colonial empire, both in the vast district of Louisiana recently gained from Spain, in India, and, if opportunity admitted. in the central parts of New Holland, or Australia. Undoubtedly he desired to recover Egypt, with a view to the ultimate conquest of India, always a favourite plan with him. The beginnings of his new Oriental policy undoubtedly disturbed the Addington Cabinet at Westminster; and as they went hand in hand with an almost prohibitive tariff system wherever the tricolour floated, the extension of French influence threatened to impoverish "the nation of shopkeepers," as he contemptuously termed the British.

Britain and France at War

These extensions of influence were also threatening Europe. Piedmont and Elba were annexed; first Holland, and then Switzerland became French satrapies. Finally, the Addington Cabinet sent demands—including the retention of Malta by us for ten years—which were designed to restore the balance of power in the Mediterranean. Bonaparte angrily refused, and declaimed against Britain as the breaker of treaties. War, therefore, broke out in May, 1803. At first the central powers remained neutral, but in May–June, 1805, Napoleon's assumption of the title King of Italy, and his annexation of the Ligurian (Genoese) Republic, drove Austria and Russia to take up arms. Pitt had been seeking to build up a coalition of the Great Powers; but he did not fully succeed until these actions of the French Emperor convinced the statesmen of Vienna and St. Petersburg that peace was more dangerous than war. It is noteworthy that they entered upon this war of the Third Coalition, not with the purpose of dethroning Napoleon, but of restoring the balance of power upset by his acts of aggrandisement.

The ensuing campaigns, naval and military, were marked by events of surpassing interest and importance. Nelson's final triumph at Trafalgar synchronised with an equally crushing victory gained by the French Emperor over the Austrian forces at and near Ulm, on the Upper Danube. Pursuing his advantage, he shattered the Russo-Austrian armies at Austerlitz, on December 20th, 1805, compelling the Tsar to retire crestfallen to his own dominions, while the Hapsburg Court consented to Napoleon's very exacting demands. The net result of the campaigns of 1805, then, was to make Britain mistress of the seas and Napoleon master of the Continent.

Napoleon's Hatred of England

This sharp differentiation in character between the two chief opponents determined the main outlines of Napoleon's policy. Unable to strike at England directly, as he had hitherto sought to do from the cliffs of Boulogne, he now attempted to effect her overthrow indirectly—that is, through the subjection of the Continent to his political and commercial system. He framed what he called the Continental system, with a view to the financial ruin of his most persistent opponent. All his allies, all his subject states, were thenceforth rigidly to exclude British goods, and all ships which had touched at British ports. Prussia, Naples, and Holland also felt the pressure of his new policy. The House of Hohenzollern was forced to bar out British goods from the north-west of Germany, a proceeding which, with other provocations, brought about the Franco-Prussian War of 1806 and the overthrow of the chief North German power. The Bourbons of Naples were dethroned, Joseph Bonaparte taking up the reins of power in South Italy, and Louis Bonaparte becoming King of Holland.

The occupation of Berlin by French troops gave the great conqueror the opportunity of launching, in November, 1806, his Berlin Decree against England for the completion of his system, and the great victory of Friedland enabled him to throw the trammels of his commercial policy over Russia. The ensuing Treaty of Tilsit, on July 7th, 1807, saw him at the height of his power.

The Time of Britain's Danger

The Tsar, Alexander I., previously his bitterest enemy, now went over completely to his side, adopted the Continental system and promised to help in compelling the remaining independent states, Sweden, Denmark and Portugal, to close their ports to British goods. Equally significant were the secret articles whereby the two potentates arranged for the future partition of the Turkish Empire with a view to eventual action against Britain's Oriental possessions. Britain was never in greater danger than after the conclusion of this treaty;

for her sole remaining ally, Sweden, was soon to be coerced by Napoleon. It is impossible not to feel admiration for the skilful and forceful policy by which, in two years, he utterly broke up the Third Coalition, which Pitt had done so much to form, and turned the tables on Britain. The latter was now face to face with a hostile world, and her industries soon felt the pressure of the great engine of war now perfected by the French Emperor. But though Pitt had succumbed to cares of state in January, 1806, his pupil and admirer, Canning, fortunately became Foreign Minister in the spring of 1807.

Denmark's Fleet Seized by Britain

He struck sharply at Denmark, seized her fleet, and thus paralysed the naval schemes which Napoleon was undoubtedly maturing. A little later—namely, in October–November, 1807—the French Emperor showed his hand in his conduct towards Portugal. By virtue of a secret treaty with Spain in October, 1807, he sent a strong column under Junot, which received help from the Spaniards, to seize the Portuguese fleet at Lisbon. In this he failed. The royal family sailed away to Brazil shortly before the French entered their capital. Nevertheless, the close of the year saw him everywhere triumphant on the Continent. The Iberian Peninsula was under his control; Italy, Switzerland, and the secondary German states were his vassals; Prussia lay helpless under his heel; and the Tsar, Alexander I., abetted him in his schemes for the domination of the world.

England alone resisted the autocrat, and she showed signs of weariness and wavering. A powerful section of the Whigs had all along opposed the war and advocated a friendly understanding with Napoleon. His success seemed assured when, at the close of the year, he launched the Milan Decree against British commerce. But now this great genius was to reveal the weaker side of his nature. The brilliance of his triumph and the collapse of his enemies hardened in him the conviction of his own invincibility and of their stupidity and weakness. As we have seen, his policy after Trafalgar was directed mainly to the control of the maritime states. Already he controlled all the coasts from Cronstadt to Trieste; but now, as his commercial decrees against England were not always enforced with the rigidity that he desired, he began in all possible cases to substitute annexation for mere control. This fact explains his absorption of Tuscany and a large part of the Papal States in 1808. It also explains his virtual annexation of Spain.

The Weak Spot in Napoleon

The alliance of the Spanish Bourbons was far from satisfying him. He owed them a grudge for a warlike proclamation made by Godoy, their Prime Minister, at the beginning of the last war with Prussia; and, above all, resolved to have the complete disposal of the Spanish fleet and colonies. With this great accession of naval strength he trusted to be able to make the Mediterranean a French lake—the scheme of 1798 revived—to partition the Turkish Empire in a way highly favourable to France, and then—as he phrased it in a letter to the Tsar—"to crush England under the weight of events with which the atmosphere will be charged."

There is nothing in Napoleon's letters of the spring of 1808 to show that he expected any opposition for a moment from the Spanish people. Their regular troops were largely in his power; some of their northern fortresses were held by French regiments; and the disgraceful feuds in the royal family at Madrid gave him an easy foothold, as it were, on the walls of the central citadel.

Wellington's Entry into the Field

The result is well known. Successful in his dealings with a corrupt dynasty and court, he entirely left out of account the pride of the Spanish nation. Instead of gaining profitable vassals and a vast colonial empire, he turned allies into irreconcilable foes. England, far from being barred out from the Iberian Peninsula, secured the help of Portuguese and Spaniards, and access for her commerce to their vast colonies. Above all, the British army now had a field whereon they could fitly display their prowess.

The entry of Sir Arthur Wellesley, soon to become Viscount Wellington, on a scene of action pre-eminently suited to his peculiar gifts gave to the national resistance of Spaniards and Portuguese a toughness which wore out the strength of French armies and baffled the efforts of all Napoleon's marshals. In the whole career of Napoleon no miscalculation, save, perhaps, one to be noted presently, was more fraught with disaster. Struggle and scheme as he might—and he did so with brilliant success in the case of the Austrian campaign of 1809, with its diplomatic corollary, the Austrian marriage—he could never rid himself of the evil result of his "Spanish blunder." The waste of men in that war told even on his gigantic resources; and when his final annexations at the close of 1810—the north-west of Germany, etc.—brought him to a rupture with the Tsar, one may safely ascribe the determination of the potentate of the east to his belief that the overgrown empire of his rival was being sapped at the other extremity.

For in and after the year 1808 a new spirit was in the air. Peoples that had previously lain torpid under French domination now began to awaken, and to take heart as they saw the power of a nation's resistance in Spain.

> The power of armies is a visible thing,
> Formal, and circumscribed in time and space.
> But who the limits of that power can trace
> Which a brave people into light can bring?

Victims of Napoleon's Obstinacy

Thus sang Wordsworth as he gazed at the events in Spain. German thinkers and patriots begun to prepare for the day of revenge. And that day came when Napoleon's Grand Army—victims of the insane obstinacy with which he clung to Moscow up to October 19th—succumbed to the snows of the steppes. The succeeding campaign of 1813 witnessed the defection first of Prussia, and then of Austria, from his alliance. The three days' battle around Leipzig completed his discomfiture. The South German states turned against him, and, while Wellington was invading the south of France, Italy also fell away from the Emperor's control. Even so he struggled on, omitting to take advantage of the offers of peace which the allies made to him, first at Frankfort, in November, 1813, and next during the spring campaign of 1814 in the east of France.

It is difficult to fathom his reasons for this conduct. The evidence seems to prove that even then, when he had scarcely 50,000 men wherewith to oppose the armies of Russia, Prussia, and Austria in Champagne, and when Wellington had penetrated into Languedoc, the emperor believed that he could beat the allies and secure more advantageous terms. It was the last of his mistakes. The allies declared that never again would they have dealings with him. His own marshals refused to go on with the struggle; and he abdicated on April 11th, 1814, at Fontainebleau. His escape from Elba, his victorious march to Paris, and the details of the Waterloo campaign and of his sojourn at St. Helena, need not be recounted here. His doom was sealed in the spring of 1814 when he succeeded in arousing the undying distrust of the allied sovereigns and of their Ministers. It will be more suitable to conclude this brief survey by pointing out some of the chief results of this momentous period—1789–1815—in the life of the European peoples.

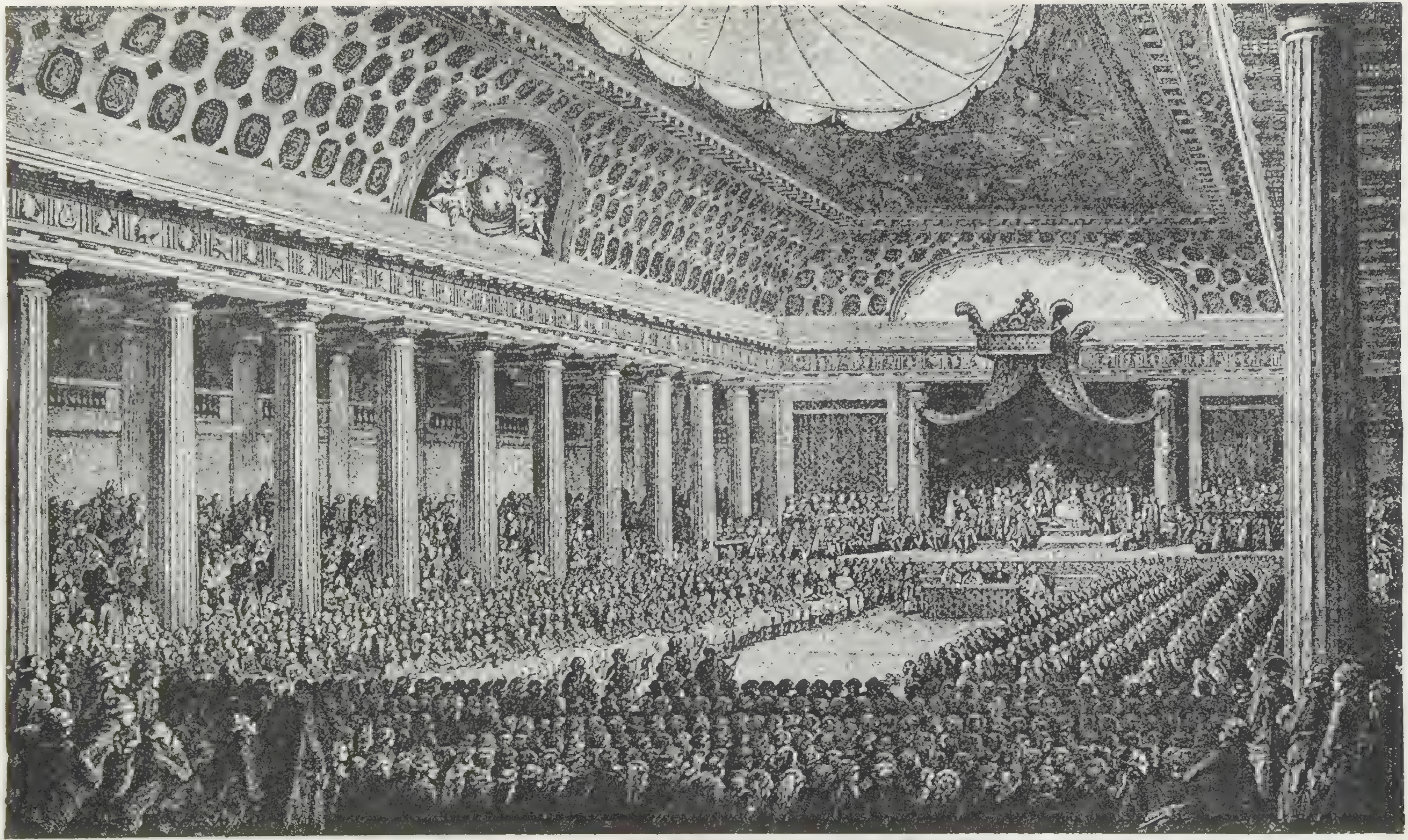
The Doom of the Mighty Autocrat

First, we may notice that the extraordinary upheavals of that time imparted an impulse to the Continent which did not wear away even in the time of exhaustion and despair brought about by nearly a quarter of a century of war. Further, while the political results of feudalism were thus almost obliterated in Central Europe, the dead hand of the past was removed from nearly all Continental peoples in social and agrarian affairs. Northern Italy in 1797 decreed the abolition of feudal wars and services and the emancipation of serfs. The Netherlands, the Rhineland, and Switzerland soon took the same steps, either of their own accord or at the bidding of the French Republic. Prussia and Spain, which resented Napoleon's ascendancy, on their own initiative set free their serfs, reformed their land laws, and thus laid the basis for a healthier social life.

Inauguration of great Movements

The reforms by which the Prussian statesman Stein, in 1807–1808, founded local self-government and unified the governing powers of the state would alone give significance to this era. The sense of national unity is another of the signs of awakening in this period. The mighty upheavals of the Napoleonic wars brought men everywhere face to face with elemental facts; and thus a strong sense of racial kinship, which had grown up in England and France during the Hundred Years War, now spread to Germans and Italians. This awakening of the sense of nationality, largely traceable to the Spanish rising of 1808, is one of the great events of world history; for it impelled those peoples to struggle on against the irritating restrictions imposed by the Congress of Vienna, and thus to inaugurate the great movements which brought about Italian and German unity in the decade 1860–1870.

J. HOLLAND ROSE



THE PARLIAMENT OF FRANCE: THE ASSEMBLING OF THE STATES-GENERAL ON MAY 5TH, 1789

For nearly two hundred years the Parliament of France, known as the States-General, had not met, but Louis XVI. was compelled to call the assembly together. The above picture shows the opening of the States-General on May 5th, 1789. To the left of the king's throne, on a low sofa, sits the queen, while the nobles and the ladies of the court are seated on the platform in a half-circle to left and right. Below the steps are the Ministers of State, while the whole foreground is crowded with representatives of the three Estates. From the painting by E. Momet.

THE FLIGHT OF THE KING

AND THE RISING TIDE OF REVOLUTION

By Arthur D. Innes, M.A.

THE States-General met on May 5th, 1789, with the question of procedure still unsettled. The Third Estate was in the full sense representative. It had been chosen by double election—that is, in each area the mass of voters chose a body of electors, and the electors appointed their delegates, who received from them instructions, a programme known as a *cahier*. The delegates were for the most part commoners, a large proportion being lawyers; but they included a few members of the noblesse—notably Mirabeau—and of the clergy, notably the Abbé Siéyès.

Among the body of the nobles there were several who for good or bad motives favoured reform; Lafayette, the hero of the American War, and Philip "Égalité" of Orleans, the king's cousin, who had hopes of getting Louis deposed, and of being made king by popular favour. Among the clergy, those of the higher ranks were almost all of the ancien régime; of the lower ranks, a majority were with the reformers.

National Assembly Instituted

Louis Defied by the Third Estate

After the opening ceremony, when Necker exhausted the audience by a wearisome panegyric on himself, there came a deadlock. The Third Estate, in accordance with the instructions in their cahiers, refused to recognise the separate existence of the other two Estates. Necker's proposal, that the three Estates should be formed into two chambers on the English analogy, the lower clergy joining the commons, was ignored. At last, on June 17th, having been joined by a few of the lower clergy, the Third Estate declared itself to be the National Assembly, and proceeded to affirm that the present taxes were authorised only during the session of the Assembly, and to take the question of food supply into consideration. Two days later the clergy formally joined the Third Estate. Such an assumption of authority was not part of the plan as understood by the Court. The king and Necker had meant the Third Estate to be supporters not masters. Reform was good, but it was to be granted with popular approval, not enforced by the popular representatives. When the Assembly gathered on the 20th, it found the hall in the hands of workmen, in preparation for a Royal Session. The delegates went in a body to the Tennis Court, where they took a solemn oath to continue their meetings where and when they could, till the Constitution was completed. Ousted from the Tennis Court, they found a new place of meeting, where they were joined by the majority of the clergy on the 21st.

On the 23rd the Royal Session was held. The king announced the reforms which he would invite the Estates to approve; but they must act as separate Estates. If they were recalcitrant, the king would make the reforms by decree. King, clergy, and nobles retired; the Third Estate, swayed by Mirabeau, refused to obey. Next day the majority of the clergy rejoined them, and also the reformers from the nobles. The Crown's attempt was palpably defeated; so palpably that Louis requested the rest of the clergy and nobles to join the Assembly.

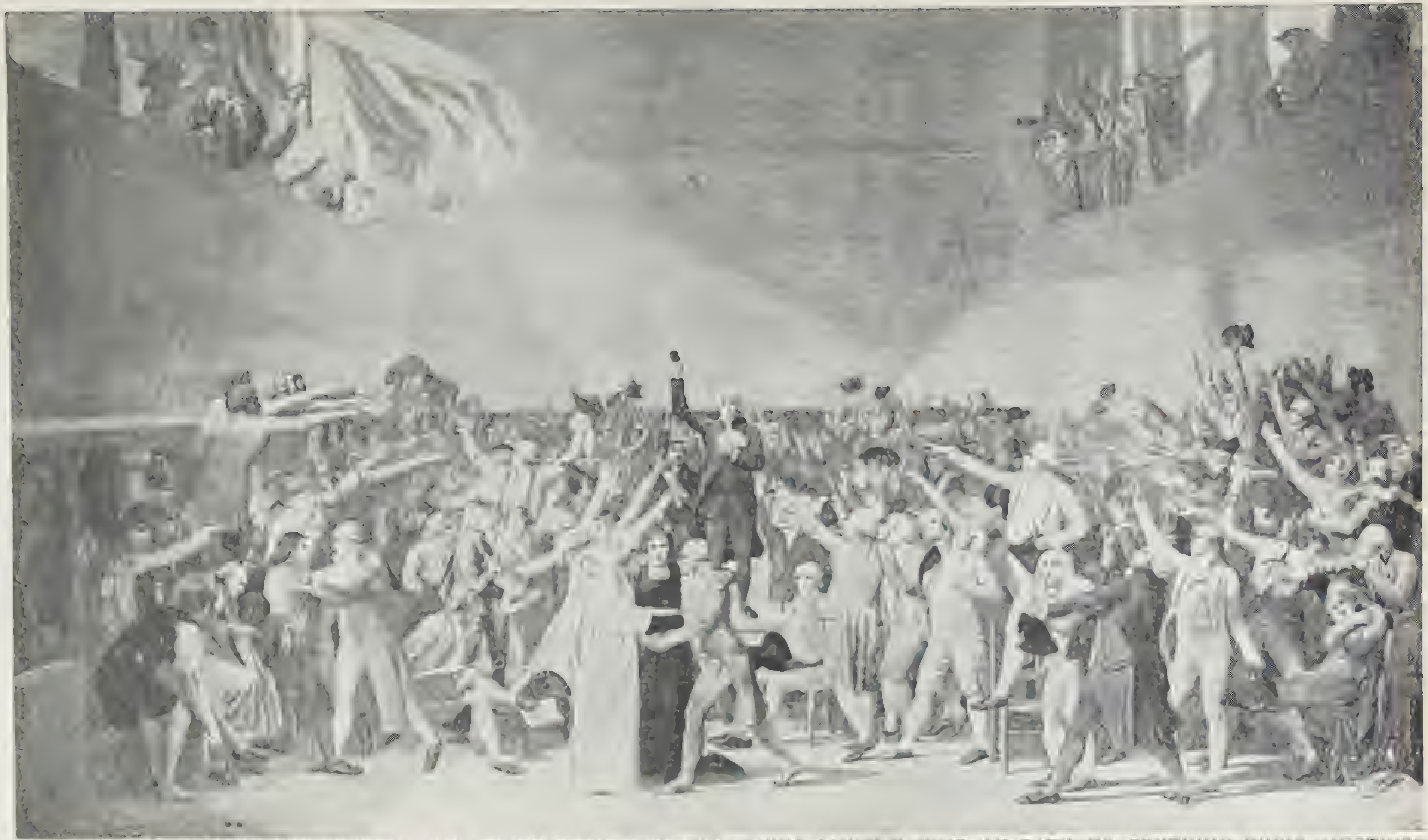
But the king now was not guided by Necker, who had not lost his popularity, but by his younger brother, the Comte D'Artois—one day to become Charles X.—and the extreme reactionaries. Their intention was to turn the tables by a coup d'état. The thing needed was force—an army before which opposition should vanish. But the Garde Française was showing insubordination, an excuse for summoning more troops to the capital. They gathered, a palpable menace; excitement and alarm ran high, with the less need, since the insubordination spread quickly through their ranks, except among the regiments of foreign mercenaries. The climax came when Paris heard, on July 12th, that Necker and others had been displaced and reactionary Ministers appointed. Municipal government was already at a standstill; the body of "electors" to the States-General formed themselves into a provisional municipal government, and began to enrol the Paris militia, which was soon to turn into the National Guard, with its counterparts all over the country. The populace clamoured for arms, and turned itself to the manufacture of pikes. There were scenes of violence, collisions with the mercenaries; on the 14th the "Invalides" was seized, supplying muskets and ammunition. Paris turned on the Bastille; the Garde Française joined the mob; the rest of the troops could not or would not stir. When the little garrison refused to capitulate, the mob stormed the place with little difficulty. Though the garrison surrendered, the commandant and a few officers and soldiers were murdered. The Bastille had fallen.

THE ILL-FATED RULERS OF FRANCE: MARIE ANTOINETTE AND LOUIS XVI.
Louis XVI. was King of France when the Great Revolution broke out, and he fell a victim to the wild passions of his people. The queen, Marie Antoinette, who had supported the king in his fatal policy, also died by the guillotine.

The Bastille was the symbol of the old tyranny, of arbitrary rule, of ordered force, which could override justice and law. The fall appealed to the world as signalising the ending of an ancient tale of wrong. It was as though the walls of Jericho had fallen at the trumpet blast. The event was hailed with pæans of joy by young enthusiasts; its actual circumstances were enveloped in a cloud of myths.

As a matter of fact, what it mainly signified was that the people of Paris had no master—was on the way to find out that it was itself master; and when that became patent, half the young enthusiasts were in a short time finding themselves as passionately opposed to the revolution as they had been passionately in its favour. The physical force was no longer on the side of the existing order; it had passed to the side of the revolution.

Meanwhile, the Assembly was in session at Versailles, expecting the coup d'état which was intended. The news arriving that night meant the complete rout of the Court party. The next day the king announced to them the withdrawal of the troops and the recall of Necker. A band of the popular representatives—Bailly the President, Lafayette, and others, hastened to Paris with the joyful news, and were received with acclamation. Bailly was promptly nominated Mayor of Paris, Lafayette was made General of the National



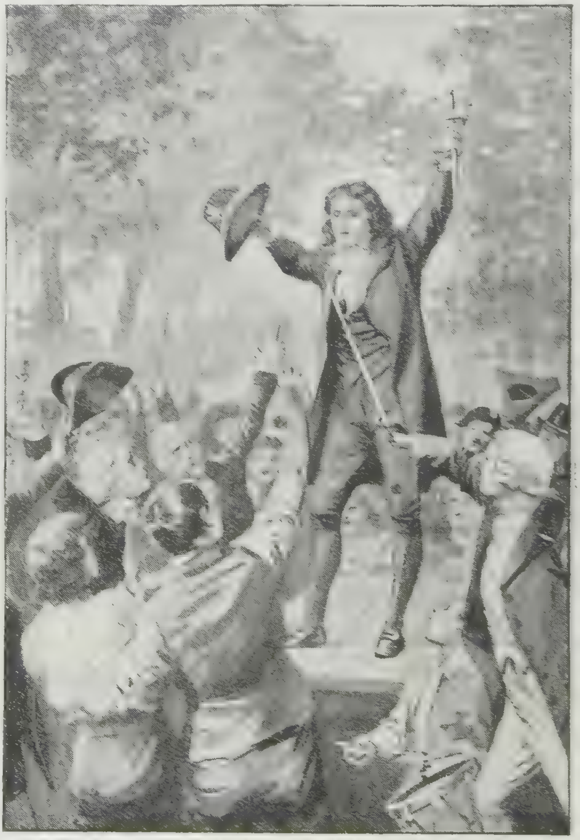
THE POPULAR DEMAND FOR REFORM: THE THIRD ESTATE AT THE TENNIS COURT TAKING AN OATH TO CONTINUE THEIR MEETINGS

At the meeting of the States-General on May 5th, 1789, the Third Estate refused to recognise the separate existence of the other two Estates, and on June 17th declared itself to be the National Assembly. Meeting again on the 20th, the Assembly found the hall in the hands of workmen in preparation for a Royal Session, and the delegates thereupon adjourned to the Tennis Court, where they took a solemn oath to continue its meetings where and when they could, until the Constitution was completed. They were joined next day by the clergy.

From the painting by ,acques Louis David

Guard. Necker's return through France—he had left the country—was a sort of triumphal progress. Louis himself, courageously enough, made a state entry into the capital, and was greeted as the restorer of French liberties. On the other hand, Artois, and others of the most prominent among the reactionary noblesse fled across the border. The emigration had begun.

It was by no means the intention of the Assembly to be simply destructive, nor was it with destructive intent that the new Paris municipality or the National Guard had been formed—both of which found immediate imitators all over the country. But the Paris mob had tasted blood; there were more lynchings, and these found their counterpart throughout the south-eastern provinces in risings of the peasantry, burnings of châteaux, and the like. And in Paris itself, the Committee of Electors, which had taken upon itself the task of governing the city, was displaced by an elected body, at once less capable and less independent, its members ready to be swayed by the dictation of the least responsible of their constituents. There was no sign that the fall of the Bastille was to initiate an era of orderly self-government by the people.



CAMILLE DESMOULINS AT THE PALAIS ROYAL

Desmoulins belonged to the extreme party of Revolutionists, and the above picture shows him addressing an enthusiastic gathering in the grounds of the Palais Royal. As a member of the National Convention, he voted for the death of the king, in 1793. Desmoulins was himself arrested, and died by the guillotine on April th, 1794.

From the drawing by C. M. Sheldon

The National Assembly, however, was honestly zealous to find genuine remedies for the prevailing evils. With a pathetic belief in the enunciation of high principles as a general curative, it was passing its time in abstract discussion of the Rights of Man, when it was roused to concrete action by the reports of disorder and outrage. On August 10th it set itself to pass a series of reforms, wiping out a host of privileges, and earning for that day the title of "St. Bartholomew of Property." The feudal rights of the noblesse to personal service, such as the corvée, and to jurisdiction were abolished: what we should call the game laws went the same way. These enactments were proposed not by commoners, but by members of the noblesse. In like manner, the guild restrictions on the practice of trades and crafts and the transferability of labour were done away with.

In effect, feudalism was suddenly swept away in a single night by one great wave of emotion; legal rights which, however evil, had been part and parcel of the social fabric were blotted out in a moment without compensation—very much as if slavery had been suddenly abolished without compensation to slave-owners—incidentally, of course, with an extremely disquieting effect on the contiguous feudal provinces of the empire. Still more serious, from the European point of view, was the fact that in some frontier provinces actual treaty rights of German princes were over-ruled by these measures.

The reforms of August 4th embodied principles which were true and sound, but their sudden, instead of gradual, application to a system built up on totally different principles necessarily involved an immense amount of injustice, and intensified a hundredfold the instability of a social and political fabric which was already quaking. By this business of destruction the way to construction was prepared, and to this the "Constituent" Assembly now devoted itself. The process divided the body more definitely into parties—the "right" representing reaction, the centre moderation, the left radicalism, with its various types. The reactionaries were important mainly from their readiness to combine with one or another radical section in order to carry out a policy of obstruction. The moderates included many men of ability, who aimed at a constitution after the British model, and saw with alarm that the revolutionary forces were becoming too powerful to be controlled. The radicals included academics like Siéyès, enthusiasts like Barnave, Duport, and Lameth, fanatics like Robespierre. And outside of all the parties stood Mirabeau, the single titanic personality, the one man who might conceivably have given the revolution a different course, but whose only chance of doing so lay in his displacing Necker as Minister, or uniting with him and Lafayette. The combination was virtually impossible, because the three men were incompatibles; and Mirabeau could not displace Necker, because the Court hated him, and there was no political group which either understood or trusted him, in spite of his extraordinary power of swaying both the Assembly and the populace.

THE FALL OF THE BASTILLE: THE MOB STORMING THE PRISON

To the people of France the Bastille was the symbol of the old tyranny, of arbitrary rule, of ordered force, which could override justice and law, and when the nation rose in revolt the famous prison was fiercely attacked. When the little garrison refused to capitulate, the mob stormed the place, effected an entrance, and the Bastille was destroyed.

The form of the new Constitution was the first question to be dealt with; a committee appointed thereto had drafted a scheme. The executive was to remain with the Crown. The legislature was to be a representative chamber, a senate, and the Crown. The senate was not to consist of hereditary peers, as in England—which was, of course, the general model—but of Crown nominees presented by the departments. The Crown was to have the power of veto. But the senate did not suit the reactionaries, since it was not to be aristocratic; it did not suit the extreme democrats, because it was not representative. The two wings combined to kill the second chamber. Then arose the question of the royal veto. The Rights of Man could not be squared with an individual's right to veto of all incomes; but even that had been swallowed up by the enormous expenses entailed in the process of reconstruction.

The theory was advanced that endowments were the property of the nation, only held in trust by the Church. The state took possession, guaranteeing a minimum income to every curé and the cost of public worship. But since the announcement that Church property belonged to the state failed to restore credit, the next step was to issue a vast paper currency (assignats) on the security of the Church lands; that is, the holder could claim the equivalent in Church lands. The plan proved a failure financially. It was not till some months later—in the middle of 1790—that the "Civil Constitution of the Clergy" was completed. The religious houses having already been suppressed, the departments were turned into bishoprics, and the bishops and parish priests were to be chosen by the electors, papal authority being ignored. Priests and bishops were shortly afterwards required to take an oath recognising the civil supremacy, whereupon the greater part of the clergy retired, and became known as non-jurors. The process of fixing the limitation of powers under the new Constitution was completed by the debates and by resolutions on the question whether the Crown should have the power of making war and peace.

Mirabeau, who still hoped to create a strong government by the combination of a democratic legislature with a monarchical executive, fought hard for the rights of the Crown, and the result was a formula asserting that the right belonged to "the nation." War could be declared only by a decree of the Assembly introduced by the king. Finally, the unanimity and concord of the nation was celebrated by a great patriotic demonstration on the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, when king and queen, the Assembly, delegates from all the departments, and a huge assembled crowd took the oath of loyalty to the new Constitution, amid wild excitement and enthusiasm. Nevertheless, disorder continued. A soldiery whose pay is not forthcoming is a dangerous element, and in August there was a serious mutiny at Nancy,

THE ARREST OF LOUIS XVI. WHILE ATTEMPTING TO ESCAPE FROM FRANCE

Unable any longer to delude himself as to the impending danger to the throne, the king decided to make his escape from the distracted country. On June 20th, 1791, under the cover of darkness, Louis and Marie Antoinette secretly took flight from Paris, but before they reached the border the king was recognised. The party was stopped at Varennes and ignominiously brought back to the capital. On the king's return, his authority was suspended.

From the painting by T. F. Marshall

THE KING AND QUEEN OF FRANCE IN PRISON AFTER THEIR ATTEMPTED FLIGHT FROM THE COUNTRY

From the painting by E. M. Ward

suppressed only after fierce fighting. It was at this juncture that Necker suddenly melted out of politics and withdrew from France, almost unnoticed. If the Court would have frankly placed its confidence in Mirabeau, it is conceivable that he might have succeeded in attaining his own ideal; but the Court would not denounce the émigrés, and Mirabeau was now himself being hotly denounced as a traitor by the Jacobins. Before he had succeeded in converting Louis in his favour, the tremendous strain of his public energies, coupled with the excesses of his private life, broke the great tribune down, and he died in April, 1791. The one man who might have reconciled the monarchy with the democracy had gone.

Mirabeau Denounced as a Traitor

In spite of July 14th demonstrations, there had never yet been an approach to mutual confidence between the Court and the Assembly. Louis was sincerely desirous of his people's good; but his whole entourage saw in the events of the still uncompleted two years which had passed since the convening of the States-General nothing but a greedy and insensate attack on privileges which they regarded as rights inherently necessary to the existence of social order.

Mirabeau had urged on the king that his presence in Paris deprived him of all independence and power of action, that the vigorous initiative essential to the recovery of confidence in the king's capacity or sincerity could be displayed only if he took up his residence at a distance from the domineering and turbid capital. But this was a very different thing from the escape out of French territory which the Court now contemplated. Knowing or fearing that any departure from Paris would be forcibly prevented, the king and queen took flight secretly by night on June 20th. But before they reached the border Louis was recognised. At Varennes the party was stopped and ignominiously brought back to Paris. When the king's flight was discovered, the Assembly promptly took upon itself the whole of the sovereign functions; and when he was brought back to Paris the suspension of his authority was continued until the Constitution should be actually and formally completed. This caused a secession of royalists from the Assembly, while, on the other hand, the Jacobins began to demand that the suspension should be permanent and the Constitution altered into a republic instead of a limited monarchy.

Frustrated Flight of the King

For the time, however, this in turn drove several of those who had hitherto been looked upon as the chiefs of the advanced party into alliance with the moderates, Siéyès and Lafayette. This left the thorough-going Jacobins, among whom Robespierre, Danton and Marat now exercised the principal influence, free to work on very extreme lines; and in the country, though not in the Assembly, their organisation made them far more powerful than the other sections.

The attitude of the Constituent Assembly during these last months of its career recalls that of the Long Parliament in 1649, and of the Rump afterwards. It had done a great deal of work very conscientiously; it was thoroughly satisfied with itself; and it was unaware that it had lost control, which had passed to a very much more powerful organisation—in England, the army, in France, the Jacobin club. Unconsciously it had already sealed its own fate and the doom of its own policy by registering a self-denying ordinance. When the Constitution was brought to completion, the Constituent Assembly was to be dissolved and a new Legislative Assembly called; and members of the old Assembly were to be barred from sitting in the new one.

The End of Lafayette's Influence

This, by the way, presents not a resemblance but a very strong contrast to the Long Parliament and the Rump, which were more inclined to perpetuate their own powers. The new men were certain to be largely Jacobin candidates, and without the experience which the present delegates had acquired. This was made the more certain by a serious collision in July between Lafayette with the National Guard and a mob which had been set in motion by the Jacobins. The Guard were driven into firing on the mob; Lafayette's influence had rested mainly on his personal popularity, which was destroyed by his action on this occasion.

The Constitution was formally accepted by Louis on September 14th; on the 30th, the Constituent Assembly was dissolved. On October 1st, the Legislative Assembly opened.

THE FRENCH
REVOLUTION
& NAPOLEON

III
BY ARTHUR
D. INNES, M.A.

THE REVOLUTION TRIUMPHANT
THE LAUNCHING OF THE FIRST REPUBLIC

BEFORE the career of the Constituent Assembly was ended affairs in France had produced in other countries an attitude ominous of war. In England, the section of Whigs headed by Charles James Fox were enthusiastic partisans of the Revolution; but Burke had broken with them, and his splendid denunciations were exercising a powerful influence. Still, however, and for some time to come, the attitude of Pitt and his Ministry was favourable rather than otherwise. Nothing in the nature of intervention was contemplated.

Movement in Favour of the Ancien Régime

On the Continent, on the other hand, the Tsarina Catharine II. was anxious to embroil Austria and Prussia with France in order to free her own action in Poland, where her influence was threatened; while German states had already received provocation—as noted—by the proceedings of August 4th, 1790, the princes looking upon the compensation offered them for the deprivation of treaty rights as inadequate; the Austrian Emperor was the French queen's brother; and the émigrés, established at Coblenz, were actively agitating for foreign aid in restoring the ancien régime, a project which Gustavus III. of Sweden ardently advocated. In the brief period of his rule the Emperor Leopold had already acquired such prestige that it practically lay with him to decide whether Europe should or should not intervene; and he was too cool-headed to do so voluntarily.

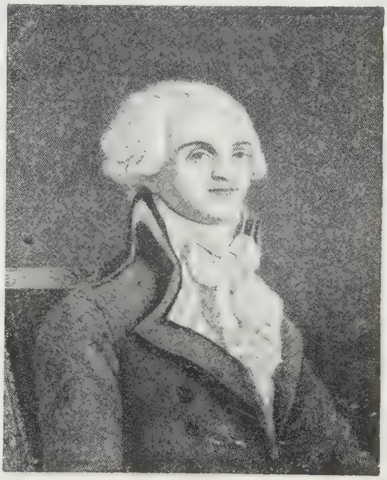
Louis XVI. Again on the Throne

Nevertheless, the predicament in which the French monarchy placed itself by the abortive flight to Varennes, combined with the general pressure which he had hitherto succeeded in resisting, forced Leopold's hand, and in July he invited the Powers to combine in support of the French monarchy. Until the king was once more a free agent they should refuse to recognise the authority of the existing French Government, and should prepare to enforce that point of view in arms if necessary. At the same time, he brought Prussia into close diplomatic accord with himself. At the end of August he met Frederic William at Pilnitz, where the two monarchs emphatically snubbed the Comte d'Artois and the émigrés, but issued a joint declaration in favour of intervention, provided the other Powers were in agreement. It was by no means Leopold's intention to carry out the threat, for he was well aware that Pitt would stand aloof; moreover, the actual purpose of the declaration seemed to have been effected when, a fortnight later, Louis accepted the Constitution and became king again. Leopold very promptly announced that the raison d'être of the declaration had thus been removed, and the declaration itself cancelled. It was hoped that the crisis was passed.

In France, however, these proceedings had not been recognised as what may be called a manœuvre to take the wind out of the sails of the émigrés and their partisans; they appeared in the light of an insolent attempt to dictate to France as to the conduct of her internal affairs. The new Legislative Assembly met in a spirit of aggressive defiance which boded ill for the peace of Europe. The members were without political experience—that had been assured by the self-denying ordinance of the Constituent Assembly.

Divisions Among the Reformers

Among them was a mere sprinkling of Royalists, and only a small band of "Feuillants," the name given to the supporters of the Constitution which the last Assembly had been at such pains to construct. The bulk of the delegates fell into two advanced sections, the Girondins, of whom the nucleus was a group of enthusiastic idealists, and the Jacobins, who gathered round the fanatical extremists—the section which came to be known as "the Mountain," from the elevation of the seats which they occupied in the Assembly. The Crown might have saved itself before by placing itself in the hands of Mirabeau. It might conceivably have saved itself now by unqualified co-operation with a smaller man than Mirabeau, Lafayette, with the support of the Feuillants. But the queen hated Lafayette, as she had long hated Mirabeau; Louis could not shake off the definitely reactionary influences, and even at the best, Lafayette's popularity had waned, and a change in the organisation of the National Guard deprived him of his exclusive control. Within the Assembly, the Feuillants were not a conspicuously able group, whereas the Girondins—so named after the district from which some of their prominent members came—were intellectually brilliant as well as being for the most part intensely in earnest. With the Mountain, as with the Feuillants, the real chiefs were outside the Assembly—Robespierre and the other heads of the Jacobin club.



ROBESPIERRE

A prominent figure in the revolutionary times, he was elected first deputy for Paris to the National Convention, and became one of the rulers of France. He was popular for a time, but fell from favour and was guillotined in 1794.

The king's persistence in relying on "royalist" Ministers, who were almost without supporters in the Assembly, made harmonious working practically impossible. In November, edicts were passed against the émigrés and against the non-juring clergy, the former being in arms on the frontier, while the latter were fomenting civil outbreaks. Thereupon the king applied the veto. The constitutional question was immediately raised whether the decrees were technically laws to which the veto could apply or executive measures falling within the control of the Assembly absolutely. Probably the true position was that they should have been regarded as executive measures to prevent a civil and perhaps a foreign war, which ought to have been submitted to the Assembly by the Crown. But by his action Louis virtually challenged the Assembly, and placed a weapon in the hands of the Republicans of the Gironde and the Mountain.

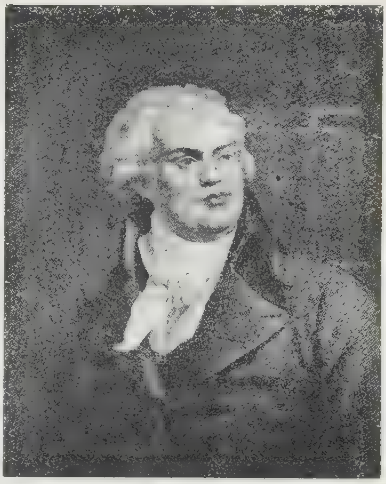
GENERAL DUMOURIEZ

Resigning the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to take command in the field, he defeated the Prussians in 1792, and the Austrians in the following year. He died in England in 1823.

Moreover, on the question of foreign relations, the Feuillants were effectively in agreement with the Girondins. Lafayette probably, and the Girondins avowedly, expected to derive increased political weight from a patriotic war, and both groups genuinely and not unjustifiably resented the pretensions of any foreign power to interfere with French domestic affairs. That the Mountain happened for its own reasons to be more pacifically inclined, and so far in accord with the Crown, was of no advantage to the Crown. The result was that the king at the close of the year was compelled to dismiss his War Minister, and appoint a Feuillant, and to address to the Elector of Trèves and to the emperor demands for the disbanding of the émigré forces. The émigrés refused to be disbanded, and Leopold's answer was a virtual refusal. Thereupon a large force was massed on the frontier, and an ultimatum sent to the emperor on January 25th, requiring a satisfactory answer by March 4th. On this, Leopold formed a close defensive alliance with Prussia; but the direction of affairs was snatched from his hands by death, and he was succeeded on the throne by his son, Francis II., while Louis found himself forced to reconstruct his Ministry from the ranks of the Girondins, Dumouriez becoming Minister for War. The change did not make for peace, and resulted in Louis being compelled, on March 20th, 1791, to propose to the Assembly, in accordance with the forms of the new Constitution, the declaration of war against Austria, where Francis as yet was not emperor. War with Austria would mean also war with Prussia and Sardinia. Neither Russia nor Great Britain certainly, nor Spain probably, would take any part. Gustavus III. of Sweden, who would have eagerly joined in, to restore the old French monarchy, had been assassinated a month before. Dumouriez, though associated with the Girondins, had aims analogous to those of Mirabeau, and saw in a successfully conducted war the prospect of establishing something like Mirabeau's ideal of dividing the exercise of the sovereign powers between a strong monarchy and a strong democracy; and his energies were concentrated on the war.

THE SONG OF THE REVOLUTION: ROUGET DE LISLE SINGING "THE MARSEILLAISE"
"The Marseillaise," the National Anthem of France, was born amid the tumult of the Revolution, being written in a single night by an officer named Rouget de Lisle. In the picture De Lisle is seen singing the song to his friends.

It was Dumouriez who now developed a conception which became and remained an important factor in French foreign politics—that of acquiring for France her "natural" frontier, which has its analogy in Lord Beaconsfield's "scientific frontier" for India; a frontier fixed not by considerations of homogeneity of race, language or customs, but by geographical features which constitute a "natural" barrier, strategically defensible. Such a frontier may be provided by the sea, by mountain ranges or by rivers. On three sides and on part of the fourth side France was already all but girdled by the ocean, the Pyrenees, and the Alps; it remained to make the Rhine the completion of her boundary, and to absorb Savoy on the south. The expectation that the people of the Austrian Netherlands would prefer association or incorporation with France to their existing subjection to the Austrian monarchy, against which they had very recently been in open rebellion, encouraged a plan of campaign which made those provinces the immediate objective. Three armies were sent to the front under Rochambeau, Lafayette, and Luchner. But the first engagement resulted in ignominious defeat, the men behaving so badly that Rochambeau resigned his command in disgust. The soldiers, on their part, believed that their officers were "aristocrats," who intended to betray them, a distrust which sufficiently accounted for their misconduct.



DANTON

Like so many of the leading men of the time, Danton, who has been described as the greatest figure that fell in the Revolution, ended his life at the guillotine. He was an original member of the Committee of Public Safety.

The suspicions of treachery were no less rife in Paris, where the sympathies of the Court were notoriously and inevitably on the side of the enemy. The news of the opening fiasco led to the immediate formation of a new armed force of "pikemen" for the capital, formed from the lower classes—not from the bourgeoisie, like the National Guard, to whose moderate tendencies the pikemen served as a counterpoise. The Assembly proceeded to decree the formation, outside Paris, of a camp of volunteers from the departments, and the expatriation of the non-juring clergy. The king vetoed both decrees, and dismissed the Ministers who were most closely connected with the Gironde. Dumouriez, conscious that he would be powerless if he severed himself from his party, resigned on Louis' refusal to withdraw the veto.

Louis fell back on an incompetent Feuillant Ministry. On June 20th, the Paris mob, probably with the connivance of the Mayor, Pétion, a Jacobin, invaded the Tuileries; but although the queen was insulted and bullied, and Louis himself was compelled to wear the "red cap" of Liberty, he refused to be intimidated. When Pétion himself appeared, the mob was induced to retire. The riot produced a certain reaction, but the opportunity was wasted.

PARIS IN REVOLT: THE MOB IN THE PALACE OF THE TUILERIES

After their unsuccessful attempt to escape from France, the king and queen returned to the Palace of the Tuileries, which was invaded by the mob on June 20th, 1792. Seeking refuge in an inner room, Marie Antoinette, with her children and her sister Elizabeth, stood for hours behind a barricade of tables and chairs, exposed to the revilings of the crowd that poured through the royal residence, heedless of the queen's appeal to their better feelings.

From the painting by A. Elmore, R.A., by permission of the Art Union

Louis hoped that foreign intervention would restore him unshackled by alliance with any party. Lafayette hastened from the front, in the hope that his presence might restore order; but he found both the court and the Assembly hostile, and even his National Guard disaffected, and could only withdraw again.

If anything was required to raise the popular excitement to the explosive point, it was provided by the Prussian declaration of war in July, followed by the manifesto of Brunswick, the Prussian commander, threatening penalties on Paris if the king or queen suffered harm. The contingents of volunteers from the departments—the veto on the formation of the camp had been withdrawn—arrived; those from Marseilles brought with them the "Marseillaise," thenceforth to be the hymn of revolution. The national celebration of July 14th was virtually a Republican demonstration. Even Lafayette and a too royalist Assembly became the mark of popular clamour. On the night of August 9th a rising was organised in Paris. Arrangements were made to replace the Paris government by a provisional commune, with Danton at its head. The commander of the National Guard was put out of the way and replaced by a mob leader. With the dawn of August 10th the volunteers were brought up, and the king found that there were no troops to defend him. He, with the royal family, escaped to the Assembly, which promised them protection. The Swiss Guard at the Tuileries alone refused to desert their posts, and after a desperate resistance were cut to pieces; the mob massacred every man they could find in the palace.

Not the Assembly, but the new Commune was now completely master of the situation, for the Commune not only swayed the mob, but had captured the material means of government. The Assembly could only obey its orders. The monarchy was suspended; Danton was made Minister of Justice. Lafayette, with the army, proposed to march on Paris, but neither the men nor the commanders would support him, Dumouriez declaring that their business was with the threatened invasion. Lafayette and his associates, denounced as traitors by the Assembly at the bidding of the Commune, retired over the frontier, and vanished politically. In fact, Lafayette was captured by the enemy and held in detention as a prisoner of war for five years.

"IN THE NAME OF LIBERTY": ENROLLING VOLUNTEERS IN THE REPUBLICAN ARMY

Meanwhile, the Prussians, under Brunswick, were advancing. Lafayette and his colleague, Luchner, were replaced by Dumouriez and Kellerman. Longwy capitulated; on September 2nd, Verdun fell, and the way to Paris was open. To increase the desperate condition of affairs, civil war broke out; the peasants of La

Vendée, where, as previously noted, the relations of the populace with the gentry were of a patriarchal and friendly type, rose in support of the Crown and the clergy. For desperate circumstances, Danton devised a more than desperate remedy. There must be no shadow of risk that the action of the executive should be in any way hampered by opposition; it must be as free from control as the most absolute despotism; to that end sheer terror must be the means. On the night of August 29th, commissioners, nominally in search of arms, conducted a house to house visitation throughout Paris, and arrested and flung into prison some four thousand "suspects." The mob was taught that the "aristocrats" were only waiting for "patriots" to depart to the front, in order to carry out a massacre. When the news arrived of the fall of Verdun, organised bodies were allowed to enter the prisons, and for three days there was a systematic slaughter. Similar atrocities were carried out in other cities; the numbers of the slain were reckoned in thousands.

Terrible Slaughter of "Suspects"

But now at the front the situation changed. While Frederic William and Brunswick were discussing whether an immediate advance should be made upon Paris, Dumouriez was infusing a new spirit of patriotic confidence into the French troops, and when the Prussians attacked them at Valmy they held their ground. The Prussians retired, and from this time the enemy realised, as did the French troops themselves, that the latter had once more become formidable. Moreover, Russian action in Poland was now demanding the serious attention of Prussia, which could no longer afford to let its armies be absorbed in a monarchist crusade, and Brunswick drew off his troops towards the Rhine.

The cannonade of Valmy—it hardly claims to be called a battle—took place on September 20th. In the meantime, the Assembly had continued its session, but, under the orders of the Commune, had fixed September 21st as the date for its own dissolution and for the assembling in its place of a new National Convention, to which the old self-denying ordinance of the Constituent Assembly did not apply, and for which the electorate and the delegates were freed from the former property qualifications. Its first step on its opening day was to proclaim that the monarchy was at an end, and France was a republic.

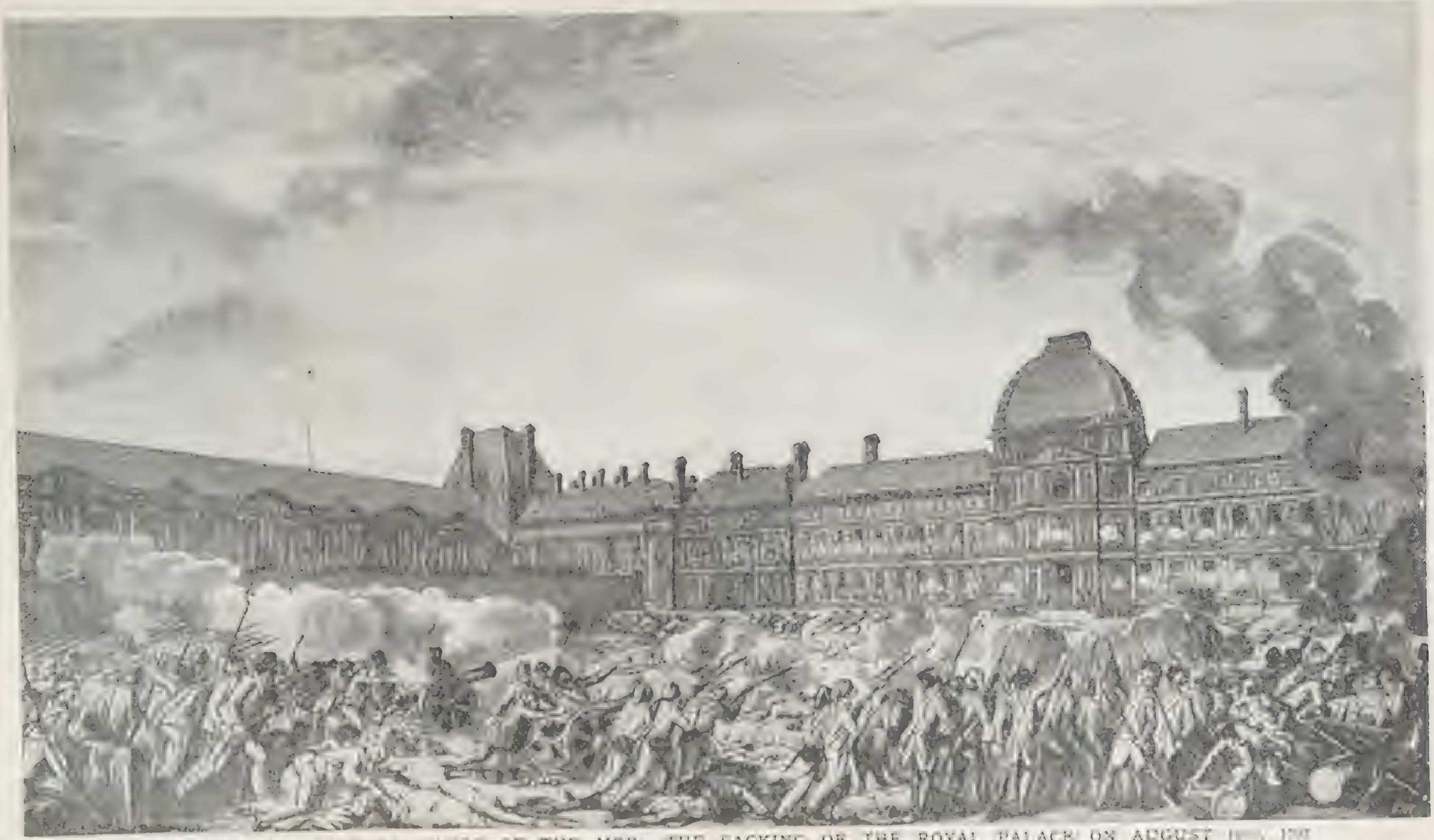
France Proclaimed a Republic

The Constituent Assembly had been a reforming body, in which men like Lafayette, Mirabeau, or Siéyès had all been reckoned as of the advanced party. In the Legislative Assembly the ideas which had dominated such men were regarded as conservative and even as reactionary; the representative section of the advanced party was to be found among the idealists of the Gironde. In the Convention, the republican Girondins were the party of order, and their opponents were the revolutionaries of the Mountain. From the Second Assembly the Royalists had almost vanished; in the Third Assembly, a like fate had befallen the Constitutionalists.

In the Convention, at the outset, the preponderance lay with the Girondins; the members of the Mountain were much fewer. But the very considerable body known as "the Plain," which was attached definitely neither to the Gironde nor to the Mountain, was very soon under the practical control of the latter or of its leaders, who were in effect the dictators of the Jacobin organisation and of the Paris Commune. Theoretically, indeed, there was no great difference between the aims of the Gironde and the Mountain. But the cultured intellectuals of the Gironde shrank back with a shudder from the merciless popular tyranny expressed in the September massacres, the author of which they would willingly have punished. Their own ranks, however, were devoid of discipline, and their leaders had no conception of political tactics. They attacked Robespierre, Danton, and Marat instead of seeking the alliance of Danton, without having the evidence to carry their charges home; while the centralising system of their opponents, which concentrated all effective control in the hands of a few men who knew their own minds, gave those opponents an enormous advantage.

The Gironde Cultured but Undisciplined

Nevertheless, amid the contests of the Mountain and Gironde work was done by committees of the Convention outside the realms of party warfare which has remained of permanent value—such as the introduction of the uniform "metric" system of weights and measures in place of the old chaotic variety, the preparation



THE TUILERIES IN THE HANDS OF THE MOB: THE SACKING OF THE ROYAL PALACE ON AUGUST 10TH, 1792

In this picture there is represented one of the most significant incidents of the early days of the Revolution. On the night of August 9th, 1792, a rising was organised in Paris, arrangements being made to replace the Paris government by a provisional commune with Danton at its head. A mob leader took the place of the commander of the National Guard. On the following day, the Tuileries was attacked; the Swiss Guard were cut to pieces, after a desperate resistance; and overrunning the palace, the mob murdered every man they could find there.

of Condorcet's great scheme of systematic national education, and the preliminary work on the Civil Code, which made the way ready for the Code Napoléon. A curious aberration, however, was the invention of a new Revolution Calendar, starting the year One of the New Era from September 21st, 1792. Cosmic laws unkindly forbade the perfect application of the decimal system, but logic substituted for the old haphazard designations of the months titles connected with their naturalistic associations, such as Thermidor, Fructidor, Brumaire. The new calendar was not put in force till October, 1793.

Republican Armies' Series of Victories

The armies of the Republic prospered during the autumn. The population of Savoy was quite ready for incorporation, having no affection for the Sardinian monarchy, and practically no resistance was offered. In the Rhine provinces, which the operations in the north had left undefended, Custine advanced and captured Mainz and Frankfort without difficulty. In the north, Dumouriez invaded Belgium, where he inflicted on the Austrians at Jemappes a defeat which caused them to retire; and here, too, the population welcomed the invaders.

On the same day as the victory at Jemappes the Convention took the aggressive step of declaring the commerce of the River Scheldt to be free, although the control of it had been guaranteed to Holland by treaty. These proceedings, however, had an important effect on the international situation. Hitherto the French had, in theory at least, been fighting in self-defence, with every justification for resisting the armed intervention of foreign powers in the domestic affairs of France. Now, France was assuming the aggressive, annexing territories, ejecting governments, and claiming by her own fiat to cancel treaties. Two things were still wanting. The first was supplied when, in December, the Republic issued a decree proclaiming that in all districts occupied by French armies the existing governments and all privileges were to be abolished, popular assemblies summoned, and the country taken under the protection of the Republic. The second followed when, in Danton's phrase, the Republic "flung down to the kings the head of a king as the gage of battle." The Jacobins saw in the slaying of the king the opportunity of cutting France off from her historic past, of appealing to the passions of the Paris mob, and of denouncing as traitors all who opposed the design. The Girondins shuddered, detested, but dared to offer only a qualified resistance.

A committee reported that the king might lawfully be tried by the Convention. The discovery of some of Louis's earlier correspondence strengthened the clamour against him. The Mountain began to demand the summary execution of the king without trial, on the principle that the security of the people overrides all law. To escape that extreme, the Girondins assented to the trial; to his eternal honour, Malesherbes came forth from his sixteen years of political retirement to volunteer his services in the king's defence. An attempt was made to withdraw the decision from a court dominated by the Paris Commune and the Paris mob, and to refer it to the Departmental Assemblies.

Louis XVI. Dies by the Guillotine

The trial was opened in December, the galleries being crowded with an intimidating mob. Under such conditions, on January 14th, 1793, the verdict was given, a majority of eleven voting in favour of the guillotine. On the 21st Louis's head fell. Within three weeks Great Britain was added to the nations against whom the Republic had declared war—a war which was really to be ended only after two-and-twenty years, on the field of Waterloo.

THE FRENCH VICTORY OVER THE AUSTRIANS AT THE BATTLE OF JEMAPPES IN 1792

THE FRENCH
REVOLUTION
& NAPOLEON

IV
BY ARTHUR
D. INNES, M.A.

UNDER THE REIGN OF TERROR

AND THE COMING OF THE MAN OF DESTINY

HITHERTO France had been at war with Austria, Prussia, the princes of the frontier provinces, and Sardinia or Savoy. Prussia was vacillating between sympathy for the French monarchy and distrust of Russia in Poland; between aversion from the revolution in France and an equally intense aversion from the émigrés. Austria was fighting at a distance from her base, in conjunction with an ally with whom she was by no means in close accord. The other powers were standing out of the quarrel, Pitt being, indeed, rather disposed to recognise the Republic and seek its alliance. But in the closing months of 1792 and January, 1793, some important changes had taken place.

France Ready to Challenge the World

Public opinion in England was turned angrily against France by the September massacres. The French Government, with its successes in the field, was eager to challenge the world in arms, under the conviction that in England, as well as elsewhere, the people were groaning under the tyranny of a political system which they were yearning to overthrow. The Jacobins were zealous to impose popular liberties as understood by themselves on the nations of Europe. The Girondins anticipated with alarm the results of a peace which would scatter over France 300,000 soldiers for whom the existing industrial conditions would not readily provide civil employment. On the other hand, the foreign territories now in French occupation were beginning to realise that liberation, as interpreted by the Republic, was not an unqualified blessing. In England, though not in Ireland, the demand for liberation was practically non-existent, and it was soon to be proved that Great Britain was the most implacable and also the most stable of all the Powers challenged by the regicide Republic. The war had been forced upon a Minister who, up to the last moment, had done his best to avert it, but when once it had begun did his best to maintain and extend the European coalition with a greater zeal than that of any other of the Powers. But the strength of coalitions depends very much less on their aggregate mass than on their sustained co-operation and unity of aim. Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Holland might be, and were, all drawn into this coalition; but at the best these were only make-weights, and on land Great Britain herself was little more—as yet. The effective military powers were Prussia and Austria. But Austria and Prussia were not preparing to devote their energies completely and decisively to the repression of France.

Unhappy Condition of Poland

At this crisis Prussia became absorbed in a fresh partition of what remained of Poland with the Tsarina, on lines the reverse of satisfactory to Austria, whose interest lay in the maintenance of an independent Poland strong enough to serve as a barrier against the westward advance of Russia. Until the close of 1795 the Polish problem perpetually distracted the two German powers from the systematic prosecution of the war against the French.

The Girondins Suffering from Remorse

Under such conditions it is not surprising that the coalition failed to strike decisive blows in spite of the pressing difficulties under which the French Government, still nominally Girondin, was labouring. It was only for a very brief moment that the enormous odds which France had raised against herself served to unite all parties in a determination to meet them effectively. Huge new levies were raised, and the outstanding cash problem was dealt with according to precedent by the issue of more assignats. But the strife between the Mountain and Gironde revived with increased bitterness. Having made themselves responsible for the death of Louis, the Girondins could forgive neither themselves nor the antagonists who had driven them into this false position. Dumouriez, after visiting Paris, and offering a vain opposition to the regicide policy, returned to the army in Belgium with the immediate object of subjugating Holland, which was not unwilling to overturn the rule of the Stadtholder, William of Orange. The advance of the Austrians into Belgium compelled him to give them battle, and to suffer a defeat at Neerwinden. Seeing only a dwindling prospect of carrying out his own policy in the character of a triumphant general—the policy of restoring the monarchy in the person of young Louis Philippe, the son of "Égalité" Orleans—he resolved to do so with foreign aid. His troops, however, were still less disposed to aid him in this project than he had been to aid Lafayette in the past; and he was obliged to take flight and follow Lafayette out of effective political life, though not into captivity.

Defeated Ambitions of Dumouriez

The Girondins had refused to detach Danton from the Jacobins, to injure him by charging him with complicity in Dumouriez's Orleanist plot; but thereby they only hastened their own downfall. A secret committee of nine, known as the Committee of Public Safety, was established by the Convention to control the Girondin Ministry and the commanders at the front, with almost despotic powers. The Girondins made unsuccessful rhetorical attacks on their opponents, who organised a popular hostility in Paris, which broke out in a rising on June 2nd. The National Guard had become an instrument of the Jacobins.

MARIE ANTOINETTE IN MOURNING
After the execution of Louis XVI.

The Convention was surrounded in force, and compelled to surrender most of the prominent Girondins. Some of these escaped, and proceeded to raise the provinces against Paris mob rule. La Vendée had already for months been in active insurrection, defying and destroying Government forces. Charlotte Corday succeeded in assassinating Marat, but the practical effect was to intensify the ferocity with which the Jacobins pursued their opponents. Had the antagonism to the Paris Government been organised instead of sporadic, it would have been in the utmost peril. And had the members of the coalition been working in concert, they might have threatened Paris itself, for, in every quarter, the French were being worsted — by Spaniards, Piedmontese, Prussians, Austrians, British. The loyalists of Toulon handed over the arsenal and harbour to the protection of the British Fleet. The allies took Valenciennes and recaptured Mainz. But each of them was playing for his own hand with the object of securing this or that piece of territory out of the dismemberment of France. In the face of these gathering perils, the Committee of Public Safety, now armed with almost unlimited powers, directed its energies with savage vigour to the organisation of an aggressive defence and a ruthless crushing of all resistance, potential as well as active, suspected as well as proved, to the "tyranny of Liberty." The genius of Carnot, the "organiser of victories," was soon triumphantly associated with the fanaticism of St. Just and the venom of Robespierre in directing the fate of France. Although the Convention drew up yet another Constitution, its adoption was deferred, and practically all powers executive and legislative were vested in the Committee, and their commissioners ruled absolutely in every department. Carnot raised three-quarters of a million soldiers; the revolts everywhere were crushed with merciless rigour. "Suspects," which might mean anyone who had failed to display conspicuous energy on behalf of the existing Government, were flung into prison by the thousand. The old commanders were displaced, it might be on insufficient grounds;

The Prisons Filled with "Suspects"

THE DEATH OF GENERAL PICHEGRU

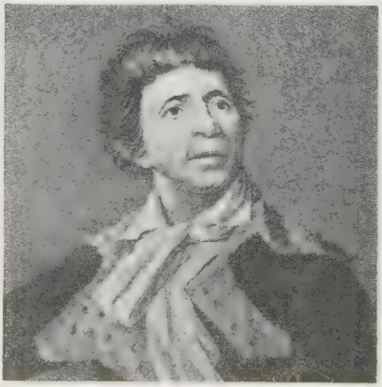
Enlisting in the army of France, Charles Pichegru became a general of division, and led his troops to victory in a series of important battles. In consequence of his associating himself with the Bourbons, the Directory superseded him by Moreau, and his Bourbon intrigues were continued after he became President of the Council of Five Hundred in 1797. He escaped from France, but returned to it in 1804, and on the morning of April 6th, was found strangled in bed.

but the new men were selected by Carnot with extraordinary insight and judgment, and they displayed a capacity which invariably justified the selection. In the north, Jourdan drove back the combined British and Austrians—the former were still in the stage when family connections constituted the sole title to important commands; in the Rhine provinces, Hoche and Pichegru drove back Austrians and Prussians. Before Toulon, the genius of a young artillery officer, Napoleon Buonaparte—the more popular form Bonaparte was adopted by him at a later date—secured over the besiegers a position so commanding that the English admiral, Hood, had to content himself with taking off a number of the loyalists and destroying the French warships which lay in the harbour. Yet these military triumphs had an ugly background in the Reign of Terror which was established—not only in Paris. Names noble and infamous were numbered in the death-rôle—the queen and the sister of the king, the mistress of the king's grandfather, Mme. Roland, the soul of the Girondin idealism, Philip "Égalité," generals who had failed to satisfy, like Custine and Houchard, men once honoured as reformers, like Bailly and Barnave, amid an untold number of forgotten victims, while the interested psychologist observes that Paris went to the theatre as usual. Even Robespierre was disgusted at the obscene profanities of the "feast of reason" indulged in by the foul Hébert and his associates. Danton, and those who were with him, were now nicknamed the "Indulgents"; though responsible for the last year's September massacres, they had no part in these abominations. Danton struck without mercy, but with definite purpose; the "Reign of Terror" was a period of indiscriminate slaughter, almost without purpose, hideous, sickening. Robespierre, seeing the revulsion it caused, allied himself for a moment with the "Indulgents" for the destruction of the Hébertists, whose heads fell beneath the guillotine in March. Then Robespierre turned on his rival. A fortnight after, Hébert, Danton and his associates met the same doom. Robespierre's supremacy was undisputed.

Robespierre was a complete fanatic; in his own eyes, the apostle and high priest of perfect Rousseauism, whose mission it was to inaugurate Rousseau's millennium at the cost of a vast sacrificial slaughter. He was also a complete egoist, perfectly satisfied that to secure his own power all means were moral. He was a convinced Deist; and, in contrast to the Hébertists with their nauseous "feast of reason," which was an atheistic carnival, he caused the Convention to affirm by decree the existence of the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul; he instituted the Festival of the Supreme Being, acting himself as a sort of high priest. But the Terror went on: it was to go on till the "Reign of Virtue" was established.

ST. JUST AND CARNOT
St. Just was a follower of Robespierre, and at the Convention in 1792 came into notice by his fierce attacks on the king. He died by the guillotine, along with Robespierre, in 1794. Carnot, a member of the Committee of Public Safety during the Revolution, earned the title of the "organiser of victory"; he raised no fewer than fourteen armies.

The Law of Prairial, in June, abolished the last semblance of legal procedure in the case of "suspects," and his former coadjutors felt that their own turn might come any day. While the guillotine devoured its daily feast—between forty and fifty victims on the average, in Paris—enemies who had learned their business as members of the Committee of Public Safety, enemies as ruthless as himself, were plotting Robespierre's downfall. There were preliminary warnings, but Robespierre counted on his own influence. On Thermidor 9th (July 27th), not six weeks after the passing of the Law of Prairial, the Convention turned upon Robespierre and his associates, St. Just and Couthon, and decreed their arrest. The troops of the Commune were brought up to effect a liberation, but they offered no opposition when the Convention in turn brought up troops to carry out its order. The three were dispatched to the scaffold. So ended the Terror. Not because all the new chiefs were less bloodthirsty, but because they realised that the lust of blood had been glutted and turned to nausea. The overthrow had been effected by a combination of Indulgents and Terrorists; but the victory lay with the Indulgents.


JEAN PAUL MARAT
A zealous revolutionary, he engaged in a mortal struggle with the Girondins, and at his door has been laid the blame of the most infamous of the massacres. He was the object of intense hatred, and was assassinated in 1793.

The personnel of the Committee of Public Safety was necessarily changed, though Carnot remained. He cannot be acquitted of responsibility for the Terror; but his business had been with the exercise of administrative functions in another sphere, that of military organisation, and for his astonishing success in this department France owed him an enormous debt. The new Government set about the task of restoring something like constitutional methods with vigour. The Law of Prairial was repealed, and Robespierre's instrument, the Revolutionary Tribunal, was suspended. Much of the power usurped by the Committee was restored to the Convention. The Paris Commune was abolished, and replaced by committees nominated by the Convention. Fresh forces were organised to hold the mob in check, composed of members of the well-to-do classes. The remnant of Terrorists were forced to resign their places on the various committees. The remnant of Girondins was recalled to the Assembly, and the Jacobin club was closed by a decree of the Convention. The Terror was a lurid background to the military achievements of the Republican armies. They were now led almost entirely by men of great natural talent, who had displayed conspicuous ability and courage in the ranks and in subordinate posts; and the presence at the front of commissioners of the

Committee of Public Safety was a perpetual reminder that failure, or even the appearance of failure, might lead to the guillotine, as it did with Custine and Houchard. The Spaniards, who had met with some success when they first joined the coalition, were driven back, the Pyrenees were pierced, and Spain itself was invaded by the force which had recovered Toulon. The previous successes of the Piedmontese were reversed.

On the side of the Rhine and the Netherlands, the French improved upon the advantages won in 1793. Prussia, intent on subjugating her share of Poland, would continue the French war only for hard cash; Austria would provide none, but Pitt furnished the subsidies demanded, in return for which Prussia sent to the Rhine 60,000 men, whose commander, Möllendorf, remained persistently inactive. In the Netherlands, the Austrians at first cooperated with the Duke of York, and Landrecies was taken; but Pichegru advanced at the head of the French Army of the North; York was defeated at Turcoing; further south, Jourdan, after a series of minor engagements, defeated the Austrians at Fleurus, while Möllendorf refused to move to their support. The Austrians retired beyond the Meuse, York fell back into Brabant, and Pichegru made himself master of Belgium.

GENERAL HOCHE

General Hoche defended Dunkirk against the Duke of York in 1793, and it was owing to his efforts that the civil war in La Vendée was brought to an end in 1795. Two years later he inflicted several defeats on the Austrians.

Succession of French Victories

"Glorious First of June"

In fact, with Austria, as with Prussia, the French war had come to be regarded as of minor importance as compared with Poland, and Francis was hoping to be compensated for the loss of the Netherlands by the acquisition of Bavaria as the price of his assent to the partition arranged between Prussia and Russia. As the year advanced, all the provinces on the left bank of the Rhine were occupied by the French; Pichegru advanced into Holland, disregarding the difficulties of a winter campaign; the Dutch fleet in the Texel was captured, and the Stadtholder took flight to England—to which power, it may here be noted, he very shortly ceded the protectorate of the Dutch Colony at the Cape, which thenceforth remained a British possession, except during the brief interval of the Peace of Amiens. Holland itself was transformed into the "Batavian Republic." The revolt in La Vendée, though it had extended to Brittany, had been reduced to warfare of an exclusively guerrilla character. For the coalition the record of the year 1794 was pitiful. Great Britain alone could find some consolation in Lord Howe's naval victory of the "glorious First of June" off Ushant—a battle famous, among other things, for the mythical heroism of the crew of the Vengeur, who, after a magnificent fight, did not refuse to strike their colours, but surrendered before the ship went down. The legend, however, was invaluable as an inspiration of dauntless defiance. The situation was not redeemed in the following year. Austria, indeed, impelled by the energy of Pitt and the promises of the Tsarina Catharine, who was exceedingly anxious to keep the emperor embroiled in the west, maintained the war, though without energy. Great Britain did little except make an abortive attempt to set the émigrés at the head of a Royalist rising in Brittany, which was foiled partly by the miserable incapacity of the émigrés themselves, partly by the skill and energy of Hoche, to whom Carnot entrusted the command. Some seven hundred of them were shot down in cold blood by the order of Tallien—who was present as commissioner—not of Hoche, who proceeded to pacify the country with a judicious justice, which could be severe or lenient as circumstances might demand. But the coalition was broken up. Prussia, which had taken no effective part since 1793, made her own peace with the Republic in April by the Treaty of Bâsle, surrendering her territories on the left bank of the Rhine, and receiving a provisional

TRIAL OF MARIE ANTOINETTE BEFORE THE REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL

Marie Antoinette was brought for trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal on October 14th, 1793. The proceedings lasted for about twenty consecutive hours. The queen was perfectly calm throughout the long and terrible ordeal, and "did not give the least sign of fear, or indignation, or weakness," even when the decree that sentenced her to death was read.

THE QUEEN OF FRANCE BEING LED TO EXECUTION ON OCTOBER 16TH, 1793

The courage and fortitude exhibited by Marie Antoinette during her long trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal did not forsake her in the closing hours of life, and she bravely met death by the guillotine on October 16th 1793.

THE GUILLOTINE'S DAILY TOLL: GIRONDINS ON THEIR WAY TO DEATH

The Girondins, at first allied with the Jacobins, were one of the chief revolutionary parties that arose during the Revolution, but while they had a part in the overthrow of the monarchy they had no share in the infamous September massacres. When the party were defeated in June 1793, many of their leaders and followers were led to the guillotine.

From the painting by Piloty

VICTIMS OF THE GUILLOTINE: A DAILY SCENE DURING THE REVOLUTION

Such scenes as that represented in the above picture were witnessed daily in the streets of Paris and other cities during the Reign of Terror. In rough carts men and women, amid the jeers and insults of the brutal mob, were taken to the place of execution and beheaded by the guillotine, whose thirst for blood remained insatiable.

promise of compensation on the right bank. Spain followed suit in July, ceding her portion in San Domingo. The Bourbon monarchy was the less averse because the young Dauphin, who had not been guillotined, but kept a prisoner, succumbed in June under the severities of his confinement.

It is not surprising that some two score of pseudo-Dauphins were discovered at intervals in the years to come. The legitimist heir to the throne was now the late king's brother, the Count of Provence, who assumed in his exile the title of Louis XVIII. Once more a new Government was on the verge of being formed in France. The "Thermidorean" reaction was the expression of a strong national revulsion against the excesses of the last two years, and restored a considerable share of power to the bourgeois element. But the distress of the lower classes had found temporary alleviation from the employment provided by revolutionary committees, and from the "maximum" law, which had fixed a limit on the price of food and other articles; both these disappeared with the reaction. The discontent of the mob was fanned by the surviving Terrorists, and Paris saw another insurrection in May, which was successfully put down by the Government. The scales had turned against mob rule.

As usual, however, the remedy for discontent was sought in the promulgation of a new Constitution. Two fundamental vices were discovered as the cause of failure in the past—the confusion of the legislative and executive functions, and the single chamber. The executive body was now to have no control over legislation; the Legislature, divided into two chambers, would have no control over the executive, save for the power of impeaching Ministers. The deputies were to be chosen by double election—the citizens who paid taxes choosing electors, and the electors choosing deputies. The younger deputies, forming the larger body, were to submit legislation to the elder, or Chamber of Ancients. The two bodies were to nominate the five heads of the executive, the Directory, who would appoint Ministers. One of the Directory and one-third of each of the other bodies were to retire annually.

An obvious weakness lay in the risk of Directory and Legislature losing touch, and creating a deadlock with its attendant dangers, which in England are obviated

THE ASSASSINATION OF MARAT BY CHARLOTTE CORDAY

Though of noble family, Charlotte Corday welcomed the Revolution, but was horrified at the acts of the Jacobins, and resolved to destroy one of their leaders. On July 17th, 1793, she was admitted to the house of Marat on the plea that she had important news to impart, and finding him in his bath stabbed him to the heart. She was executed a few days later.

From the picture by H. Scheffer

THE ARISTOCRATS' HOUR OF DOOM: THE GAOLER READING THE NAMES OF THE PRISONERS CONDEMNED TO DIE

From the painting by Muller at Versailles by the system of party Cabinets. The fear, however, of reaction, whether royalist or revolutionary, taking effect at the coming elections, inspired a further modification—that in the first instance two-thirds of the deputies must be chosen from the members of the Convention itself.

There was no one in Paris to treat the Convention as Cromwell had treated the Rump under somewhat similar circumstances; but the Assembly was not so secure of its own position as the British Parliament which prolonged its own life by passing the Septennial Act. An insurrection in Paris of the discontented factions was almost a certainty. The Government appointed Barras to deal with the emergency. Barras turned to a young artillery officer who had recently been cashiered for refusing to join the army in La Vendée—the same to whom the credit for the capture of Toulon was known to be due. To him Barras entrusted the command of the troops. By the use of artillery, dexterously secured by Murat, Bonaparte completely scattered the insurgents in the streets of Paris on October 5th. The Man of Destiny had set his foot on the first rung of the ladder. Before we accompany him through his tremendous career, his rise to unexampled power and the crash of his fall, we must turn to the events in Central Europe, which have been glanced at only from time to time in our sketch of the first years of the first French Republic. The special affairs of Great Britain are reserved for separate treatment.

The first partition of Poland had reduced the area of that kingdom by transferring border provinces to Russia, Prussia and Austria respectively; while the throne itself had been secured for Stanislas Poniatowski, a creature of the Tsarina. This subjection, however, was not to the liking of the Poles themselves; and when, at the close of the 'eighties, Russia became involved in a Turkish war the hope was revived of recovering independence and strengthening the Polish state.

Ideas of constitutional reform were developed under the influence of the doctrines emanating from France in the opening "Constituent" stage of the Revolution. In May, 1790, the succession to the childless Stanislas was laid down in the Saxony line, with a view to the establishment of a hereditary instead of an electoral monarchy, and a Constitution was promulgated. The *liberum veto*, or right of any one noble to veto legislation,

MADAME ROLAND AT THE GUILLOTINE

The wife of Jean Marie Roland, Minister of the Interior, was arrested and taken to Sainte Pelagie. On November 8th, 1793, she was brought to the guillotine. "O Liberty," she said, addressing with her last breath the statue so-called, "what crimes are committed in thy name!" Her husband afterwards stabbed himself.

THE CELEBRATION OF MASS DURING THE REIGN OF TERROR

From the painting by C. L. Muller

was abolished, the executive was placed in the hands of the Crown, and the legislature in the hands of a Senate and a representative Assembly. The plan suited Leopold of Austria, who wanted a strong buffer state to hold back Russia; it was less agreeable to Frederic William, who saw his chances of acquiring Danzig and Thorn vanishing; and it did not suit Russia at all, for obvious reasons. Leopold, however, succeeded in establishing his influence over the Prussian king, and the two German monarchs agreed, in July, 1790, and in February, 1791, to guarantee a "free constitution" for Poland. Hence, Catharine's anxiety to obtain a free hand for upsetting the new arrangements by involving Austria and Prussia in hostilities with France, and to bring the Turkish war to a conclusion. With the Peace of Jassy, in January, 1792, and the intense friction between France and the Powers in those months, both Catharine's immediate objects seemed to be accomplished; and she was aided by the death of the shrewd emperor in March, and by the dissensions among the Poles themselves, the old nobility being very ill-content with the new constitution, which deprived them of their ancient and fatal "liberty" to make the central government an unworkable farce. Frederic William, no longer guided by a wiser ruler than himself, disregarded the appeals of the constitutionalists, and the traditional jealousy and distrust between Austria and Prussia revived, while Austria herself was committed to the French war in defence of the Netherlands. Catharine sought to satisfy Prussia by meeting her demands for additional Polish territory, while Austrian acquiescence was to be secured by the old scheme of exchanging the Austrian Netherlands for Bavaria. But Austria was not so easily satisfied.

France and Her Enemies

With Dumouriez overrunning Belgium at the end of 1792, the practicability of the scheme of exchange was more than doubtful; moreover, Prussia would give no active assistance in carrying it out, and refused to accede to Austria's further demands for the transfer to her of Anspach and Baireuth. Catharine, however, practically twisted Frederic William to her will; and in January, 1793, the two powers made a secret treaty, arranging a partition, and leaving out Austria—except for a joint undertaking to lend moral support to her acquisition of Bavaria. At the same time, Prussia bound herself to continue the French war. How she interpreted that obligation we have already seen. She took Pitt's subsidies, sent Möllendorf to the Rhine, and remained inactive. In Poland, however, both

Prussia and Russia proceeded to carry out their joint policy with energy. Both invaded that country—to suppress disorder—and appropriated the respective shares agreed upon, that of Russia, it may be remarked, having double the population and four times the area of the Prussian portion. The effect on Austria was to terminate the policy of co-operation with Prussia, which had proved itself utterly untrustworthy, and to bring into power the anti-Prussian Minister, Thugut. Nevertheless, the partition was confirmed in September, while Stanislas, with what was left of his kingdom, found himself a mere vassal of Russia. Again the Poles rose against the Russian dominion, in 1794, under the leadership of Kosciusko. The revolt had no practical chance of success, and it was perceived at Berlin that unless Prussia intervened the spoils would fall to Russia. A Prussian invasion in June resulted in the capture of Cracow, to which prompt action would have added Warsaw. But owing to the lack of it, Warsaw was enabled to hold out until the Prussians found themselves obliged to withdraw in order to suppress insurrection in their own new provinces. Russia took up the task and completed it with thoroughness. The successful general, Suwarrow, defeated and captured Kosciusko, stormed Praga, massacred its inhabitants, and seized Warsaw. Catharine could now afford to disregard Prussia and conciliate Austria. On January 3rd, 1795, the two Powers completed the final partition by a treaty to which Prussia acceded a year later. A portion, including Warsaw, went to Prussia; a larger portion, including Cracow, to Austria; and the lion's share to Russia. Poland had vanished from the map of Europe. An additional secret treaty between Austria and Russia never took effect, and did not, in fact, come to light till half a century had passed; it is of interest as throwing light on the unscrupulous character of the designs and the diplomacy of Thugut, but exercised no practical effect whatever on history.

A POLISH PATRIOT

Tadeuscz Kosciusko headed the national movement in Cracow after the second partition of Poland, and was appointed dictator and commander-in-chief. He died in 1817.

THE DEFEAT OF THE AUSTRIANS AT THE BATTLE OF FLEURUS IN 1794

From the painting by Mauzaisse at Versailles

THE FRENCH
REVOLUTION
& NAPOLEON

V
BY ARTHUR
D. INNES, M.A.

THE CONQUERING GENERAL OF THE DIRECTORY

BONAPARTE IN ITALY AND EGYPT

BONAPARTE, in the affair of "Vendémiaire"—i.e., October 5th—saved the Republic from relapsing into anarchy. The new Constitution came into immediate force. The five Directors chosen—Carnot, Barras, Rewbell, Letourneur, and La Réveillère—were all members of the regicide Assembly; but their policy was one of moderation, approved by the Legislature, of which bodies, as we noted, two-thirds were members of the Convention. The government proved itself to be vigorous and alert, as well as moderate, and the sense of public security began to revive, although the solution of the financial problem seemed as remote as ever.

The Early Genius of Bonaparte

Domestic order, then, was restored. But Great Britain and Austria combined to reject peace overtures, and the continuation of the war led directly to the establishment of some victorious general as autocrat. The destined Cæsar was the man who had made such excellent use of his chance of deserving well of the new Government. Barras had his own reasons for pushing the young man who, amid his ambitions, was consumed with passion for the fascinating widow Josephine Beauharnais. Carnot recognised a brilliant military genius in the plan for an Italian campaign which Bonaparte had sent in. He was appointed to the Italian command, married Josephine, and, after the briefest of honeymoons, started for the front in March, 1796. He was then six-and-twenty years of age. He was one of several brothers, of a leading Corsican family, French only in the sense that Choiseul annexed Corsica just before Napoleon was born.

Bonaparte's Career In Danger

For years past, Corsica, under the leadership of the patriot Pasquale Paoli, had been struggling for freedom from the Genoese rule; and the struggle was renewed against the French. The young Napoleon's sympathies were with the patriots to an extent which occasionally brought him into trouble while he was pursuing his studies for a military career in France. He attached himself, however, to the revolution, and held an artillery command at the siege of Toulon, where he was on friendly terms with the Commissioner of the Committee of Public Safety, Robespierre's younger brother. After Robespierre's fall, this connection went near to destroying his career, and he had been trying to obtain an appointment as organiser of the Turkish sultan's artillery, when he was cashiered, and then reinstated in order to "save the Republic" in Vendémiaire.

According to the general plan of campaign, two French armies, under Jourdan and Moreau, were to enter Germany and force their way to Vienna; Bonaparte was to force the King of Sardinia—who had already lost Savoy and Nice, but maintained a strong army in Piedmont—to sever himself from the Austrian alliance, and was to drive the Austrians out of Italy.

Austrians Defeated by Bonaparte

The new general had as subordinates men who had already shown great abilities, such as Masséna and Lannes; he was soon to eclipse them. Advancing with some 40,000 men, he found the Austrian and Piedmontese forces under Beaulieu disposed in three divisions, prepared to dispute his passage into Piedmont, and to cut his communications if he proceeded along the coast to Genoa. Bonaparte's movements deceived Beaulieu, and he was successful in completely routing the centre division at Montenotte, and splitting the right—the Piedmontese on the west—from the left, Beaulieu on the east. The Austrians fell back to the north-east to defend the line of the Po, the Piedmontese to the north-west, to cover Turin. But the King of Sardinia, seeing that Piedmont was now practically indefensible, came to terms, and withdrew from the coalition.

THE BOYHOOD OF NAPOLEON: HIS UNHAPPY SCHOOLDAYS AT BRIENNE

As a lad, the future Emperor of the French attended school at Brienne, and having but a scanty acquaintance with the French language, his lot was anything but happy. He even felt so miserable that he attempted to escape, and it is said that he offered himself as a sailor to the British Admiralty. The lonely youth seems to have been an object of amusement to his schoolmates, and Bonaparte's sensitive nature must have been deeply wounded by their unfeeling treatment.

From the painting by Realier Dumas

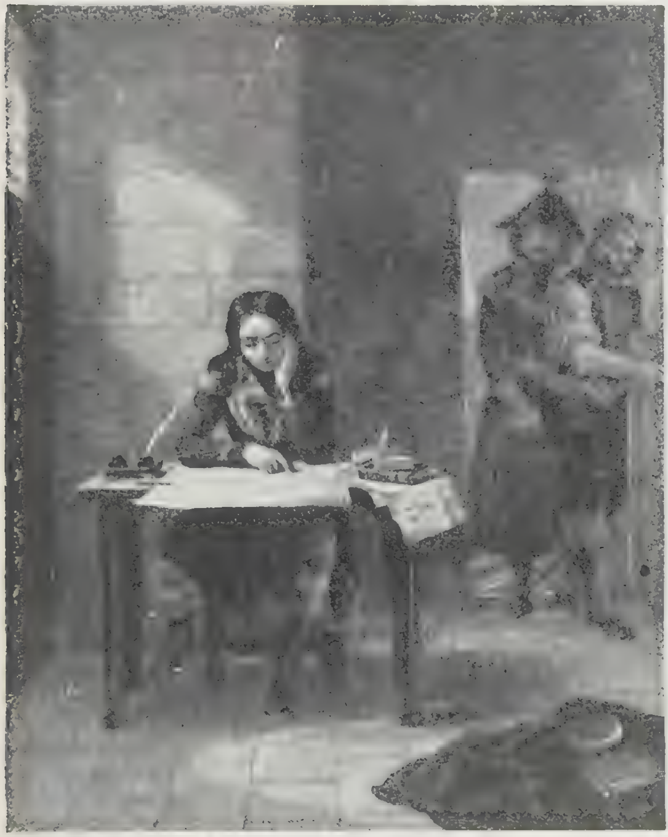
Bonaparte was free to deal independently with the Austrians before April was ended. Beaulieu took up his position behind the Ticino; again Bonaparte, by rapid movements, completely outmanœuvred him, and effected the passage of the Po at Piacenza. Beaulieu withdrew behind the Adda. But the fury of the French assault, headed by Bonaparte and Lannes in person, on the narrow wooden bridge at Lodi, carried the passage, and the Austrians were routed. Beaulieu, however, managed to draw his scattered forces together beyond the Mincio, and retreat to the all-important fortress of Mantua.

Four days later Bonaparte entered the Lombard capital, Milan. The hypothesis that the Republican army was engaged on a mission of liberation was rendered somewhat unconvincing by the toll which the conqueror levied, not only in cash but in works of art, which the Italians looked upon as national treasures, and various local insurrections of the populace took place which were severely repressed.

Naples, the other Bourbon state which was in the coalition—Spain had withdrawn in the previous year—was terrified into neutrality, and the Neapolitan contingent was withdrawn from the Austrian forces. Leghorn was seized—though the Duke of Tuscany, the brother of the emperor, had left the coalition before Prussia—and the British merchants and shipping in that neutral port paid the penalty. Bologna and Ferrara, at the north of the Papal states, were occupied; and the Pope bought respite at the price of a million sterling, the surrender of numerous works of art, and the cession of Bologna, Ferrara, and Ancona. Further, although Venice was neutral, Bonaparte found a pretext for occupying Brescia, within the territories of that republic, thereby virtually compelling Beaulieu in turn to violate the Venetian neutrality by occupying Peschiera, to cover Mantua. Beaulieu was thereupon attacked and driven north into the Tyrol, while a portion of his army remained in Mantua.

Bonaparte's Brilliant Campaigning

The Directory, taking alarm at the sudden and startling prestige acquired in six weeks of brilliant campaigning, proposed, but did not venture to press, that Bonaparte should leave half his army under command of Kellerman to deal with the Austrians, and should proceed with the other half to coerce the Pope. The proposal was negatived. The general went on to begin the siege of Mantua, when news came that Beaulieu was superseded by Würmser, who was descending from the Tyrol with his main army by the valley of the Adige, in Venetian territory, while a second army was to pass on the west of Lake Garda towards Brescia. Würmser was soon to learn the unwisdom of splitting up a force which was intended to operate against Bonaparte, who at once hurled himself on the western force, put it to flight, and then, in a rapid series of engagements, broke up Würmser's main force, driving it back into the Tyrol.



BONAPARTE IMPRISONED AS A "SUSPECT" AT NICE

On the downfall of Robespierre, Napoleon, as his brother's friend, fell under the suspicion of the authorities, and on a pretext being found for his arrest, he was placed in the prison at Nice, in August, 1794, and detained there for thirteen days.

From the painting by E. M. Ward

Receiving reinforcements, the stout old Austrian again advanced—and again in two divisions—with the inevitable result. One was shattered at Roveredo; the victor occupied the Austrian line of communications. The second army was then broken up, and Würmser only succeeded in reaching Mantua with a force considerably smaller than the number of men he had lost in getting there.

Had the French campaigns in Germany been successful, it would now have been Bonaparte's business to leave North Italy in its practically prostrate condition and march through the mountains upon Austria. The two columns under Moreau and Jourdan advanced on separate lines into Germany, while the Austrian commander, the Archduke Charles, had his forces depleted in order to provide the troops for Würmser's descent into Italy. Charles, however, leaving only a small force to hold Moreau in check, threw himself on Jourdan, and in a series of engagements drove him back over the Rhine. Moreau, in danger of finding himself cut off and overwhelmed, conducted a masterly retreat; but the combined plan of campaign was completely foiled. Bonaparte could carry out his own plans in Italy—unless the Austrians could prevent him. As an initial step, he had on his own responsibility ejected the Duke of Modena, and constructed the "Cispadane Republic" out of the duchy and the recently ceded estates of the papacy.

Austria, however, had not yet thrown up the cards, and in the late autumn new armies were descending from the Tyrol, considerably outnumbering Bonaparte's forces. By three days of desperate fighting at Arcola, Alvinzi was driven back to the Tyrol in November; yet once more he renewed his advance in January, 1797, only to be crushed at Rivoli and La Favorita. These battles decided the fate of Mantua, which surrendered at the beginning of February; Bonaparte was sufficiently generous to allow Würmser and the garrison to march out with the honours of war. To complete the humiliation of the papacy was now a simple process, which had been deferred only till more dangerous matters had been dealt with. Ten days after the surrender of Mantua the Pope was compelled to sign the Treaty of Tolentino. The terms were unexpectedly favourable; beyond a further indemnity, they amounted to little more than the confirmation of the previous cession of Ferrara, Ancona, and Bologna, which were already incorporated in the Cispadane Republic. To this were now to be added, under the name of the Cisalpine Republic, the conquered districts of Lombardy.

Southern Italy did not demand immediate attention; Northern Italy was completely in the hands of the French, though Venice was still to pay the penalty for her neutrality. But France was preparing to renew her advance upon Vienna, Hoche replacing Jourdan—and Hoche was the most dangerous of Bonaparte's rivals. The Corsican resolved to be first in the field, and to secure for himself the advantage of dictating terms to Austria. In a rapid campaign, in which he was ably assisted by Masséna and Joubert, he forced the passage of the Alps, defeating the Archduke Charles on the Tagliamento, and reached Leoben early in April, while Moreau's advance had been delayed by deficiencies in the military supplies. At Leoben he was met by Austrian peace commissioners, and the preliminaries of a treaty were signed on April 18th. Austria was to cede Belgium and Lombardy, and, by way of compensation, was to receive portions of the Venetian territory. In this last stipulation Bonaparte was barely anticipating events, since no excuse could be pretended for the partition of Venice. The excuse came. The exactions and the domineering of the French, deliberately provocative, aroused the fury of the population; in Venice there was a rising, and the French soldiers in the hospital were murdered, the day before the articles were signed at Leoben. The Venetian Government humbled itself in despairing messages, while collisions continued. Bonaparte replied by dictating terms of submission, which were accepted. The Venetian oligarchy abolished itself, and was replaced by a popular constitution; the alliance with France which Venice had hitherto persistently refused, was adopted; the usual tribute in works of art was exacted.

JOSEPHINE, THE WIFE OF BONAPARTE

The widow of the Vicomte de Beauharnais, Josephine was married to Bonaparte in 1796. Fond of pleasure, she gathered around her the most brilliant society of France, and in this way assisted in the establishment of her husband's power. Her marriage was dissolved in 1809.

The meaning of these things was revealed in the definitive Treaty of Campo Formio with Austria in October, when the Venetian territories east of the Adige were transferred to Austria, while France took possession of the Ionian Islands. Venice was the price which Bonaparte was willing to pay in order to secure from Austria the promise of the Rhine provinces in addition to the cessions of territory arranged under the articles of Leoben.

Other events, however, had been taking place while Bonaparte was winning his position as the foremost of living soldiers. Spain, after retiring from the coalition in 1795, had gone over to the French alliance in 1796, and reinforced the French fleets; France already had that of the Batavian Republic—that is, Holland—at its disposal. Although Admiral Jervis was in command of the Mediterranean squadron, his orders reduced him almost to impotency till he found his opportunity in February, 1797. Off Cape St. Vincent he caught a much larger Spanish fleet, on the way from Cartagena to Cadiz; but being in two divisions, he was able to crush the larger portion, partly owing to an audacious disregard of orders on the part of Commodore Nelson, which met with the admiral's full approval. The victory of Cape St. Vincent secured the mastery of the seas when it seemed to be threatened by the numerical strength of the hostile combination.

Nevertheless, that mastery was again endangered almost immediately afterwards, first by a serious mutiny in the fleet at Spithead, which was the outcome of genuine grievances on the part of the men. The justice of the men's demands was so manifest that they were conceded, and the men returned to their duty. This, however, was followed by a second mutiny at the Nore, in which there is no doubt that the ringleaders were inspired by Jacobin doctrines. This trouble was the more dangerous because the fleet was in expectation of an engagement with the Dutch squadron which was being prepared in the Texel. This mutiny was sternly suppressed with the aid of the now loyal ex-mutineers of Spithead, while Admiral Duncan was deceiving the Dutch into a belief that the two or three vessels which he could command were merely the leaders of his squadron, and so kept them from issuing out of the Texel in force. It was not till some months later, almost at the moment when the Treaty of Campo Formio was being signed, that Duncan decisively vanquished the Dutch fleet in the stubborn engagement of Camperdown.

MARSHAL LANNES

Another of Napoleon's marshals, Jean Lannes, Duke of Montebello, played a leading part in the campaigns of the French; he was mortally wounded at Aspern in 1809.

NAPOLEON'S GREATEST MARSHAL

Marshal Masséna distinguished himself in the many campaigns in which Napoleon was engaged, and in 1807 was created Duke of Rivoli. He cast in his lot with the Bourbons at the Restoration, and declined to follow Napoleon on his return from Elba. He died in 1817.

Affairs, however, had not in the meantime been going smoothly with the French Government. It had not, indeed, been shaken by Jourdan's failure in 1796, which had been more than counterbalanced by Bonaparte's Italian successes; nor

THE ENTRY OF THE VICTORIOUS FRENCH INTO MILAN, MAY 15TH, 1796

After receiving the command of the army of Italy, Bonaparte started his campaign on April 12th, 1796, and about a month later—on May 15th—entered Milan in triumph as the conqueror of all Lombardy and Piedmont.

THE SIGNING OF THE TREATY OF TOLENTINO BY THE POPE IN 1797

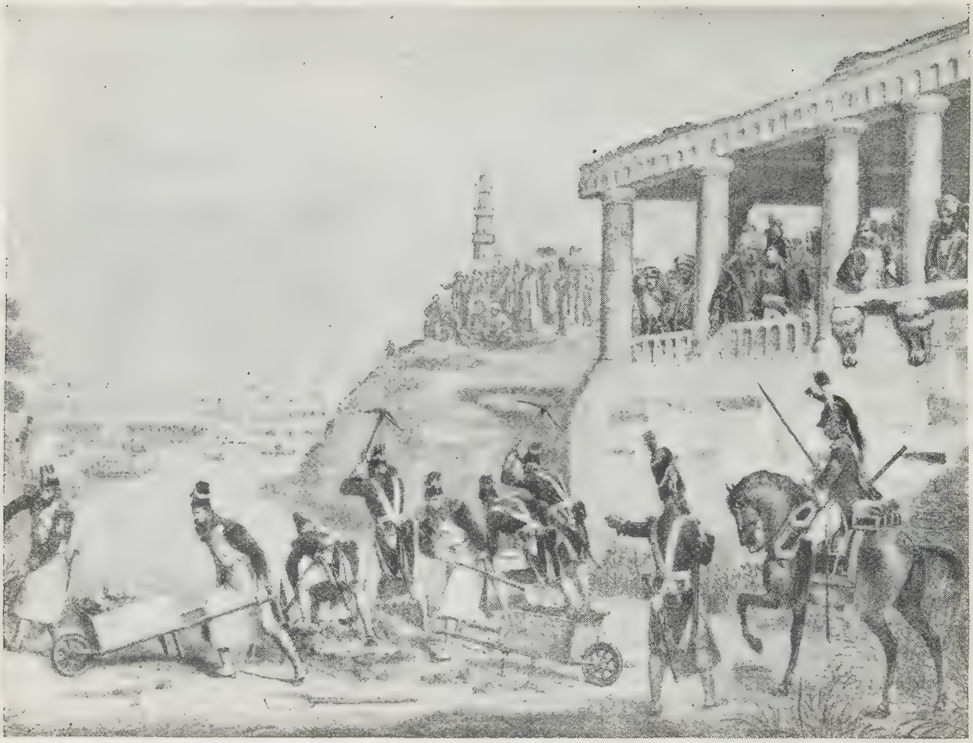
Having defeated the Austrians and driven them out of Italy, Napoleon marched into the Papal states, and ten days after the surrender of Mantua, on February 19th, 1797, forced the Pope to sign the Treaty of Tolentino.

BONAPARTE IN ITALY: REVOLT OF THE PEASANTS AT PAVIA

During his Italian campaign the peasants in several quarters rose in revolt against the French. The disturbance in Pavia was not suppressed until the town was taken by storm, and given up to be plundered by the soldiers.

BONAPARTE AT THE SIGNING OF THE TREATY OF LEOBEN IN 1797

Forcing the passage of the Alps and defeating the Archduke Charles on the Tagliamento, Bonaparte reached Leoben early in April, 1797, where he was met by the Austrian Peace Commissioners. There, on the 18th of that month, were signed the preliminaries of peace between Austria and France embodied in the Treaty of Campo Formio.



THE FRENCH IN EGYPT: BONAPARTE'S AMBITIOUS SCHEME

During his Egyptian campaign Bonaparte, discovering the remains of an ancient canal near Suez, contemplated the formation of a waterway between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, and in the above picture his soldiers are seen at the work of excavation. The scheme, however, was abandoned, the discovery being made on survey that there was a difference of thirty feet between the levels of the Mediterranean at low water and the Red Sea at high water.

From the painting by Grenier

was its position affected by the fact that the latter general conducted affairs in that country very much as if he himself, and not the Directory, were at the head of the state. But whereas two-thirds of the delegates to the Assemblies were members of the Convention, the majority of the remaining third, the elected members, were reactionaries, many of whom desired a monarchical restoration. Among the Directors, Carnot and Letourneur both favoured the "Moderates."

The retirement of one-third, according to the Constitution, in May, 1797, greatly strengthened this party; and although Letourneur also retired, by lot, his place was taken by another moderate, Barthélemy. A leading personage in the party was Pichegru, who some time before had followed the example of Dumouriez in entering upon negotiations for a monarchical restoration with the Austrians, though the conspiracy had not been discovered. Still, Pichegru's leanings were more than suspected. The other three members of the Directory, Barras, Rewbell, and La Réveillère, with the old conventionists, trembled for their power. On the other hand, Austria and Great Britain both saw a prospect of a French Government which would be comparatively amenable. Austria in the past had refused to make peace apart from her island ally; she had just assented to the articles of Leoben only because a victorious army was within eighty miles of her capital, and she began to hope that she might evade the ratification of those articles. The Moderates were already showing their hand by attacking the Italian measures of Bonaparte. The Triumvirate in the Directory began to meditate a military coup d'état, to be carried through by Hoche, whose ambitions seemed to be of a less dangerous type than those of Bonaparte. But Hoche must be hoodwinked; he would not be a tool of the Triumvirate, and was not minded to play Cæsar. The overtures to Hoche proved unsuccessful. But Bonaparte's wrath was aroused by the Moderate attacks on him. From his quarters at Montebello he called upon the Triumvirate to crush the hypothetical

The Directory in Dread of Bonaparte

conspiracy—he furnished proof, from papers which had fallen into his hands, of Pichegru's designs two years before—and he sent his lieutenant Augereau to manage the military part of the business. On September 4th the coup d'état of Fructidor established the Triumvirate in power, drove Carnot from the country, and sent Pichegru and many others to prison or exile. Moreau, as a friend of Pichegru, was withdrawn from his command on the Rhine, where he was now replaced by Hoche, and on the death of Hoche, by Augereau. With Hoche dead, and Moreau under the Government's suspicion, Bonaparte had no possible military rival, and had no hesitation in letting the Triumvirate feel that he certainly was no less independent of the new Directory than of the old.

Bonaparte Without a Rival

Austria and England appreciated the change in the situation. Pitt was as stubborn as ever in his determination to refuse a peace on unsatisfactory terms, having failed to realise that the wealth and resources of the Republic were now rapidly increasing. Austria, on the other hand, felt herself with no alternative but to make the best bargain available, in which Thugut was not likely to display scrupulousness. Hence the Treaty of Campo Formio in October left Great Britain isolated, while Austria accepted Venice as compensation for her losses elsewhere, and acceded to Bonaparte's demand for the German Rhine provinces. The Directory raged, but found itself compelled to the terms of Bonaparte.

Having settled the treaty, Bonaparte returned to North Italy to complete the organisation of the Cisalpine Republic, to which was added the Valteline, hitherto a canton subject to the Swiss Grison League, from whose domination it had just broken free. Thence, after a brief visit to the congress at Rastadt, which was engaged in settling some details of the Treaty of Campo Formio, he betook himself to Paris. The Directors received him with more fear than satisfaction; but he was not yet inclined to seize the military

THE PLAGUE AT JAFFA: AN INCIDENT IN BONAPARTE'S EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGN

Plague was raging at Jaffa when Bonaparte and his army passed through Syria, and in this picture the great general of the Directory is seen visiting the pestilence-stricken quarter and laying his hands on the sores of the afflicted people. Apart from the heroism of the act, he thus showed his own belief in predestination, the sole article of his creed.

From the painting by Baron Gros

THE BRITISH VICTORY IN THE NAVAL BATTLE AT CAMPERDOWN

On October 11th, 1797, the fleets of the British and Dutch engaged in battle off Camperdown, Admiral Duncan being in command of the British forces, while the Dutch fleet was under De Winter. The sanguinary action resulted in a brilliant victory for the British who captured seven ships of the line, among them being the two flagships. In the above picture the Dutch flagship is shown in a dismantled condition and about to surrender to Admiral Duncan.

From the painting by D. Orme

THE OVERTHROW OF THE FRENCH AT THE BATTLE OF THE NILE

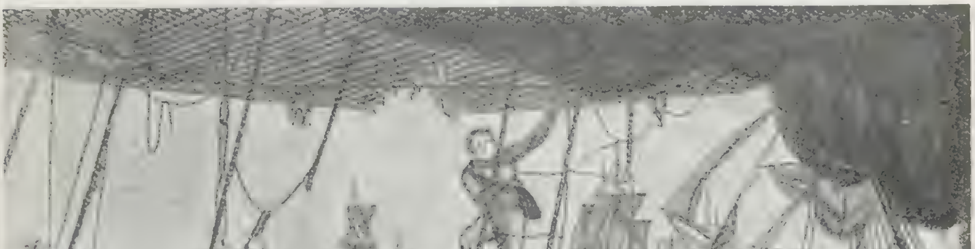
The Battle of the Nile, fought in Aboukir Bay on August 1st, 1798, between the British and the French fleets, was won by the former, Nelson completely overthrowing the enemy, though his fleet was numerically inferior. The picture given above represents the battle at the moment of the blowing up of the French flagship The Orient.

From the painting by De Loutherbourg

NELSON'S CAPTURE OF SPANISH WARSHIPS AT THE BATTLE OF ST. VINCENT

On February 14th, 1797, a great naval engagement between Britain and Spain was fought off Cape St. Vincent, the British admiral, Sir John Jervis, scattering the Spanish fleet. Nelson—at that time commodore—in the rear of the line fought valiantly to prevent the reunion of the two divisions of the Spanish fleet, and when the victory was won he boarded the Spanish ship, San Nicolas, and led his men across her deck to the San Josef, of which he also took possession. In the above picture he is seen on board the latter vessel receiving the commander's sword.

From the painting by J. T. Barker



AFTER THE BATTLE OF CAMPERDOWN: THE DUTCH ADMIRAL'S SURRENDER

This picture illustrates an incident after the defeat of the Dutch fleet by the British at Camperdown, Admiral de Winter being shown yielding up his sword in acknowledgment of defeat to Lord Duncan on board the Venerable.

From the painting by D. Orme

dictatorship which was within his grasp. It was not as a Paris politician that he intended to strike for the great world-empire on which his imagination was dwelling.

The fact patent to everyone was that Great Britain was the one Power which stood out in resolute hostility to the Republic; for, although Catharine of Russia had died in 1796, her successor, Paul, had not yet adopted an anti-French policy. To humble England was an obvious policy, to the adoption of which the Directory was already avowedly committed. To that end, again, a great invasion was a conspicuous means. The arsenals of France, especially Toulon, were soon busy preparing armaments; the victorious general was to be hurled against the tyrant of the seas.

The victorious general had every intention of crushing the tyrant of the seas; but not, for the present, by that particular method, to which the British fleet might prove an obstacle. But Great Britain was now an Oriental as well as a European Power. Bonaparte had conceived the idea of an Asiatic empire which would not only rob Great Britain of her Indian dominion, but would provide overwhelming resources for turning back upon the West. The high-road to Asia lay through Egypt; and Egypt, not the shores of England, was the objective of Bonaparte's designs, to which the effusive Barras had no sort of objection. The general of the Republic triumphing in London would be a portent more alarming to the Triumvirate in Paris than the general on his way to India. England watched and waited, expecting the obvious. Bonaparte's secret was kept; but Admiral Nelson, on guard in the Mediterranean, had his own intuitions. At any rate, the armament would come out of Toulon, and, whatever its destination, he would have to account for it. But weather drove him off; the fleet had just time to sail clear away before he could reappear, to find Toulon empty. Instinct bade him make for Egypt in pursuit. He reached Alexandria, but found no sign of his quarry, which he had passed in a fog

Nelson on the Track of the French

BONAPARTE'S CLEMENCY WITH THE SLEEPING SENTRY

Bonaparte, at Arcola, discovering a sentry asleep, quietly took his gun and stood guard in his place. The man on awakening was terror-stricken, for the penalty of his fault was death, but his general gave him only a few quiet words of reproof. By acts such as this Napoleon gained the love and devotion of his men, who were ever ready to follow him to death.

BONAPARTE BEFORE THE DIRECTORY ON HIS RETURN FROM EGYPT

Convinced that the time had come for him to return to France and assume decisive control, Bonaparte suddenly quitted Egypt, leaving Kleber in command of the troops. On his arrival in Paris he presented himself before the Directory.

and left behind engaged in securing Malta from the Knights of St. John. Malta was neutral; Egypt, a dependency of Turkey, was neutral.

Nelson started afresh in pursuit, but again missed his prey, which reached Alexandria on June 30th, the day after his departure. Bonaparte and his forces were landed; he was careful to proclaim that they had come as liberators—friends, indeed, of the sultan and the Mohammedan religion—to free Egypt from the yoke of the Mamelukes. Alexandria was seized without difficulty; Bonaparte led his murmuring forces across the desert, to change their murmurs into *vivats* when they shattered the splendid Mameluke cavalry in the Battle of the Pyramids. Bonaparte entered Cairo in triumph. On the top of triumph came news of disaster. Nelson had got on the scent, and returned to Alexandria on August 1st. He found the French battleships—thirteen in number—at anchor in Aboukir Bay, heading north-west, with shoals on their left, where he was told there was no room for ships to pass. But Nelson held that where there was room for French ships to swing there was room for English ships to sail. He bore down, late as it was, on a north-west wind, his van passing down the French left between the ships and the shoals, his rear passing down the French right. Thus he brought the French van between two fires, while the French rear to leeward could not come into action.

French Triumphs and Disasters

The battle raged far into the night; the French flagship, The Orient, was blown up; all but two of the battleships and a couple of frigates were destroyed or captured. " It was not a victory, but a revolution." The battle converted the Mediterranean into an English lake. Bonaparte was isolated in Egypt, with no possible chance of obtaining supplies or reinforcements, or maintaining his communications with France. The Asiatic empire had become an impossibility, though even now Bonaparte would not admit it to himself.

The attack upon Egypt forced the Porte to declare war on France; and Bonaparte, after having organised an Egyptian government, and having set the example, which found followers among his army, of professing Mohammedanism, anticipated the Turkish attack by himself attacking Syria early in 1799. His successes were checked before Acre, where Djezzar Pasha held out stubbornly, his garrison being reinforced by Sir Sidney Smith with some British sailors and Bonaparte's siege artillery, which they had captured en route from Alexandria. All the French efforts to carry the obstinate fortress were fruitless; Acre made mere futility of the Syrian campaign. Bonaparte retreated into Egypt, where he annihilated a Turkish column; but also, in the course of communications with Sir Sidney Smith, received a packet of newspapers bearing momentous intelligence concerning events of which his isolation had kept him in ignorance. Even before his departure from Toulon the progress of the congress at Rastadt had been ominous of trouble. The rulers of the Rhine provinces were very ill-pleased to find that Austria and Prussia—now ruled by Frederic William III.—had disposed of their territories to France. Protestant Prussia was willing to compensate them by the secularisation of the ecclesiastical states in Central Germany; orthodox Austria was not. A Franco-Prussian alliance seemed a probable outcome of the quarrel, and Thugut

BONAPARTE'S COUP D'ETAT. DISPERSING THE EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE

The executive government of France, known as the Directory, was in the hands of five men, and because of his youth Bonaparte was unable to join it. He resolved, however, on a bold stroke; the Directory was unpopular, and he determined to overthrow it. With the assistance of Siéyès, this was accomplished on November 9th, 1799. The two Directors who refused to dissolve were placed under guard; a tremendous scene was witnessed in the Council of Five Hundred when Bonaparte was refused a hearing, but the Chamber dispersed when the soldiery advanced upon it.

From the painting by Francois Bouchet in the Louvre

INSTALLATION OF THE THREE "CONSULS' OF FRANCE

This picture is a sequel to that on the preceding page. After the dissolution of the Directory, the Council of Ancients decreed the appointment of a provisional executive committee of three, nominating Sieyès, Ducos, and Napoleon Bonaparte.

From the painting by Louder at Versailles

began to meditate a renewal of the war. Moreover, the Tsar Paul, who, in contrast to Catharine, was already showing himself a strong reactionary in domestic affairs, took umbrage at the French seizure of the island of Malta. In Italy, the Directory deserted Bonaparte's policy of leniency to the papacy, to which it had objected from the beginning; it encouraged democratic insubordination, and in the disturbances which arose found excuse for marching upon Rome, removing the old Pope from the Eternal City, and setting up a Republic according to precedent. Similar disturbances were fostered in Switzerland, with similar results; the existing Government was abolished and replaced by the "Helvetic Republic" on the approved model. These proceedings inspired universal alarm. The Neapolitan monarchy felt itself particularly endangered. The battle of the Nile greatly strengthened Pitt, and even his energies were now surpassed by those of the Tsar in the effort to form a new coalition. Nelson and his fleet from the Nile arrived at Naples and inspired fresh confidence. The monarchy prematurely declared war against the Republic, and an army marched on Rome. Temporary success was promptly followed by reverse. The advance of French troops frightened the royal family into flight to Nelson's ships. Naples was forthwith converted into the Parthenopean Republic, and the Sardinian and Tuscan territories were occupied by French troops in January, 1799.

The second coalition was already formed, and Russia was pledged to support Austria by sending an army into Italy under Suwarrow. In March, 1799, several hostilities were in full swing. Jourdan, advancing towards Vienna, was driven back over the Rhine by the Archduke Charles. Scherer was defeated at Magnano, and replaced by Moreau. Masséna, who had begun an advance on Vienna from Switzerland, was paralysed. Suwarrow appeared in Italy, outmanœuvred Moreau, and on the Trebbia cut to pieces General Macdonald's smaller force from the south, which was attempting to effect a junction with Moreau, who was obliged to retreat. Suwarrow, however, was ordered to remain in Italy, instead of pressing on to France, while the Austrians secured Lombardy.

Italy Lost to the French

Joubert appeared on the scene with a fresh French army, but was crushed and himself slain by the combination of Suwarrow with the Austrians at Novi. In Naples, the Republic was easily overturned and the Bourbons were restored—to avenge the recent revolution in very sanguinary fashion. The whole of Italy was lost to the French, except Genoa. In the north, a British force was landed in Holland, and captured the Dutch fleet in the Texel, though York, its commander, made no further effective progress.

This record was serious enough for France, but beyond this the central government itself was in very precarious condition. The Directory, as established at Fructidor, was aware of the uncertainty of its own tenure of power, and in 1798 aroused indignant opposition by cancelling the election of several unfavourable deputies. In the following spring they again lost ground in the elections; Siéyès took the place of Rewbell in the Directory itself, and in June that body was practically reconstituted, as concerned its personnel, though without any tendency to royalism.

Such was the sum of the news which convinced Bonaparte that the time had come for him to return to Paris at all costs and assume decisive control. Keeping his designs secret till all was ready, he succeeded in making sail from Egypt, in company with trusted comrades—Marmont, Lannes, Murat, and Berthier—leaving the indignant Kléber in command of the troops, and at the head of the administration. He landed in France on October 9th, to find that the month of September had seen a material improvement in the military situation. In Holland, Brune was on the point of forcing York to capitulate at Alkmaar—an event which occurred ten days later. In Italy, Suwarrow had found that Austria was merely playing for her own hand, to secure not only Lombardy but also Sardinian territory; and he himself was ordered to join his colleague, Korsakoff, in order to crush Masséna in Switzerland. When he succeeded in crossing the Alps he found that Masséna had already fallen upon Korsakoff and crushed him. He himself had the utmost difficulty in withdrawing his force, which alone could not cope with Masséna, to a place of safety. Having effected this, he threw up his command. The breach between Russia and Austria was a most serious blow to the coalition. Bonaparte was hailed with acclamations as the conqueror of Egypt. He hastened to Paris, where he found affairs ripe for the coup d'état which he planned. The last constitution had proved unworkable, owing to the practical difficulty of maintaining harmony between the Assemblies and the Executive; the indefatigable Siéyès was ready with a brand new one, beautifully and pyramidally symmetrical, though as yet the secret of it was locked in his own bosom. Siéyès was evidently the man to ally himself with, since he represented the moderates, who were dissatisfied with the existing constitution. Open identification with either Jacobins or royalists would not result in the necessary dictatorship. The existing constitution forbade Bonaparte to join the Directory on the score of his youth. The blow was to be struck on November 9th (Brumaire). Siéyès could command a majority in the Chamber of Ancients; Bonaparte's brother, Lucien, was president of the other Chamber. With his quartet of comrades from Egypt, Bonaparte could make sure of most of the important soldiers. On the fateful day, the two Directors who refused to dissolve were placed under guard; there was a tremendous scene in the Council of Five Hundred, which was Jacobin in its sympathies, and refused Bonaparte a hearing.

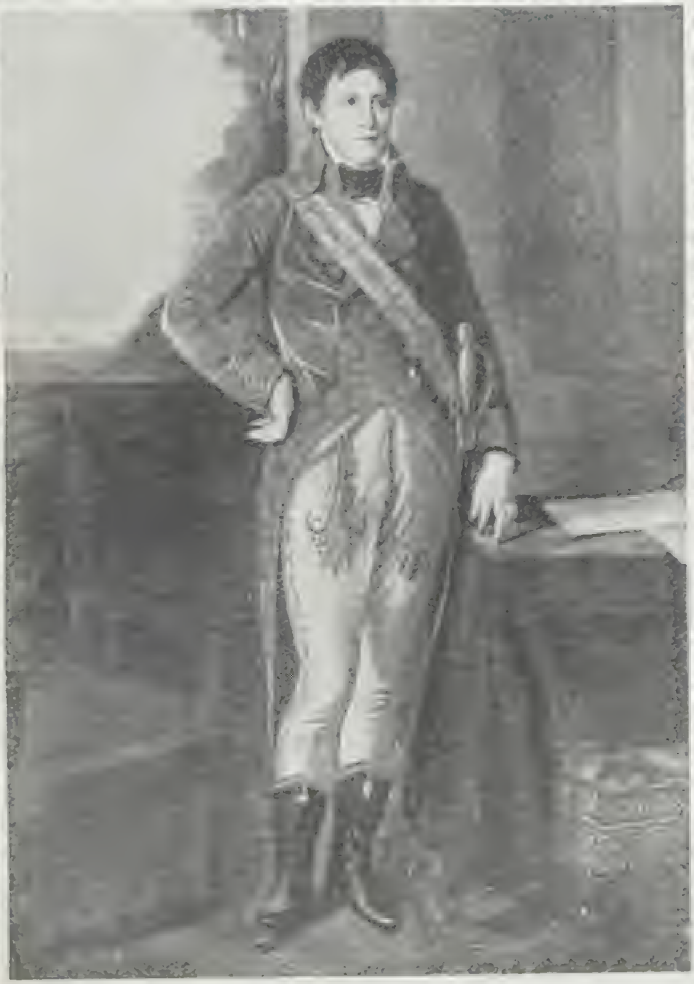
Bonaparte Back In France

Bonaparte's Successful Coup d'état

A harangue from Lucien, however, outside the Chamber, roused the soldiery to advance on the Chamber, which dispersed; and the Council of Ancients decreed the appointment of a provisional Executive Committee of three—a decree confirmed by a few members of the other Chamber, who nominated as the three "consuls" Siéyès, Ducos (an assenting member of the Directory), and Napoleon Bonaparte.

NAPOLEON IN PORTRAITURE

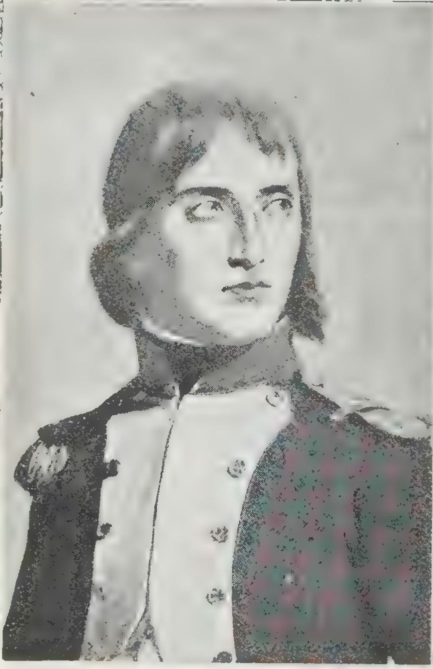
In the following pages have been brought together a number of Napoleon portraits, each of intrinsic interest, and all chosen to illustrate his appearance at different stages of his career. No other historic personage has been the subject of so much portraiture, and anything like a comprehensive selection of Napoleon portraits in a limited space is hardly possible, but here we reproduce a series that is at least representative of the best, both in point of historic and artistic interest.



THE YOUNG NAPOLEON

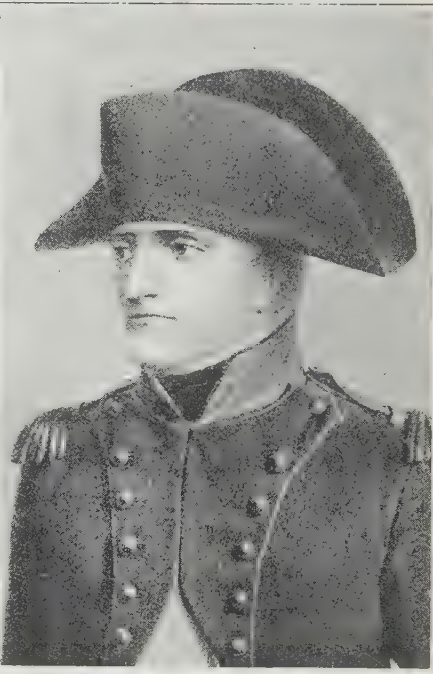
Above is the earliest known portrait of Napoleon Bonaparte, showing him at the age of 22.

From the painting by Greuze in the Museum of Versailles.



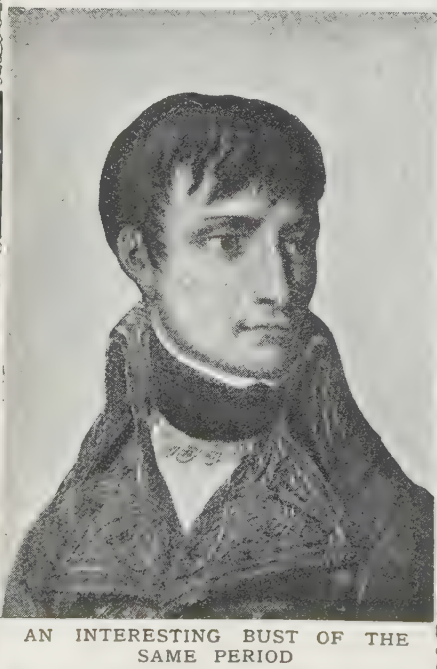
IN HIS EARLY DAYS BEFORE THE CONSULATE

From the painting by Philippoteaux



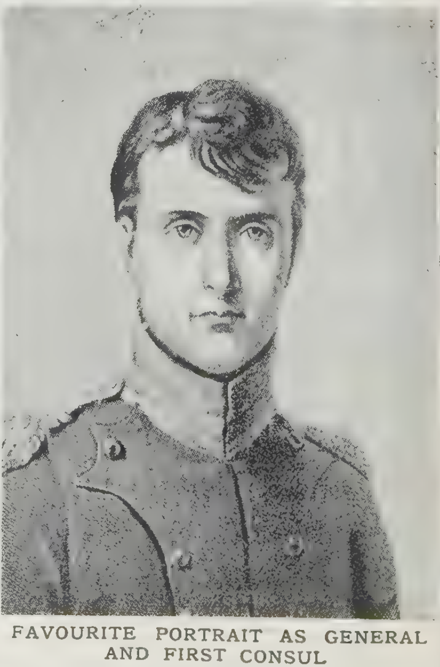
IN THE UNIFORM OF A GENERAL WHEN FIRST CONSUL

From the painting by Isabey



AN INTERESTING BUST OF THE SAME PERIOD

From the painting by Appiani



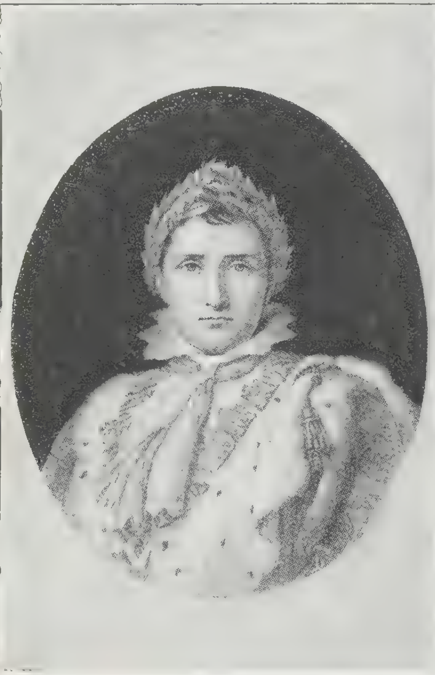
FAVOURITE PORTRAIT AS GENERAL AND FIRST CONSUL

From the painting by Gérard

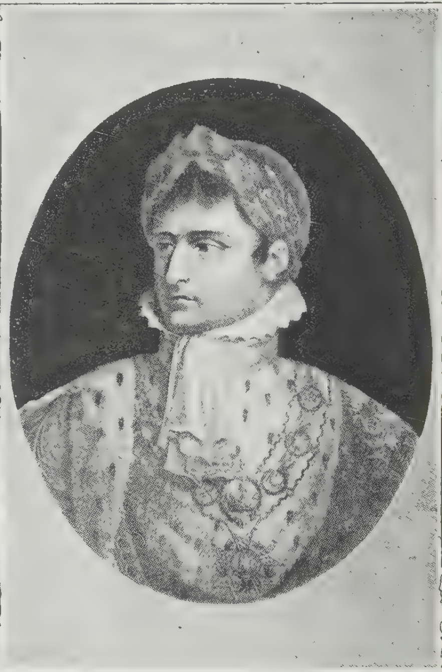
NAPOLEON IN EGYPT
From the painting by Edouard Detaille, K.C.V.O.

ON THE ST. BERNARD PASS
By Delaroche, in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool

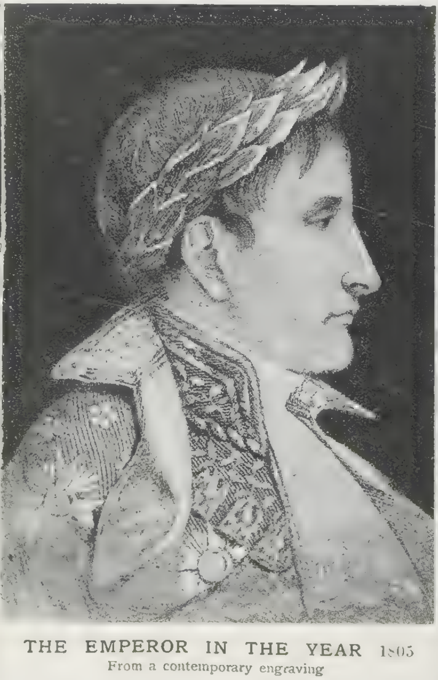
CROSSING THE ALPS
From the painting by David



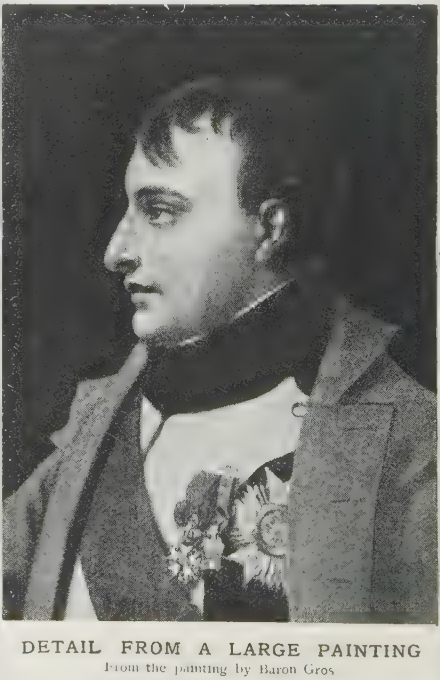
IN HIS CORONATION ROBES
From the picture by Gérard



ANOTHER CORONATION PORTRAIT
From the painting by Chatillon



THE EMPEROR IN THE YEAR 1805
From a contemporary engraving



DETAIL FROM A LARGE PAINTING
From the painting by Baron Gros

A CURIOUS PORTRAIT OF NAPOLEON, SHOWING TWO ASPECTS OF HIS FACE

From the painting by Girodet-Troison, entitled "Napoleon, 8 Mars, 1812"

ON BOARD THE BELLEROPHON

From the painting by C. L. Eastlake, R.A.

THE EMPEROR

From the painting by Horace Vernet in the National Gallery

NAPOLEON AT FONTAINEBLEAU

THE PRISONER OF ST. HELENA

From the paintings by Delaroche

THE FRENCH
REVOLUTION
& NAPOLEON

VI
BY ARTHUR
D. INNES, M.A.

FRANCE UNDER THE NEW DESPOTISM

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE AS FIRST CONSUL

It had been understood among the conspirators of the coup d'état that Siéyès was to introduce his final masterpiece of constitution-making. It was very soon understood that the masterpiece was to be remoulded according to the requirements of Bonaparte. Siéyès had constructed his scheme on the metric system. Five million electors were to choose 500,000, who were to choose 50,000, who were to choose 5,000. Municipal officers were to be appointed from the half-million, departmental officers from the 50,000, government officials, the judicature, and the legislative assemblies from the 5,000. The legislative assemblies were to be three—the Council of State, to initiate legislation; the Tribunate, to discuss and amend; the *Corps Legislatif*, to accept or reject. Above these came the Senate, appointed for life, co-opting its own members, nominating the chambers, and vetoing unconstitutional legislation. Above the Senate were two consuls, wielding the executive power, and concerned respectively with war and peace: they were to hold office for ten years. At the top was a Grand Elector, nominated for five years but removable by the Senate; he was to nominate the two consuls, and be the diplomatic figurehead. Bonaparte offered trenchant criticism. Everybody was checked by somebody else; no one could do anything. The Grand Elector became the First Consul, wielding the whole executive power; the other two consuls were to be merely advisers.

The Powers of the First Consul

The First Consul was to nominate practically all Government officials, and also the Council of State, thus virtually acquiring the power of initiating legislation; and the Senate might neither depose him nor absorb him into its own ranks. In effect, he was to be an autocrat, with all the powers which had once been wielded by the Committee of Public Safety. The First Consul was, of course, to be Napoleon Bonaparte. A practically unanimous plebiscite confirmed the new despotism.

France under Her New Government

As far as the central authority was concerned, self-government and the Sovereignty of the People vanished with the paradoxical announcement: "Citizens, the Revolution is fixed to the principles which commenced it. It is finished." All power was in the hands of the First Consul's nominees. It remained to apply the principle to the self-government by elective bodies in departments and communes, which had been overridden by the agents of the Committee of Public Safety. By a law promulgated in 1800, the Departments were placed under the control of a Prefect and Sub-prefects, and the Communes under a Mayor—all appointed by the central Government at Paris. The representative bodies became merely consultative. The entire system was probably the most completely and perfectly centralised on record. All the sovereign functions were exercised at the will of a single man, with no check save the power of the legislature to reject legislation. Even criticism was articulate only in the chamber of the Tribunate.

Bonaparte the Advocate of Peace

The healing of old wounds was the policy of the new Government. Amnesties for past political offences, repatriation of émigrés who were not of the irreconcilable type, permission to celebrate public worship for priests who accepted a formula of obedience to the Government, were measures which removed sources of disaffection The next step was for the First Consul to pose as the advocate of peace, which would certainly be popular.

It is improbable that the overtures made by Bonaparte were genuine. They threw the onus of rejection upon the obstinately aggressive foes of France. The continuation of war, if forced upon the French, would give them opportunities for supplying the exchequer by a renewal of the system of organised pillage which Bonaparte had adopted in Italy. Austria was mistress of North Italy, and Great Britain was on the point of possessing herself of Malta; neither of these Powers was disposed to resign the advantages won. The First Consul knew that his proposals would be unacceptable, and he presented them in the irregular form of letters addressed personally to the Emperor and to King George, which ensured their rejection. It was easy to rouse the righteous resentment of France against Austria and the perfidious Pitt.

MALTA'S SURRENDER TO THE BRITISH TROOPS
This island in the Mediterranean, an important port of call, was captured by Bonaparte in 1798; two years later, in September, 1800, as shown in the above illustration, it surrendered to the British.
From the drawing by R. Caton Woodville

The war continued. The superior Austrian forces under Melas split the French army of Italy, driving Masséna eastward into Genoa, and the rest westward into Nice. Moreau was placed in command of the Army of the Rhine, with orders not to proceed further than Ulm. Bonaparte, with some secrecy, prepared a third army. Moreau advanced on April 25th, passed the Rhine, and by a series of victories drove the Austrian commander, Kray, back to Ulm. If he had pushed forward he would undoubtedly have forced open the road to Vienna, and have been able to dictate terms to Austria; the honours would have fallen, not to the First Consul, but to Moreau. But his orders condemned him to inaction till Bonaparte had secured the admiring attention of France. The First Consul carried his army over the Alps by the St. Gothard pass, and swooped upon the plains of Lombardy before Melas suspected his approach at the end of May. The dogged tenacity of Masséna in Genoa had served its purpose, though he was obliged to surrender on June 4th. Strategy is not sentiment, and Genoa was allowed to fall in order that Melas might be the more completely crushed.

Bonaparte proceeded to envelop Melas at Marengo, near Alessandria; the Austrian, for his part, was determined to cut his way through. He very nearly succeeded, but a French column, detached under Desain to Novi, heard the firing and returned to the field of battle at the critical moment — when Melas imagined that the fight was already won. Desain stopped the tide: a brilliant cavalry charge, led by Kellerman, changed imminent defeat into decisive victory. Melas felt his position to be so hopeless that he agreed to the cession of all North Italy west of the Mincio, by the Convention of Alessandria. Marengo, on June 14th, though won almost by an accident, covered the victor with glory. He returned to Paris, leaving Masséna in charge in Italy. In the fortnight following Marengo, Moreau, by threatening the Austrian communications, forced them to evacuate Ulm, defeated them at Hochstett, drove them back on Bohemia, and captured Munich; then hostilities were suspended.

Negotiations with Great Britain and Austria made no progress; Marengo had not been a fatal blow to the latter power.

which pledged itself not to make a separate peace before February, in consideration of an English subsidy. But Bonaparte now established friendly relations with the Tsar, who had quarrelled completely with Austria, and was possessed with an infatuation for the First Consul as the destroyer of the Jacobin Republic; and Bonaparte was quite ready to purchase his alliance by promising the restoration of Piedmont to Sardinia, and of Malta to the Knights of St. John. From Spain, also, the cession of Louisiana, the colony on the Mississippi, was obtained in return for a promise that Tuscany should be conferred as a kingdom on the Duke of Parma. The failure of the Austrian negotiations led to a renewal of hostilities and Moreau's crushing victory at Hohenlinden on December 3rd, which forced Austria in effect to sue for an armistice, and to adopt a new tone in the negotiations at Lunéville.

GENERAL MOREAU

A general in the French army, he won many notable victories over the Austrians, culminating in the decisive battle of Hohenlinden. Napoleon exiled him to America.

In February, 1801, the Peace of Lunéville was signed; it was on the basis of the earlier Treaty of Campo Formio. The Adige was again the frontier in North Italy; Tuscany was handed over to Parma as promised. The Tsar saved the kingdom of Naples, which promised to close its ports to Great Britain, which power had excited Paul's indignation by refusing to give up Malta. Once again the United Kingdom—the Irish Act of Union had just been passed—stood alone, at the moment when Pitt was retiring from office on account of the king's obstinate refusal to concede the Catholic Emancipation to which the Minister was pledged.

This isolation was the more serious because an anti-British combination of the maritime Powers was threatening. Jervis, Duncan, and Nelson had dealt with the fleets of Spain, Holland and France, so that the navies actually at the service of France could not cope with England. But her claims as to the treatment of neutral vessels had been felt as vexatious for a long time, and only twenty years before had caused, or been made the pretext for, the first league between the

BRITAIN'S VICTORY AT THE SANGUINARY NAVAL BATTLE OFF COPENHAGEN

The institution of Napoleon's commercial conspiracy against Great Britain was met by prompt action on the part of the latter, which determined to meet the Armed Neutrality. Early in 1801 a British fleet was dispatched to the Baltic, and on April 2nd struck at the Danish fleet, which lay at anchor before Copenhagen, protected by the shoals. Nelson was second in command under Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, and disregarded the signals ordering his withdrawal.

From the painting by Serres

northern maritime powers, which took the name of "the Armed Neutrality." The main result of that league had then been a declaration of war between Holland and Great Britain, to the detriment of Holland. Its unsuccessful aim had been to impose a change of practice on the British. In 1800, as in 1780, the league was revived at the instigation of Russia, which was joined by Sweden, Denmark, and, under pressure, by Prussia. The occasion of the Russian activity in the matter was the Tsar Paul's resentment at the British capture of Malta—in September, 1800—which Bonaparte had promised to place under his protection. The renewal of the league at the present crisis was a very manifest threat.

Failure of "the Armed Neutrality"

The British practice had not, in fact, materially differed from that of any other naval power which had been strong enough to exact similar claims; but the rules of international law were even less definitely laid down for general acceptance than at the present day, and there was no common agreement as to their interpretation in the courts of different countries. It was common ground that neutral vessels might not enter a blockaded port, and that contraband of war was liable to capture on neutral vessels; but different views were put forward as to what constitutes a blockade, and what goods are covered by the term "contraband." It had been the standing practice to seize not only contraband, but also enemy's goods in general, when carried in neutral vessels.

The Armed Neutrality claimed that vessels under convoy of a neutral warship should be exempt from search; that goods carried on neutral vessels should not be treated as enemy's goods; that the British definition of contraband included goods which ought not to be reckoned as contraband; and that only an effective blockade, not merely a paper one, should be recognised. For a sea-power engaged in a conflict with a land power, these claims were manifestly disadvantageous. The claims were regarded in England merely as a pretext for forming a hostile naval combination in the interests of France, warranting hostilities. A British fleet sailed for the Baltic, and on April 2nd struck at the Danish fleet, which lay at anchor before Copenhagen, protected by the shoals. Nelson, who was second in command, carried the major part of his fleet through the shoals; and after a furious engagement, in which he was subjected to the hottest fire he had ever experienced, but had disregarded the signals ordering his withdrawal, he forced on the Danes an armistice for three months, having silenced the enemy's ships.

Britain's Victory over the Danes

His intention was to deal with the Swedes and Russians in detail after the same fashion. But it was unnecessary. The peculiarities and the violence of the Tsar Paul had produced a conspiracy for his deposition, which meant his assassination; though this had not been realised by his young successor, Alexander, who was privy to the plot. Ten days before the Battle of the Baltic he had been murdered, though the fact was not yet publicly known. The new Tsar was a complete contrast to his father, whose policy he was prompt to reverse. In three months the Armed Neutrality was dissolved. Great Britain made some concessions, modifying the list of contraband, acceding to the principle of effective blockades, and abolishing the right of search by privateers, though not by the king's ships, when neutral vessels were under convoy of a neutral warship. The Tsar withdrew his claim in respect of Malta. Further successes attended the British arms. In Egypt, Kléber, the lieutenant whom Bonaparte had left, proved eminently successful; but his assassination placed the incompetent Menon in command. At the end of March a British force under Sir Ralph Abercrombie landed at Aboukir Bay, and completely routed the French, driving them into Alexandria. Though Abercrombie himself was killed, Cairo surrendered in June, and Alexandria in August. The French occupation was at an end.

The French Driven from Egypt

With Malta and Egypt secured, and the Armed Neutrality dissipated, Great Britain was no longer averse from peace; preliminaries were signed in October, and the definitive Treaty of Amiens in March, 1802. For the first time in ten years France was at last at peace. The Addington Ministry undertook to restore Egypt to Turkey, Malta to the Knights of St. John, and other conquests, with the exception of Ceylon and Trinidad. Even the Cape was temporarily restored to the Dutch. On the other hand, France was to retire from the Papal states and from Naples, and the Ionian Islands were to form an independent Republican state. On all hands peace was welcomed, though its terms gave no security against an early renewal of the war; it was welcomed even though before it was concluded Bonaparte gave ominous premonitions of continued aggression by imposing upon the Batavian Republic modifications of its constitution, which brought it still more decisively under French control, ignoring the express stipulation for its independence in the Treaty of Lunéville. Similar treatment was applied to the Ligurian Republic, as Genoa had now for some time been named; while the Cisalpine became the Italian Republic, with Bonaparte for President. Piedmont, too, was presently annexed, instead of being restored to Sardinia, in accordance with the promise to the Tsar. But in truth Britain was so invulnerable at sea, and France so invulnerable on land, that neither seemed able to inflict further serious damage on the other, unless through her commerce.

Between Hohenlinden and Amiens, the First Consul had been strengthening his own position in France. In December, 1800, an attempt on his life, which was soon proved to be the work of some Brittany *Chouans*, was made an excuse for the deportation of several Jacobins who had no connection with it. He encroached upon the powers of the Corps Legislatif and the Tribunate. The collection of taxes was transferred from the innumerable local bodies to a single central one. The fundamental fact became continuously more obvious, that the French people had lost all desire of practical participation in the Government, and cared only to have secured to them the material advantages which had accrued from the Revolution. Even the appointment of arbitrary courts of justice at the First Consul's disposal met with no opposition outside the Tribunate.

PAUL I. OF RUSSIA
The second son of Peter III., he succeeded his mother, the Empress Catharine, in 1796. A conspiracy for his deposition ended in his assassination by his officers in 1801.

The Church and the Government

Another step was to seek to establish favourable relations between the Government and the Church, whose opposition had been a constant source of disaffection in the past history of the Republic. The new policy took shape in the concordat with the papacy, ratified by an official attendance at Mass in Notre Dame at Easter, 1802. The First Consul, though personally absolutely indifferent to creeds and forms, was thoroughly awake to the uses of a concrete religion as a preservative of order, and the inadequacy of abstractions to supply its place. He was ready to call himself a Mohammedan in Egypt, but in France he re-established the Roman Catholicism which the Revolution had deposed. The bishops and archbishops were appointed or reappointed by the First Consul, with the confirmation of the Pope. The non-juring clergy were to be restored, and the acting clergy, regarded as renegades by the orthodox, were to be received canonically into ecclesiastical orders and subjected to normal ecclesiastical discipline. On the other hand, the Church lands confiscated during the Revolution were not to be restored. The concordat established the Romish Church, but only as subordinate to the State; instead of being antagonistic to the Government, the clerical organisation became its powerful supporter.

Bonaparte Re-establishes Religion

Another law of the same date gave security to all but a few of the émigrés and "suspects" who wished to return to France. The bulk of them, though no doubt they remained theoretical supporters of a Bourbon restoration, were thus converted into practical supporters of the *de facto* Government. It remained to secure the position of the First Consul himself, whose appointment, though for ten years, instead of the five originally proposed by Siéyès, was still subject to the time limit, whence new revolutionary intrigues and conspiracies might not unreasonably be anticipated.

A proposal was made in the Senate for an extension of ten years more, which was amended into appointment for life, to be ratified by a plebiscite. More than 3,500,000 votes against less than 10,000 expressed the practically unanimous approval of the French people. The other two consuls, Cambacérès and Lebrun, were then confirmed in office for life; the First Consul was authorised to appoint his own successor, and he received further powers of controlling the personnel of the Senate and the Legislature. From this time, the First Consul adopted the monarchical custom of using his first name instead of his surname, and we may speak no longer of Bonaparte, but of NAPOLEON.

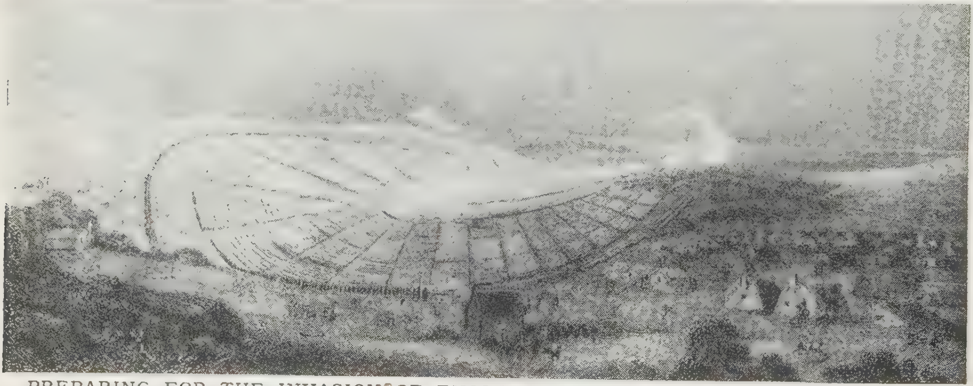
The Legion of Honour Instituted

An additional buttress of the new Imperialism was the institution of the Legion of Honour, which created a new aristocracy and new ranks in society, whose interest necessarily lay in maintaining the régime under which they had come into being. The new honours were not hereditary; in theory they were bestowed in reward for public services. But they were a very direct negation of the abstract doctrine of universal equality.

Like his great prototype, Julius Cæsar, Napoleon was not only the mightiest of the masters in the science and art of war, and the most triumphant organiser of an imperial system out of revolutionary elements; he displayed also an administrative genius in social reorganisation, and that acute perception of the moral and material benefits of a wisely splendid expenditure on public works which Pericles had claimed ages before as specially characteristic of the Athenian people. Roads and canals, bridges and harbours, public buildings and public institutions, the splendours of the Louvre, bear lasting witness to the vast range of his activities.

In his most monumental work, however, in the spheres of law and of education, Napoleon built upon foundations prepared by the idealists of the Revolutionary era. Years before, a committee of the Convention had been appointed to introduce uniformity in the complex and variegated legal system derived from diverse local customs and procedures, and to revise these into a universal code based on those principles of equality which the Revolution recognised. The completion of this work was now entrusted to a committee of four jurists, with the occasional intervention of the First Consul himself. The result of their labours was the great civil code issued in 1804, which, with certain subsequent modifications, received in 1807 the name of the Code Napoléon. The extensive application of this code or of parts of it, not only to the realms which at one time or another were made subject to or dependent on the French Empire, but also in independent states such as Prussia and Spain, has profoundly modified the law throughout Western Europe. Similarly the work of Condorcet under the Convention supplied the basis for Napoleon's scheme of universal education. The elementary, secondary, and advanced schools of Condorcet, however, had lacked the necessary fostering care. While leaving the elementary section mainly to the control of local authorities, Napoleon vigorously developed the secondary schools, especially with a view to their use as seminaries of militarism. Technical schools also were established, and in 1806 the educational edifice was crowned by the seventeen academies of the University of France. It was a matter of course, under Napoleon, that the whole educational system should be subject to the control of the head of the state, and should be conducted in accordance with his ideas on the lines which

Napoleon's Encouragement of Education



PREPARING FOR THE INVASION OF ENGLAND: NAPOLEON'S CAMP AT BOULOGNE
It was long the ambition of Napoleon to conquer Great Britain. In this illustration his camp at Boulogne is shown, this being the point from which he intended to cross the Channel. There a huge flotilla was prepared for the purpose of embarking an army of 120,000 men for the shores of England when the opportunity should present itself.

NAPOLEON AND HIS STAFF ON THE SANDS AT BOULOGNE WHEN HE CONTEMPLATED THE INVASION OF ENGLAND

From the painting by A. C. Gow, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

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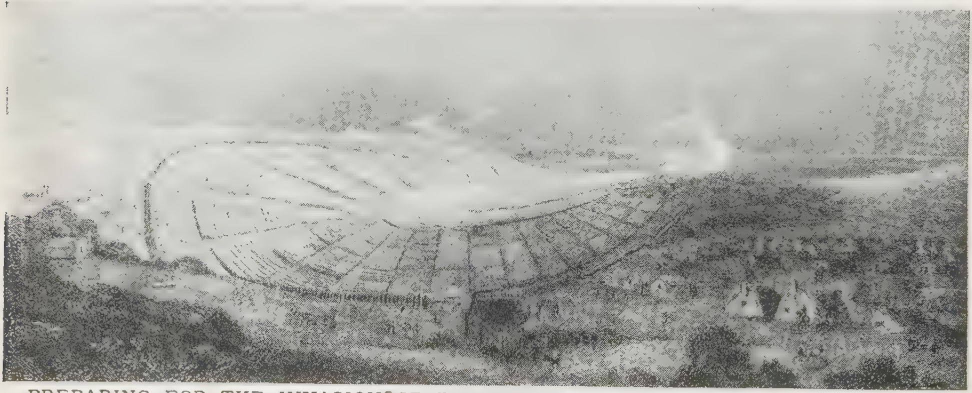

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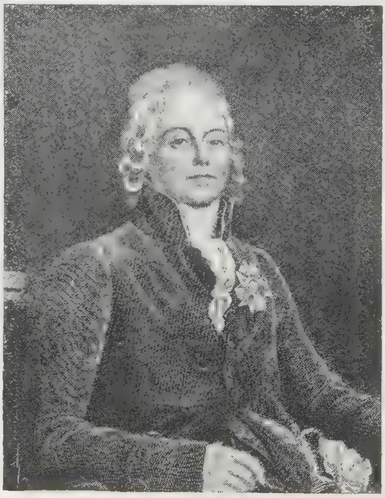
would make it an instrument for strengthening the whole system of government. While this reorganisation was in progress in France, another process of reconstruction was going on at the diet of Regensburg, which was working out that problem of the German principalities which had been left for settlement after the Peace of Lunéville. Ostensibly the question was one of compensating the princes dispossessed by the French acquisitions of territory on the left bank of the Rhine. Actually it was one of redistributing German provinces in the manner most advantageous to French interests. France, inviting the mediatorial aid of Russia, conducted private negotiations with a number of the sovereigns concerned, adapted its general scheme to suit the personal predilections of Alexander, which happened to chime in with French interests, and was able to present to the diet proposals the acceptance of which was already a foregone conclusion.



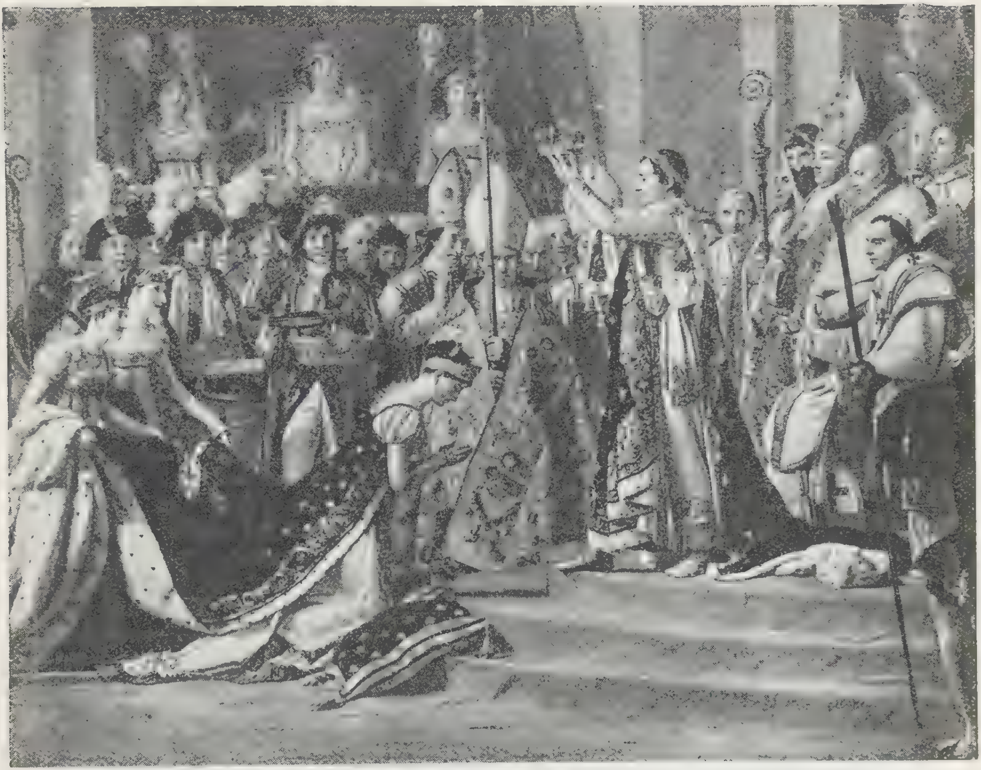
TALLEYRAND
As Foreign Minister under the First Consul he played a prominent part in the affairs of France, being for a time the second man in the country. Later, he became the leader of the anti-Napoleonic faction, and died in 1838.

The prevention of anything in the nature of German consolidation or the effective extension of Hapsburg control may be regarded as the primary end of French policy. To strengthen Prussia on the Baltic, as a counterpoise to Austria, without allowing her influence over West Germany to be extended, was a means thereto; while the main business was to make West Germany really dependent on France. The compensations for dispossessed sovereigns could be obtained only by abolishing other sovereignties. The scheme proposed the secularisation of all the ecclesiastical states, their absorption in lay principalities.

A corresponding fate was to befall nearly all the free cities. Thus, the secular princes of South and West Germany would extend or consolidate their dominions. Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden and Hesse-Cassel in particular profited by the secularisation, and were raised to the position of imperial electorates. The suppression of the ecclesiastical states made a Protestant majority in the Diet, and consequently weakened Austria, which only obtained some Church property in the Tyrol, while her prospects of acquisitions in Bavaria vanished. Prussian gains were somewhat more substantial.

The princes of Bavaria and Würtemberg were kinsmen of the Tsar, and French diplomacy represented the favour shown to those states as compliments to Alexander. Further, the secularisations enabled the states which profited thereby to improve their own individual organisations, and encouraged them to assert their own individuality in preference to any ideas of a German nationality, in which they would be lost, and in preference more particularly to subordination to the Imperial House. It was not difficult for the onlooker to realise that in fact the process going on was that of preparing them to become French dependencies.

Napoleon appears at this time to have been considering schemes of expansion in the Western Hemisphere. That was presumably his primary intention in obtaining Louisiana from Spain, and in the expedition of 1802 to establish a French government in San Domingo, where the black population had set up a free republic under the negro leader Toussaint L'Ouverture, of which an account appears in another volume. Toussaint was captured, but no serious effort was made to retain dominion. Similar vague dreams instigated a peaceful expedition to Australia, where the French ships were anticipated by the British. Napoleon soon dropped such schemes, and sold Louisiana to the United States, having more palpable objects to grasp at nearer home. The old dream of an Asiatic empire had been dissipated in Egypt, whereas the British hold on India was tightening under the administration of the Marquess Wellesley, afterwards Lord Mornington, who had just overthrown the Mohammedan dynasty of Mysore, and it was soon to be still more decisively confirmed by the military skill of Wellesley's younger brother Arthur.



NAPOLEON CROWNING HIMSELF EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH

In the troublous times that witnessed the struggle to reassert the power of the Bourbons an attempt was made on the First Consul's life. The principal participators in it were punished with death, and all supporters of the new régime felt that its perpetuity could be secured and the Bourbon decisively excluded only by the establishment of a dynasty. Accordingly, the First Consul, on May 18th, 1804, was proclaimed Napoleon I., Emperor of the French.

From the painting by J. L. David in the Louvre

While the First Consul was reorganising France, and his Foreign Minister, Talleyrand, was manipulating the affairs of Germany, the hollowness of the Peace of Amiens was becoming daily more apparent. The British were carrying out their evacuations of captured territory, but without undue haste; and they found ample excuse for prolonging the delay with regard to Malta in the action of France. She had not only dealt in high-handed fashion with the Batavian and Italian republics, but she continued to keep troops in their territories; and the formal annexation of Piedmont took place in September, 1802. Formal diplomatic protests were entered without effect, and in March, 1803, Napoleon found excuse in the domestic discussions of the Swiss for intervening as mediator and reorganising the Helvetic Republic for the use of France.

THE DUC D'ENGHIEN

When the Royalist movement in France was rigorously suppressed the Duc d'Enghien, a Bourbon prince, was kidnapped and shot without even being condemned.

In January was published the report of Colonel Sebastiani's "commercial mission," which concerned itself with such matters of trade as the annexation of the Ionian Islands and the reconquest of Egypt. The protests of the British Foreign Office were answered by protests against the continued occupation of Malta, angry complaints, which were justifiable enough, of scurrilous articles published in England by the royalist intransigeants, and demands for their extradition, which were not. In March there was a "scene" in Paris between Napoleon and the British ambassador. In April what was in effect a British ultimatum was presented, demanding the withdrawal of French troops from the Batavian and Helvetic republics, compensation to Sardinia for the loss of Piedmont, and the retention of Malta by England for ten years. France refused the terms, and on May 17th diplomatic relations were broken off. Napoleon at once ordered the seizure of all British property and the arrest of all British subjects in France; the latter remained in captivity till 1814. It is further to be remarked that during the peace Napoleon had continued to maintain in the ports of France and the dependent republics a practical boycott of British goods and British commerce.

Napoleon's Designs on Britain

The state of open war was renewed, although, as at the time when the Peace of Amiens was signed, it was difficult for either of the mighty belligerents to strike the other except through commerce. But France could and did impose upon Britain a tremendous burden by a perpetual menace of invasion. A huge flotilla was at once prepared at Boulogne, for the purpose of embarking an army of 120,000 men for the shores of England when the opportunity should present itself. Great Britain prepared to meet the peril, and vast numbers of volunteers were enrolled, drilled, and trained to answer the call to arms and face the dreaded invader. And the British Fleet held the seas, while the insuperable difficulties of effecting the embarkation and transport with sufficient swiftness to evade the fleet made themselves apparent to Napoleon.

The two Powers were like wrestlers, waiting to close, each watching for the instant's relaxation or exposure on the part of the other which should give the chance of springing in for a fatal grip. Neither could close with effect. England renewed the process of capturing French colonial possessions. France could not strike at England, but she occupied the English king's German electorate of Hanover in spite of its neutrality, counting on the immobility of Prussia. Nevertheless, the act stirred a fresh uneasiness in Austria and Russia. On the other hand, Great Britain, having learned that France was in receipt of a Spanish subsidy, brought Spain into active hostility by seizing her treasure-ships. For Spain had fallen upon evil days under the depraved rule of the infamous and incompetent Godoy, the worst type of court favourite under a degenerate monarchy. But the shock which brought about the Third Coalition was administered by Napoleon himself. With the renewal of the war with Great Britain, the Royalists were inspired with fresh hopes. George Cadoudal, the moving spirit of the Breton insurgents, and Pichegru, the degraded general, concocted a conspiracy in conjunction with the Comte d'Artois. The plot was known and watched secretly. The conspirators were allowed to visit Paris in February, 1804, and Pichegru interviewed his old friend and comrade Moreau, the one soldier whose rivalry Napoleon feared. Moreau refused to join or to betray them.

The Evil Days of Spain

Then the Government struck; Moreau, Pichegru, Cadoudal, and others were arrested. But this was not enough. Charles of Artois was out of reach, but there was a Bourbon prince residing at Baden, the Duc d'Enghien, the representative of the House of Condé. The duke was kidnapped and carried into French territory at Vincennes for "trial" by a military commission; but his grave awaited him, already dug, literally as well as metaphorically. The duke pleaded to be brought before the First Consul himself; the commissioners seconded the request. But Savary, Napoleon's agent, with Murat, knew the First Consul's will, and the duke was shot without having been even condemned. Europe stood aghast at the crime.

Napoleon Emperor of the French

In France, the crime does not appear to have produced any corresponding shudder. It presented itself as little more than a deed which quite decisively barred any possible reconciliation between the First Consul and the Bourbons, the new system and the old; the murdered prince was regarded as an accomplice in the plot against Napoleon's life. Pichegru died in prison, probably by his own hand. Cadoudal and others were executed. Moreau could be condemned only to two years' imprisonment, for which Napoleon substituted perpetual exile, and the victor of Hohenlinden was sent to America.

But the First Consul's life had been threatened; all supporters of the new régime felt that its perpetuity could be secured and the Bourbons decisively excluded only by the establishment of a dynasty. By senatorial decree, justified by sundry petitions and addresses, the First Consul was proclaimed Napoleon I., Emperor of the French, on May 18th 1804.

NAPOLEON

ON THE BATTLE-FIELD IN VICTORY & DEFEAT

BONAPARTE AT ARCOLA IN 1796

From the painting by Baron Gros

LEADING HIS MEN ACROSS THE BRIDGE AT THE BATTLE OF ARCOLA IN 1796

From the painting by Horace Vernet

DIRECTING THE BATTLE OF RIVOLI IN 1797

From the painting by Felix Philippoteaux

RECEIVING THE CAPITULATION OF MANTUA IN 1797
From the painting by V. Adam

GOING ASHORE DURING THE SIEGE OF MALTA IN 17[illegible]
From the painting by Gudin

THE FRENCH CAPTURE OF ZURICH IN 1799
From the painting by F. Bouchot

DEFEATING THE TURKS AT THE BATTLE OF MOUNT TABOR IN 1799
From the drawing by Swebach

AT THE UNSUCCESSFUL SIEGE OF ST. JEAN D'ACRE IN 1799

THE RETURN OF THE FRENCH FROM SYRIA IN 1799
Bonaparte on foot while a wounded officer has the use of his horse
From the painting by Horace Vernet

"THE SUN OF AUSTERLITZ"
From the painting by W. B. Wollen by the artist's permission

WITH HIS ARMY ON THE ST. BERNARD IN 1800
From the painting by Castres

AT THE BATTLE OF JENA IN 1806

From the painting by Horace Vernet

THE BEGINNING OF THE BATTLE OF JENA

From the painting by Meissonier

WOUNDED IN THE FOOT AT THE BATTLE OF REGENSBURG IN 1809
From the painting by Gautherot

ON THE BATTLEFIELD OF EYLAU IN 1807
From the painting by Baron Gros

DEFEATING THE RUSSIANS AT THE BATTLE OF FRIEDLAND IN 1807
From the painting by Horace Vernet

DEFEATING THE AUSTRIANS AT THE BATTLE OF WAGRAM IN 1809
From the painting by Horace Vernet

THE FRENCH TROOPS CHEERING THEIR EMPEROR AT THE BATTLE OF FRIEDLAND IN 1807

From the painting by Meissonier

AT THE CAPTURE OF SMOLENSK, AUGUST 16TH, 1812

RETIRING FROM SMOLENSK, NOVEMBER 9TH, 1812
From the painting by E. Odier

"ON THE GREAT ROAD"—AFTER MOSCOW—THE EMPEROR IN HIS CARRIAGE
From the painting by Verestchagin by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

THE RETREAT FROM MOSCOW, 1812
From the painting by Meissonier

"THE EVENING OF WATERLOO": NAPOLEON AFTER HIS DEFEAT PREPARING FOR FLIGHT
From the painting by Ernest Crofts, by permission of the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool

"SAUVE-QUI-PEUT!" THE FLIGHT OF NAPOLEON AND HIS ARMY AFTER WATERLOO

From the painting by A. C. Gow by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

THE FRENCH
REVOLUTION
& NAPOLEON

VII
BY ARTHUR
D. INNES, M.A.

NAPOLEON AS EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH

HIS DOMINATION OF EUROPE AND HIS FUTILE ATTEMPTS TO CRIPPLE BRITAIN

THE month which saw the nominally republican constitution of France converted into an avowed hereditary autocracy under a Corsican dynasty saw also the return to active control of affairs in England of Napoleon's most determined antagonist, William Pitt. The murder of the Duc d'Enghien had already aroused the indignation of Alexander I., whose Court had been ordered into mourning. From this time both Great Britain and Russia were actively engaged in the endeavour to construct a new coalition.

Idealism of the Tsar of Russia

Britain Mistress of the Seas

The most enthusiastic advocate of energetic measures was also the least important—Gustavus IV., of Sweden, who had inherited his father's passion for supporting the legitimate Bourbon monarchy—whereas Great Britain was not in favour of a forcible Bourbon restoration, and Russia agreed with Great Britain. The Tsar was an idealist, whose ideals were apt to drop into a secondary position when the aggrandisement of Russia was in question; he was a zealous adherent of the principles of 1789 which the "Consulate for life" had virtually wiped out of the French Constitution. He had designs of reviving the Polish kingdom as a constitutional monarchy with Alexander I. as its constitutional king. Neither London nor Vienna cared about the principles of 1789, and Vienna did not want a revived Polish kingdom. Hints of an Austro-Russian partition of Turkish territory were equally unattractive in London, where also the Tsar's suggestions for concessions on the Armed Neutrality lines, and for the restoration of Malta to the Knights of St. John, were impossible of acceptance. Prussia was not to be drawn out of her own persistent neutrality; she suspected the existence of the Polish scheme, and while Napoleon's occupation of Hanover had alarmed her, the French Emperor was willing to cajole her with promises that Hanover would probably be transferred to her. Hence nearly a twelvemonth passed before the Powers could come to terms. In April, 1805, the British and Russian Governments came to an agreement. Napoleon was to be required to withdraw his forces from Holland, Hanover, Switzerland, and Italy, and to restore Piedmont to Sardinia. At the end of the war a European Congress was to settle disputed points and establish a European system. The accession of Sweden and Austria soon followed, the latter being overcome by the fear that Napoleon meant to appropriate the whole of Italy; and war actually begun in September, 1805. Throughout this period, of course, Great Britain had been at open war, ruling the seas while the menace of the Boulogne flotilla still threatened her shores.

Napoleon Crowns Himself

Napoleon's proceedings in the meanwhile leave little room for doubt as to his intentions. The Holy Roman Empire had become the shadow of a great name; Napoleon meant to incarnate the reality in his own French Empire, of which France was to be merely the foundation. The recognition of his title by Prussia and Austria gave him the necessary status, while Francis weakened his own position by adopting the title of "Hereditary Emperor of Austria." Napoleon's theory that he was reviving the empire of Charlemagne was typified in his coronation ceremony; the Pope was to perform it, but Napoleon did not permit him to place the crown on his head; he did that with his own hands. He reorganised the Batavian Republic under an almost autocratic "Grand Pensionary." The Italian Republic turned itself into a monarchy, and invited Napoleon to be its king—an invitation which he accepted, assuming the old crown of Lombardy with his own hands. The Ligurian Republic was annexed to France. Parma to the new kingdom of Italy, in which the recently issued Civil Code of France was established. Returning to Paris, Napoleon left his stepson, Eugène Beauharnais, as Viceroy in Italy. It was these proceedings, at the beginning of 1805, that turned the scale with Austria, and hurried her into the third coalition.

In effect, the new coalition consisted of Great Britain, Russia, Sweden, and Austria. Prussia stood aside; of Western Germany, the southern half, Bavaria, Würtemberg and Baden, were on the French side, while a considerable French force under Bernadotte was in occupation of Hanover. Napoleon's Grand Army was concentrated at Boulogne, for the English invasion. The Austrians began operations by invading Bavaria in September, expecting to be left leisure to occupy it while the Russian armies were advancing from the rear, and the Archduke Charles was dealing with North Italy

ALEXANDER I. OF RUSSIA

In 1801 he succeeded his father, and four years later joined the coalition against Napoleon. Russia was much at war during his reign, which ended with his death in 1825.

But the Boulogne army was not destined for the invasion of England; that point was already settled. For an invasion the temporary command of the Channel was an absolute necessity. With that end in view, Napoleon, at the close of 1804, made with Spain a treaty which placed a fleet at his disposal; but while an English squadron was keeping the Brest fleet locked up, and Nelson was watching Toulon, nothing could be done. Napoleon displayed an intention of setting

EMPEROR AND CHILDREN: NAPOLEON WITH THE FAMILY OF GENERAL MURAT

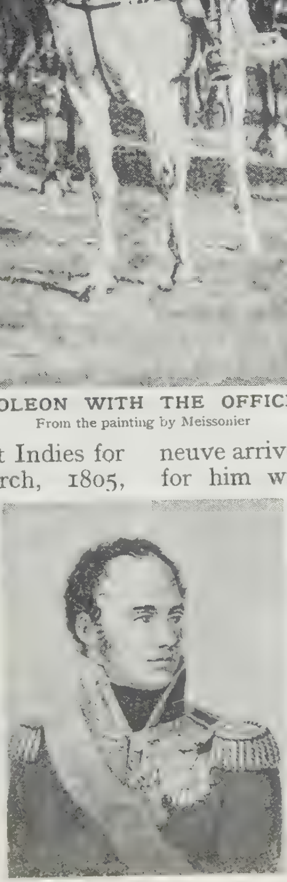
This pretty picture showing the great Emperor of the French surrounded by the children of his distinguished general, Murat, offers a striking contrast to some of the other scenes reproduced in these pages. Napoleon is enjoying a rare interval from the stress of the battlefield, the picture presenting an interesting phase of his character.

From the painting by Ducis

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON WITH THE OFFICERS OF HIS STAFF

From the painting by Meissonier

about the recovery of the West Indies for France and Spain. In March, 1805, Villeneuve at Toulon got his chance of slipping out of port while Nelson was driven off guard by stress of weather. Villeneuve sailed for the West Indies; Nelson was soon in pursuit. But the West Indies were not the French admiral's objective; the intention was to evade Nelson, double back, drive the English blockading squadron from Brest, join the Brest fleet, and so secure command of the Channel before Nelson got back, and hold it while the army of invasion was transported. Up to a certain point the plan succeeded. Villeneuve evaded Nelson and made for European waters. But Nelson was in time to despatch a swift cruiser with a warning. Before Villeneuve arrived, Admiral Calder was waiting for him with a squadron, smaller, but sufficient for its purpose. Calder and Villeneuve met off Finisterre; the engagement decided Villeneuve to join forces with the Spanish at Cadiz in August, instead of raising the blockade of Brest at once and at all costs. Nelson's return shattered the whole design.



EUGENE de BEAUHARNAIS
The son of Josephine, who married Napoleon in 1796, he exhibited great military talent, and rapidly rose to a high position. He was created Prince of Venice in 1807.

Napoleon afterwards asserted that the Boulogne army had always been intended not for England, but for Austria; in other words, that he did not consider an invasion really practicable until the command of the Channel should be more than temporary. If so, the intention of Villeneuve's manœuvre was only to force a small portion of the British fleet into an engagement with superior forces, crush it, and so reduce the present preponderance of the British naval power. If so, again, Villeneuve's retirement was justified, since the engagement with Calder showed that it was more than doubtful whether the scales would be materially redressed by carrying out the programme. However that may be, Napoleon was extremely angry with Villeneuve, but he used his Boulogne army with decisive effect. Long before the Russians could arrive, it was racing to Bavaria, whither Bernadotte, ignoring the neutrality of intervening territory, was on the march to join it. Before the Austrian commander, Mack, had realised the situation, he found himself cut off from retreat, and was compelled to surrender, with the bulk of his forces, at Ulm on October 20th. The way to Vienna lay open to Napoleon. The capitulation was virtually decisive of the war on the Continent.

Villeneuve

Bernadotte

COMMANDERS OF THE FRENCH FORCES

A commander in the French navy, Villeneuve took part in various battles against the British fleet; Nelson crushed him at Trafalgar, and thus ended Napoleon's scheme for the invasion of England. The son of a lawyer, Bernadotte became a marshal of the French army in 1804. In 1818 he ascended the throne of Sweden as Charles XIV.

An engagement still more decisive of the war with Great Britain took place on the following day. Nelson had returned to England, and after a brief interval resumed the naval command. Villeneuve, stung by the Emperor's taunts, put out from Cadiz with 33 ships of the line, French and Spanish. Nelson, with 27 ships of the line, found him in the Bay of Trafalgar. Descending in double column on the French centre, he broke it at two points, and the Franco-Spanish fleet was destroyed. Nelson fell in the hour of victory; but the spectre of a French invasion had been finally laid, the last semblance of serious resistance to the British sea-power had vanished.

BROTHERS OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON

Louis Bonaparte, whose portrait is first given, was the third brother of the Emperor Napoleon. Appointed King of Holland in 1806, he resigned four years later. The eldest brother of Napoleon, Joseph Bonaparte also wore a crown, being placed on the throne of Naples in 1806. Two years later he became King of Spain, but resigned in 1813.

That naval dominion was to cost Napoleon dear; but Trafalgar was no present check on his Continental career. When Mack capitulated at Ulm, the Archduke Charles, hastening back from Italy, found it vain to interpose between the French and Vienna, and he fell back to Hungary, while the Russian advance guard retreated on the main body in Moravia. On November 13th the French were in occupation of Vienna. This was the moment when Prussia might have intervened with great effect. Frederic William had been roused to indignation by Bernadotte's march across his territory, precisely when Prussia was refusing the Russians a passage; and he now went so far as to sign an alliance with Austria and Russia at Potsdam, on November 3rd. But the terms proposed to Great Britain were palpably outrageous, and their repudiation gave Prussia an excuse for negotiating. While the negotiations went on the moment passed during which the Prussian army might have struck. Napoleon enticed the Russians into an engagement at Austerlitz on December 2nd, and won over them a victory, perhaps the most brilliant of all his brilliant achievements. Had Prussia joined the coalition at the outset, Ulm would have been impossible. Had she followed up the Potsdam agreement by vigorous action, Austerlitz would have been impossible, and the French army might have been overwhelmed in spite of Ulm. Had Austria maintained a strict defensive till the Russian forces could co-operate, she would not have had her main army put out of action. Now, Alexander, shocked by Austerlitz, disgusted with Prussia, and annoyed with Austria, concluded a truce and withdrew. Francis, whose troops shared the defeat of Austerlitz with the Russians, obtained an armistice. The coalition was virtually at an end. The Prussian Minister, Haugwitz, was prompt to accept, at Schönbrunn, a treaty unexpectedly profitable superficially, but extremely dishonourable, which Frederic William did not venture to repudiate. Austria had practically no option in acceding to the terms dictated to her at Presburg on December 26th. In England the news of Austerlitz proved mortal to William Pitt, who died in January, 1809. By the Treaty of Schönbrunn, Prussia gave up Neufchatel, Cleves, and Anspach. For these losses the Power which was negotiating with Great Britain for a subsidy was to be given possession of Hanover, on condition of formally allying herself to France. By the Treaty of Presburg, Austria ceded to Napoleon's kingdom of Italy all her own Italian possessions. Napoleon's obsequious allies, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden, were endowed with her outlying territories, though the Tyrol was presently to repudiate the Bavarian sovereignty. The three were severed from the old Empire, and the two first became independent kingdoms. The penalising process did not stop here. The Bourbon dynasty was summarily ejected from Naples for having attached itself to the coalition, and Napoleon's brother Joseph was proclaimed King of the Two Sicilies, though the British fleet effectively secured the island against the entry of French troops. French forces occupied the Papal states. Holland and Belgium were then united under another brother, Louis. More than a dozen duchies and principalities were carved out of the ceded territories for Napoleon's

THE FRENCH AT VIENNA: NAPOLEON RECEIVING THE KEYS OF THE CITY

marshals. Bavaria and Würtemberg provided princesses as brides for Jerome Bonaparte and Eugène Beauharnais.

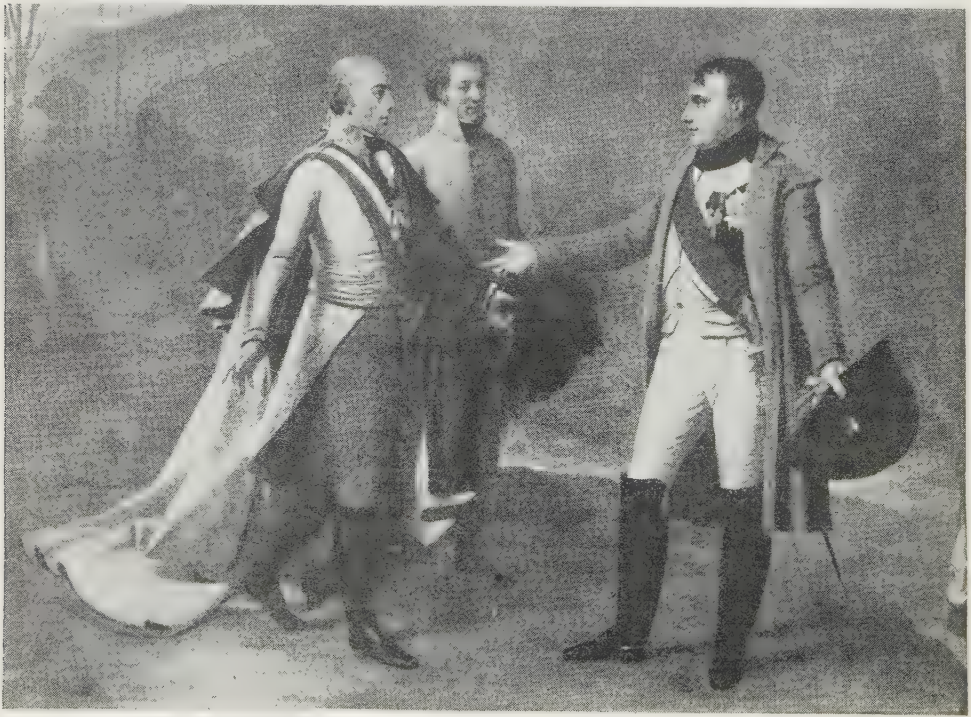
Another mark of the triumph of the new empire over the old was the formation of the German Confederation of the Rhine, a combination of a dozen of the Western states of the old empire, which were severed from it and recognised the much more effective suzerainty of the new—Würtemberg, Bavaria, and Baden at their head, with Dalberg, Archbishop of Mainz, as the prince-primate of the Confederation. For foreign policy and for military services they were at the beck and call of Napoleon. They got their profit by the mediatising of the minor baronies within their borders—that is, the several states absorbed the hitherto independent estates of the remaining tenants-in-chief of the old empire. Francis II. did little more than recognise an accomplished fact when he dropped the Holy Roman title, and called himself only the Emperor Francis I. of Austria. On August 6th, 1806, the Holy Roman Empire ceased to exist.

Meanwhile, Great Britain and Prussia had to be dealt with. Pitt's death brought into power his great rival, Charles James Fox, in the Grenville Ministry, known as "the Ministry of all the Talents," since it was constructed without consideration of party. Fox had always been disposed to take the most generous view of the good intentions and good faith of the French Government.

In spite of the completeness of Great Britain's maritime triumph and of the relative progress of her commerce, the war entailed a heavy strain, which was felt severely by the industrial population, and the conditions were favourable for seeking an honourable peace. Napoleon negotiated on the basis of the restoration of Hanover and the retention of Malta and the Cape of Good Hope, which had been given up at the Peace of Amiens, but reoccupied soon after the renewal of the war. Fox himself, however, was not long in realising that Napoleon had no intention of relaxing his hostility; and his death, in September, removed the one powerful personality that made for amicable relations.

Napoleon's Hostility to Britain

But the negotiations with Great Britain opened the eyes of Prussia, who was to reap the due reward of her fatuous policy. The formation of the Rhine Confederation was a death-blow to any dream of a Prussian hegemony in Germany replacing that of Austria. But by way of placating her,



NAPOLEON MEETING FRANCIS II. AFTER THE FORMER'S VICTORY AT AUSTERLITZ
From the painting by Baron Gros

Napoleon dangled before her hints of a North German Confederation, of which she should be the head, but of which the impracticability was secured. The compulsory closing of the North German ports to English ships at Napoleon's behest provoked England to reprisals which were ruinous to Prussian commerce. The discovery that Napoleon was proposing to King George the restoration of Hanover, the one reward which Prussia had been promised for the ignominious part she had played, was too much for Frederic William. The war party, which included his queen, Louise, carried the day. Great Britain and Russia were indeed both willing to combine against Napoleon, but neither was willing to sacrifice much for Prussia, and neither was ready to render her immediate practical assistance. Nevertheless, on October 9th, Prussia flung down the challenge. The bout was short. The French forces had not been withdrawn from North Germany. Napoleon was with them; they were in motion at once. Brunswick, the Prussian commander, changed his plan of taking the offensive and fell back towards Magdeburg, leaving one wing of his army under Hohenlohe to hold Napoleon in check at Jena. Hohenlohe was completely overwhelmed. The retreating Brunswick was caught on the same day at Auerstädt by a smaller French column under Davoust, and was compelled to retire. The arrival of the rout from Jena turned the retirement into a panic flight on October 14th. Prussia was prostrate. Fortress after fortress opened its gates; only Blücher made a stubborn stand at Lübeck. Napoleon's terms rose as he advanced; Frederic William found that nothing short of abject submission would be accepted. But the limit had been passed. He would not submit to Napoleon's terms. He retreated to East Prussia, to throw himself on Russian support, and dismissed Haugwitz, the Minister whose counsels had guided his policy. A fortnight after Jena, Napoleon was in Berlin. The remaining North German states were joined to the Rhine Confederation, including Brunswick and Hesse-Cassel, which were combined into the kingdom of Westphalia for a third brother of Napoleon, Jerome.

NAPOLEON AND THE QUEEN OF PRUSSIA AT TILSIT

Crushed under the power of the mighty Napoleon, Prussia was left only a fragment of her dominions by the Treaty of Tilsit. Louisa, the brave Queen of Prussia, met Napoleon at Tilsit, and endeavoured on behalf of her country to obtain concessions from him.

From the painting by Gosse

Russia and Great Britain still remained. Against the latter, military or naval operations were entirely useless. But it was to her hostility that Napoleon attributed every check he had received; in her he saw the moving spirit of every combination which had been formed against him, and in her he recognised the most serious obstacle to the expansion of his empire.

To strike at her commerce was the one means of wounding her. Now, apart from Portugal, every port in Europe west of Denmark and the Adriatic was virtually under his control. On November 21st he issued from Berlin the Decree which was to bring her to her knees. Every British port was declared to be in a state of blockade. Every British ship was to be excluded from every port of the French Empire and of the dependencies and allies of the French Empire; all British subjects were to be seized, and all British goods, or goods which had come from Britain, confiscated throughout those territories.

The British Government was not long in replying. In January, 1807, all ports from which British ships were excluded were declared, by the first of a series of Orders in Council, to be in a state of blockade, the enforcing of which was infinitely more practicable than that of Napoleon's paper pronouncement. So far as the European Continent shut out British ships, the Continent should be denied sea-borne commerce. The two great belligerents were treating neutrals; on the same principles each claimed forcibly to prevent neutrals from trading with the rival power. It was to be a trial of strength; but Napoleon, the challenger, had failed to realise that the arena was precisely that in which all the advantage lay with the sea-power which had no equal and no second. She could prevent the neutral trade; Napoleon could not.

Britain's Drastic Reply to Napoleon

It was true that neutrals were more irritated against Britain than against Napoleon, for the plain reason that it was the British and not the French who, in actual fact, came near to annihilating their trade altogether. On the other hand, it was the dependents of Napoleon who found themselves by Napoleon's orders robbed of British goods which they had stocked and precluded from replacing them—in whom, therefore, a bitter hatred of the new empire was aroused. Again, while neutral ports existed where there could not even be a paper blockade to bar the entry of British ships, British goods could find their way into, and European goods could find their way out of, the Continent.

Finally, whatever Governments might forbid, the Continent stood in absolute need of goods which could be obtained only through the British, even more than the British stood in need of Continental goods. If the traffic was made illegal, difficult, and dangerous, it also became proportionately profitable to those who took the risks of engaging in it; and an immense smuggling trade was generated which preserved a Continental market for British goods in defiance of Berlin Decrees. Perhaps we may sum up the results by remarking that Napoleon's "Continental System," while imposing fetters and manacles on the trade of the world, made a present to Britain of that predominance which the man with one wooden leg has over the man with two. In fact, it gave her a monopoly precisely where it had been intended to exclude her altogether. Russia, on the other hand, was to be challenged with cannon and bayonet. Prussia had entered on the Jena campaign in alliance with both Russia and England, though she had courted disaster before either of her allies could render effective support.

Failure of Napoleon's Tactics

Russian armies were now moving on the east of Prussia, whither Frederic William had fallen back. From Berlin, immediately after issuing the decree, Napoleon advanced into Poland, proclaiming that he was appearing as a liberator. The patriot Kosciusko had no confidence in Napoleon as a liberator; nevertheless, his name, audaciously attached to a proclamation, was made to serve as a call to arms for other Polish patriots. An engagement at Pultusk forced the Russians to retreat; but in spite of what even Napoleon regarded as the impracticable condition of the country in mid-winter, the newly-appointed Russian commander, Bennigsen, determined on an active campaign, and appeared in force, threatening the positions of Bernadotte and Ney in the north. Napoleon was compelled to march against him, and in February a terrific battle took place at Eylau, in which the Emperor failed to drive Bennigsen from his position. Neither army was in condition to renew so desperate an engagement—the casualties exceeded 30,000—and both fell back.

The New British Ministry

The new British Ministry—Portland's—which was formed in March, intended to display vigour, but did not act up to its intentions. Even the energy of George Canning could inspire it with only spasmodic activity; and though it undertook in the Treaty of Bartenstein, in April, 1807, in which Sweden joined, to despatch an army to the Baltic in support of Prussia and Russia, the reinforcements delayed, while Napoleon's troops were multiplying. The campaign opened in June. Bennigsen repulsed Napoleon's attack on his camp at Heilsberg, but on June 14th he was drawn into fighting a pitched battle against superior numbers at Friedland. Austerlitz was repeated.

Again the Tsar felt that disaster had fallen upon his army through the incompetence or the wavering of those who were or should have been his allies; for Austria might now have played the part which Prussia ought to have played before

Austerlitz. He resolved to negotiate with the French Emperor; and the two met in a personal private conference on a raft in the River Niemen, at Tilsit, on June 25th. The result of the meeting was a complete revolution in the European situation.

Already Prussia was crushed and Austria paralysed; soon, in Napoleon's expectation, Great Britain would find her power sapped and her life-blood drained by the Continental System. It would be preferable to remove Russian antagonism rather than to attempt the conquest of Russia. At Tilsit, Napoleon found his task unexpectedly easy. The Tsar was ready to abandon the allies whom he held guilty of playing him false. Napoleon had a settlement to propose which would place all Western Europe under his own heel, and complete the Tsar's Eastern supremacy by bestowing on him Finland and the better part of Turkey. Between them, the two would be masters of all Europe; and the ruin of Great Britain would be assured when every port in Europe should be closed to her ships and her commerce. The Tsar found himself willing to abandon the liberation of an ungrateful Europe in favour of the aggrandisement of Russia.

KING AND QUEEN OF SPAIN

Charles IV. of Spain was not a king of whom his country had reason to feel proud. After a contemptible reign of fifteen years, Napoleon compelled him to abdicate the throne in 1808.

The Treaty of Tilsit left to Prussia only a fragment of her dominions, and this merely as a concession of Napoleon's to the Tsar's goodwill. Her Polish domains were transformed into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, controlled by Saxony. Danzig became a free town. Other Prussian districts were added to Murat's duchy of Berg, to Jerome Bonaparte's kingdom of Westphalia, and to Louis's kingdom of Holland. The French army was to remain in occupation until such war indemnity as France might claim should be paid. Turkey was to submit to France's mediation between her and Russia, or take the consequences. Britain was to submit to Russia's mediation, or take the consequences. As provided by secret agreement, the mediation for the one meant the cession of Wallachia and Moldavia; for the other the cession of all conquests since 1805, and the withdrawal of the maritime claims. Rejection was to mean in one case deprival of all European territories except Roumelia and Constantinople, and in the other the completion of the Continental System by the inclusion of Sweden, Denmark, Portugal and Austria. Secret information, which the Government was unable to reveal, reached Canning as to the secret stipulations of the Tilsit agreement. The Danish fleet was to be annexed. The Danish fleet need have caused little alarm to the British, and the Danish Government was no party to the proposal; but Canning felt justified in anticipating Napoleon. A British fleet appeared before Copenhagen, and demanded that the Danish navy should be handed over and neutralised in British ports. The Danes refused, but a three-days' bombardment forced them to submission. The fleet was carried off as prize of war, and Denmark herself was converted to bitter hostility. The action would have been in any case questionable; since the information on which it was based could not be made public, while the Tsar and Napoleon repudiated the interpretation placed on the Tilsit Treaty by the British Ministers, it assumed the appearance of a flagrant and inexcusable breach of neutrality, damaging the British credit.

Conditions of the Treaty of Tilsit

The Dutch Fleet Captured by Britain

Portugal now remained alone outside the Continental System. Napoleon treated the bombardment of Copenhagen as warranting the announcement that neutrality in the struggle with England should no longer be recognised. He demanded the accession of Portugal to his system; Portugal, honourably loyal to an alliance of nearly 150 years' standing, refused. In October, Junot was marching on Portugal; Napoleon had already agreed with Spain on the partition of her dominions. Armed resistance was out of the question, and Napoleon's purpose seemed to be consummated. Great Britain responded by a new series of Orders in Council, imposing additional requirements on neutral traders, on pain of being treated as prize of war; while Napoleon retorted with the Milan Decrees, imposing a corresponding penalty on neutrals who yielded to the British claim. That Gustavus of Sweden still refused to own himself beaten was a quite insignificant detail, since there was no prospect of his receiving any practical help. Nevertheless, defiance was coming from two quarters whence it might least of all have been expected. The French Republic had begun its career as the champion of freedom, in the sense of democracy as opposed to monarchy. It had toppled over dynasties and organised republics on every side; in theory at least it had established popular governments and abolished hereditary privileges, though it had made the new republics dependent on itself. In France itself, democracy had prepared the way, in accordance with the law laid down by philosophers of old, for the *tyrannis* perfected as Caesarism. The Cæsar had converted all save one of the dependent republics into dependent monarchies, absolute in type. He had added to his empire a congeries of minor monarchies; sometimes maintaining old dynasties, sometimes replacing them from his own family stock. For the old ancestral governments he had substituted the arbitrary and grinding yoke of a foreign domination; the peoples had not received the freedom of democracy, and they had been robbed of national freedom as well.

The French Cæsar's Monarchies

Hitherto Germany had all but lacked the nationalist conception; owing to the Napoleonic order, the little leaven was by degrees to pervade the whole mass. In Spain, the spirit of the people had been repressed under centuries of despotism; now, when a foreign despot was thrust upon them, it blazed out in sudden defiance. How the triumph of Napoleon acted upon Germany we shall presently examine. It was in Spain that the next phase was to be inaugurated. The Minister Godoy, his mistress, and her husband, King Charles IV., had ruled Spain contemptibly for fifteen years—a melancholy sequel to the enlightened reign of Charles III. For most of the time they had acted as the humble vassals of France, a pawn for Napoleon to play when he thought fit.

FERDINAND VII. OF SPAIN
He became king on the forced abdication of his father, but Napoleon kept him prisoner during the Peninsular War. Ferdinand returned to Spain in 1814, and died in 1833.

At the end of 1807, in order to facilitate the introduction of a French army into the Peninsula, the Emperor arranged with Godoy—as noted above—for a partition of Portugal and her colonies between Spain and France; incidentally, his Italian dominion was to be consolidated by the transfer of the Etrurian kingdom to France. But Napoleon had probably already made up his mind that it was time to substitute a Bonaparte for a Bourbon on the Spanish throne, a process conveniently facilitated by differences between the reigning sovereigns and the heir apparent, Ferdinand. Between the prince and Godoy there was natural hostility, which reached a point which seemed, before the end of the year, to warrant intervention—theoretically in support of the heir against the machinations of the Minister.

But the advancing troops occupied fortresses; alarm was created. A popular outbreak frightened Charles into abdication in favour of Ferdinand; and the queen was soon entreating Murat, whom Napoleon had despatched from Italy, to restore him. King and ex-king proceeded to meet the Emperor at Bayonne; another outbreak in Madrid against the French served as excuse for enforcing abdication on Ferdinand. Charles surrendered his own claims to Napoleon, accepting estates and a pension by way of compensation; and Napoleon nominated his own brother Joseph to the vacant throne in June, 1808. Murat, who had hoped for the crown, had to be contented with that of Naples, from which Joseph was transferred. The pride of a proud nation was touched to the quick; and the whole Spanish people rose to arms in defiance of the Power which had overthrown the mightiest coalitions that all Europe had been able to pour against him.

Spain in Revolt Against Napoleon

HOW TRAFALGAR CHANGED THE FACE OF THE WORLD

BEING A FOOTNOTE TO HISTORY

BY SIR JOHN KNOX LAUGHTON

ON November 18th, 1805, at Znaym, an obscure little town in Moravia, Napoleon received the news of the battle of Trafalgar. There had been, he said, some fighting ; also a storm, in which a few French ships had unfortunately been lost. That was all. He pushed on, and a fortnight later won the battle of Austerlitz. Here, indeed, was something like a victory. Every soldier in the French army knew it ; every Austrian, every Russian was keenly conscious of defeat. The judgment of war was decisive against the coalition ; and the dying Pitt, it has been said, recognised the blow as fatal to the liberties of Europe. Jena and Auerstädt in the following year seemed but to confirm the verdict, from which there was no longer any appeal.

England's Nightmare Dissipated

In England, public opinion did not take any extended view. To the English, as English, it mattered little that the Austrians and Prussians were crushed by the French ; but they quite understood that after Trafalgar there was no fear of a French army coming into England. The intolerable threat which had seemed to hang over the country for the last two years was dissipated and could not be renewed. Nelson was dead ; but his spirit remained, the tutelary deity of his country—a feeling which Canning more distinctly formulated in the celebrated apostrophe :

And when in after-times with vain desire
Her baffled foes, in restless hate, conspire
From her fair brow the unfading wreath to tear,
Thy hand, and hands like thine have planted there ;
Thou, sacred shade ! in battle hovering near
Shalt win bright Victory from her golden sphere,
To float aloft, where England's ensign flies,
With angel wings and palms from paradise.

Napoleon's Hopes buried at Trafalgar

But whilst in England people were content to take their own selfish view of the result, on the continent of Europe Trafalgar seemed a very small thing in comparison with Austerlitz or Jena. Napoleon himself was probably the one man who, without in the least undervaluing his own victories, could understand that Trafalgar was the destruction of his hopes and schemes. We are not to be beguiled or misled by his own statements of what he did or did not intend ; we judge from his persistent conduct, from his secret letters and orders, that from the date of the renewal of the war in 1803 his all-absorbing idea was to land his army in England, when, with the help of God, he would put an end to her existence.

The Vigilance of Britain's Wooden Walls

So he wrote repeatedly ; but—as a still more illustrious Frenchman is said to have found—the first step was the most difficult. One after the other, in quick succession, he drew up different schemes for ferrying his army across the narrow sea—so narrow that men have swum it, so narrow that a boy in a dinghy might paddle himself across ; but which to Napoleon was impassable, because a few ships of war—ships of the line, frigates, and smaller vessels—lay in the Downs or ranged along the coast of France, from Dunkirk to Etaples, in force to run down, sink, or destroy any boat which ventured out ; because in two years of scheming he was never able to bring up any sufficient force of the French navy to drive these ships away, and secure the safe, uninterrupted passage of these boats ; because, before every port in France or Spain, wherever a French or Spanish ship of war was to be found, there was a corresponding force keeping guard over it ; because all his plans were rendered futile by the tenacity of

The Changing Schemes of Napoleon

Cornwallis off Brest, and under him Pellew, Collingwood, Cochrane, and others, in the Bay of Biscay, and of Nelson in the Mediterranean, off Toulon. The main force of the French navy was at Brest, and there the watch was the strictest. If only the Brest fleet could evade the vigilance of Cornwallis, get out and run up the Channel, Keith, in the narrow sea, might be overpowered and the French army be carried across before Cornwallis or any of his colleagues to the southward knew anything about it.

Thwarted Plans of the Emperor

The detailed technical history of these two years, and the confidential correspondence during these two years of Napoleon with his Ministers, admirals, and generals, give positive proofs of the reality of his wishes and hopes. But the point to which we would call especial notice is the frequent change of plan. As soon as the failure of one became evident, the conception of another began to take form. The death of La Touche-Tréville, commanding at Toulon, in August, 1804, put an end to one plan; another had to be evolved, and gradually the Emperor conceived the one, more familiarly known, of a gathering of French and Spanish squadrons in the West Indies, whence they were to return and sweep the Channel in overpowering force. When that failed, a modification of it was to be tried. The fleet from the Mediterranean was to come off Brest; at the same time the fleet in Brest was to come out, and Cornwallis, caught between the two, was to be crushed. By no possibility could such a plan—setting at defiance all principles of navigation and naval war—have succeeded; and if Villeneuve, the admiral commanding the Mediterranean fleet, had brought it off Brest, it must have been destroyed by Cornwallis before ever the fleet from inside could get out. As it was, Villeneuve refused to throw away his fleet in that fashion, and, having come as far as Ferrol, turned in the opposite direction and went to Cadiz. His disobedience marked the failure of this plan; and, threatened by a coalition of the European Powers, Napoleon, who had been flattering himself with the idea that if he could crush England the soul of the coalition would be dead, felt obliged to attend to the critical position in Germany before starting on a new plan to get his army across the Straits.

The Great Results of Trafalgar

That some plan, on lines similar to those that had preceded it, and probably as absurd as any of them, would have been devised appears certain; but the fond hope was destroyed at Trafalgar. The knowledge was forced on Napoleon that there was no longer a possibility of his getting the command of the Channel for the few hours or days that he required, and that other means must be found for breaking the power of England. She could not be crushed by armed force, she should be crushed by the ruin of her commerce. Out of this determination came the Berlin and Milan Decrees, the Continental System, the land blockade, met—on the part of England—by the Orders in Council and the blockade by sea. Of the cruel suffering caused by this commercial war, this war of the sea against the land, we cannot speak in any detail. In England it was terrible; but the national existence was at stake, and it was endured. In France it was the ruin of bankers, merchants, and manufacturers; when the factories were still, the workmen were starving; it was the horror of desolation crowning the desolation of more than a dozen years of titanic war. But the glamour of military success and the authority of the Emperor maintained the struggle and sustained the suffering. Other nations, not so supported, refused to endure. In Spain, in Portugal, in Germany, in Russia, it was maintained past the breaking point, and the Peninsular War, the Russian campaign, and the War of Liberation followed. Leipzig and Waterloo were the consequents; the Congress of Vienna, the Holy Alliance, the map of Europe as it remained for fifty years, the kindling of German aspirations succeeded, and the unification of Germany, and—less directly—of Italy, has placed the coping-stone on the edifice whose foundation was laid in the destruction of the French sea power at Trafalgar.

John Knox Laughton

NELSON'S FAMOUS SIGNAL AT TRAFALGAR

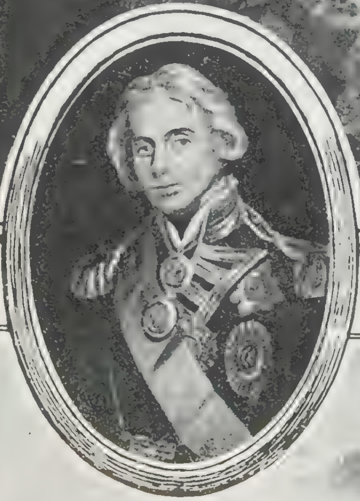
In this picture, reproduced from the painting by Turner, Nelson's flagship, the Victory, is shown flying the memorable signal at Trafalgar, "England expects every man will do his duty."

"'TWAS IN TRAFALGAR'S BAY"

This spirited painting, by Stenfield, suggests something of the confusion which ensued when the British ships of war pressed home their attack on the French and won a crowning victory.

THE LAST VOYAGE OF THE FIGHTING TÉMÉRAIRE

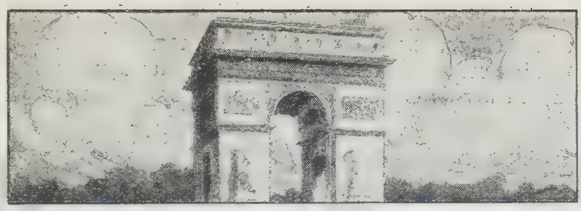
This famous picture was painted by Turner after seeing the old Téméraire towed up the Thames



NELSON'S DEATH IN THE HOUR OF VICTORY
From the painting by A. W. Devis

THE DAY AFTER THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR
The Victory, with the body of Lord Nelson on board, being towed into the harbour at Gibraltar by H.M.S Mars the day after the Battle of Trafalgar.
From the painting by Stenfield

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION & NAPOLEON



VIII
By ARTHUR D. INNES M.A.

THE AWAKENING OF NATIONALISM

WELLINGTON'S BRILLIANT TRIUMPHS IN THE PENINSULAR WAR

NAPOLEON had committed himself to an error vast and far-reaching in his attempt to reduce Great Britain to submission by his Continental System. He calculated that Britain had more need of the Continent than the Continent had of Britain; whereas the need for English goods was so great that no decrees could keep them out, and, while a sea-borne trade was a necessity, the British could ensure that no carriers but themselves should be available. In his Spanish policy he committed himself to a second error equally far-reaching, based on a miscalculation which would probably have been shared by almost every observer at the time. He assumed that a Government having for its sanction the force of the Empire could have nothing to fear from popular insurrection. The event was to prove that an insurgent people, supported by a British army, insignificant in numbers but ably led, could keep a quarter of a million French troops locked up in the Peninsula for five years and finally drive them out of it altogether, in spite of the military genius of such generals as Soult, Masséna, and Marmont. The initial miscalculation of the ease with which Spain could be held in subjection being demonstrated, the Governments learned that popular national enthusiasm was a potent instrument at their disposal which they had not hitherto dreamed of bringing into play, and which ultimately wrought Napoleon's downfall.

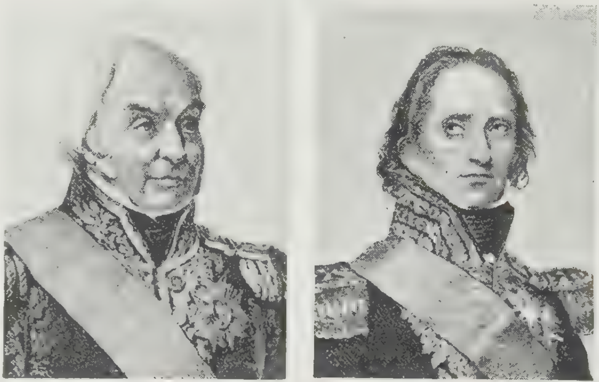
The French Army Held in Check

Even at the time when Napoleon was intervening in Spain, and carrying out his scheme for a Bonapartist monarchy, the ground was being prepared in Prussia, and the seed was being sown which should in due time bring forth harvest. Jena and Auerstädt had awakened the existing Government of that unhappy state to a consciousness of the rottenness of its fabric. A complete reorganisation had become an absolute necessity, while it could be brought about only by a drastic suppression of vested interests, which was anathema to the cabal which had hitherto guided the king. Statesmen were not lacking who realised the need; there was only one, Stein, who had the resolution to carry the reforms through; and after Jena, Frederic William himself still lacked the courage to entrust him with the task. Hardenberg, the statesman who took the place of Haugwitz, was of the same school as Stein; but he, too, was not bold enough to override opposition. By a curious fate, it was Napoleon himself who after Tilsit forced Stein upon the king, because Hardenberg's English sympathies were not to be tolerated, and Stein appeared to him in the light of a financier whose skill would raise the funds which he intended to extort from Prussia. Stein was appointed Minister in October, 1807, with a free hand, which he did not hesitate to use.

Russia in Need of Reform

The Three Classes in Prussia

Prussian society was organised in three rigid castes—nobles, citizens, and peasants. Of these, none but the first had any share whatever in the management of the state, while the last were still in the condition of serfage. The nobles supplied all the officers of the army; the rank and file were drawn from the peasants. It was neither expected nor permitted that the wealth-producers should be fighters, just as it was forbidden to the nobles to descend to the degrading occupation of trade. The land itself was correspondingly divided between the three classes and could not pass from one to the other. The Prussian peasant was still in the position legally held by the English villein in the fourteenth century, but which even then was largely modified in practice. To the citizen, in the sense of a denizen of the cities, as well as to the serf, citizenship in the sense of political rights and responsibilities was denied. Under such conditions public spirit even of the most local kind could scarcely take root; patriotism, the public spirit which is not parochial or provincial but national, was all but an impossibility.


Jourdan

Soult

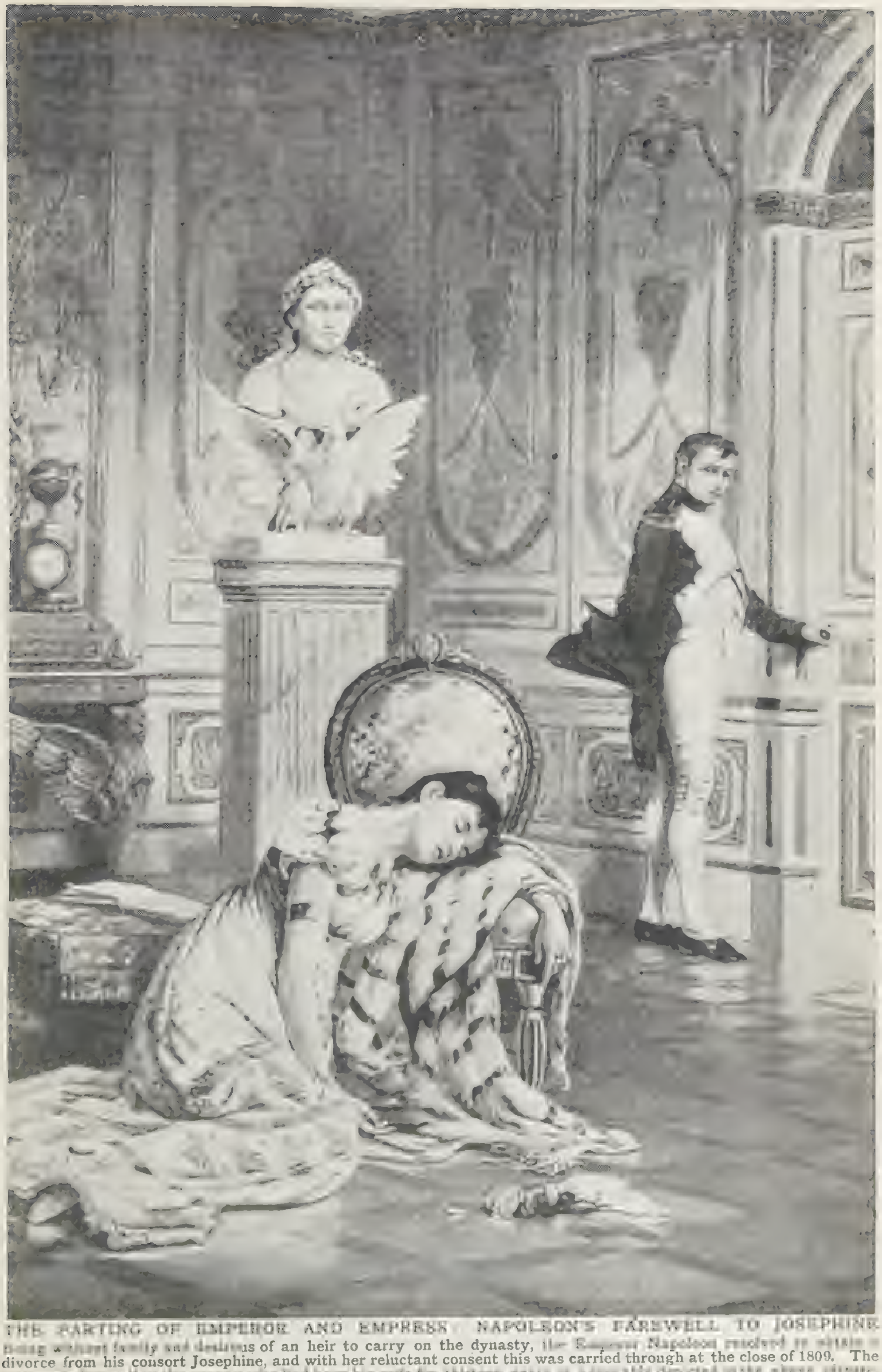
TWO OF NAPOLEON'S FAMOUS MARSHALS

A marshal in the army of Napoleon, Jourdan gained victories against the Austrians, but was defeated by the Duke of Wellington at Vittoria in 1813. Soult was a tower of strength to the French army, and served his country with distinction in Spain and other countries. He was defeated by Sir John Moore at the battle of Corunna.

The first step was to make citizenship possible. A commission of Hardenberg's had made recommendations; before Stein had been a week in office he had translated the recommendations into decrees. The restrictions which bound a man to live and die in the class and in the employment to which he was born were abolished. The law permitted every man to follow whatsoever calling he chose. The transfer of land became free; the peasant was no longer bound to the soil, he was at liberty to seek new pastures or to join in the life of the cities. A little later, not by Stein but by Hardenberg, he was converted into the proprietor of his land; for the present he remained a tenant who had to pay the landlord dues in one form or another for his holding, while both Stein and Hardenberg left the jurisdiction of the baronial class intact. A sense of common citizenship being made possible, Stein saw the means to its development in demanding the fulfilment of the obligations of citizenship, participation

THE DEATH OF SIR JOHN MOORE AT CORUNNA

In chief command of the British army in Spain in 1808, Sir John Moore co-operated with the Spaniards in expelling the French forces from the Peninsula. Learning of the Spanish defeats and of the fall of Madrid, he began a masterly retreat to Corunna, the huge army of France following in pursuit. In a brilliant action at Corunna, on January 16th, 1809, Moore repulsed Soult's attack, but in the hour of victory the gallant soldier was mortally wounded.



THE PARTING OF EMPEROR AND EMPRESS: NAPOLEON'S FAREWELL TO JOSEPHINE

Being without family and desirous of an heir to carry on the dynasty, the Emperor Napoleon resolved to obtain a divorce from his consort Josephine, and with her reluctant consent this was carried through at the close of 1809. The emperor's farewell to the woman who had been his wife for thirteen years is admirably depicted in the above picture.

From the painting by Laslett J. Pott

in public duties. He started at the bottom by instituting local elective bodies to manage minor local affairs—the beginnings of a representative system which was intended to culminate in a representative parliament; not, as in England, controlling administration, but able to make its voice heard and its will felt in public affairs. Stein's tenure of office, however, was too brief to enable him to carry his programme beyond the initial stage, which was of itself sufficient to bring into being the sense of individual responsibility and duty to the public, of a common good to be wrought for in common, for which there was no room in the old system.

Prussia's Reforming Minister

Besides this there was the reorganisation of the army, a work which, like the abolition of caste, was not the creation of Stein's own genius, but was one which his colleagues would hardly have been able to set on foot without the aid of his vigorous initiative. The actual organiser was Scharnhorst. As matters stood, promotion among the officers was permanently blocked by superannuated veterans, and the ranks were filled with long-service men, to whom the citizen class had not contributed.

The recent development of huge armies had made universal liability to military service a practical necessity; but the conditions laid down after Tilsit restricted the number of troops to 40,000 men. By Scharnhorst's plan a short-service period took the place of the former twenty years in the ranks. At the conclusion of the period the men were drafted into reserves, so that while the numbers of the short-service army stood at 40,000, there was soon a large reserve of trained soldiers who could be called to arms in case of necessity. In addition, a "Landwehr," or militia, was created for home defence, though it was not enrolled till five years later, and the scheme of a "Landsturm," or general arming of the population, was prepared. But the reorganiser of Prussia was intensely patriotic, intensely nationalist; his influence soon proved far more seriously antagonistic to the Napoleonic ascendancy than that of Hardenberg, while he aroused a more active hostility to himself in the nobles, who had encouraged the king in his pusillanimous courses of old, and who now found their privileges challenged. Stein was zealous to place the country once more on a fighting basis, and to ally it with Austria; in the sudden uprising of Spain he was not alone in recognising a universal call to arms, and he did not believe in the completeness of the harmony between the Tsar and Napoleon.

Awakening Patriotism In Prussia

The Emperor received information of his plans for an Austrian alliance, and the demands on Prussia immediately took a more stringent form. Defiance at the moment was impossible; Frederic William gave way. Stein soon after resigned, and the present prospect of Prussia taking arms against Napoleon disappeared. A few weeks later Stein was forced by the Emperor's wrath to flee for his life to Austrian territory. But the grain of mustard-seed, the nationalist ideal, had taken root.

The "Address to the German Nation," issued by the philosopher Fichte during this year, formed a powerful appeal which went home to the hearts of the people, and when their hour came they answered to it magnificently. All Europe was startled by the rising of Spain, some months before the fall of the great Minister in Prussia. During the last week of May, without organisation, without warning, without any common plan, every district of Spain which was not actually dominated by the presence of French forces was in arms. The officials were compelled by the populace to join; those who ventured to refuse were apt to find a short shrift. At every centre of insurrection a "junta," or governing committee, was formed in the name of King Ferdinand, as well as an army. The clergy flung themselves into the popular cause in opposition to the Antichrist who was coercing the Pope.

Spain Up in Arms

It did not occur to Napoleon that the resistance was serious. His generals, Bessières, Dupont, and others, were soon moving on various provinces; but a success of Bessières, which secured the route from the Pyrenees to Madrid, was followed within a week by a disaster to Dupont, who was compelled to capitulate with all his forces at Baylen, and King Joseph, at the end of July, had to flee from Madrid, which he had only just entered.

Meanwhile the Government in London had resolved on a new military policy. Napoleon had seized Portugal, but that country was eager to be set free, and the mistress of the seas had no difficulty in despatching troops thither. The Spanish monarchy was at war with Great Britain, but Spain, now represented by the Central Junta at Seville, was at war with Napoleon, and, in Canning's view, was ipso facto an ally of Great Britain. On August 1st Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had particularly distinguished himself in India, landed in Portugal at the head of 18,000 British troops.

At Vimeiro he was met by Junot, who was still in command of the French forces in Portugal. Wellesley was victorious, but his success was marred by the arrival on the scene of two senior officers, Burrard and Dalrymple, who, instead of crushing Junot completely, concluded with him the Convention of Cintra, under which the French troops evacuated Portugal, but were conveyed with their arms in English ships to France. The indignation of Napoleon with Junot was equalled by British indignation with the generals who had failed to make the most of their success. All were recalled, and the command was taken up by Sir John Moore, though Wellesley, cleared of all charges, was to reappear next year. Napoleon was annoyed not so much by the actual events in the Peninsula as by the excitement they were causing in Europe. He tightened the curb upon Prussia, which shrank from Stein's proposal of open war, and caused the Minister's fall. But the matter of first importance was to overawe Europe by a fresh demonstration of the amity between the Emperor and the Tsar, since Austria, too, had been reorganising and arming.

Napoleon's Tight Grip On Prussia

In October, a magnificent conference was held at Erfurt, where all the vassal princes were present and the Courts of Austria and Prussia were both represented. In appearance, at least, the conference was successful. Napoleon left Erfurt with the operations against Turkey for carrying out the Tilsit agreement postponed, and with a free hand for Spain. Nevertheless, the display of harmony only veiled the fact that the Tsar's friendship for Napoleon was cooling.

The Emperor was fully aware that the suppression of Spain would demand a large force. Early in November he himself passed the Pyrenees to conduct the operations. The daring spirit of the insurgents had not provided them with a capable central government in the Seville Junta, or with capable military chiefs, and their dispositions were quite inadequate for coping with Napoleon. Their extended line was rapidly pierced and scattered; and though Palafox was able to throw himself into Saragossa, where a prolonged and heroic defence was maintained, it appeared as though serious resistance had already been shattered. Napoleon marched in triumph to Madrid. In the meantime, Sir John Moore, whose information from the British agent and from the Spanish Government was scandalously inadequate, had advanced under great difficulties to support the Spaniards. Learning of the Spanish defeats, and, by an accident, of the fall of Madrid, he turned to effect a diversion by advancing against Soult's division. This brought Napoleon himself in pursuit, and Moore began a masterly retreat to Corunna, where English transports should have been awaiting him but were not.

Death of Sir John Moore At Corunna

Napoleon was satisfied to leave the completion of the pursuit to Soult, while he himself retired from Spain, which he regarded as virtually conquered. Moore, in a brilliant action at Corunna, on January 16th, 1809, repulsed Soult's attack, and though his own life was lost, his troops were able to embark on the transports, which had now arrived. Six weeks later, Saragossa had fallen. Soult entered Portugal, the South of Spain was held in subjection by Marshal Victor, and, with a quarter of a million of French troops in the Peninsula, the insurgents seemed to have little enough to hope for.

But it was equally obvious that a very large force was necessary to maintain Joseph in Spain. In Austria, the war party was in the ascendant, and the active spirit of revolt was spreading in Germany. Austria resolved on war, confident that it would take but little to bring about the co-operation of Prussia and of the Rhenish confederation. The population of the Tyrol, which had been ceded to Bavaria at the Treaty of Presburg, detested the new regime, which ignored traditional customs and prejudices. The Austrian army itself had been placed on a greatly improved footing by the Archduke Charles, and the Minister, Count Stadion, was of Stein's political school—mutatis mutandis—with a strong desire for Austria to take her place as the leader of German nationalism. It was as the champion of European freedom and German nationalism that

Austria the Champion Of Freedom

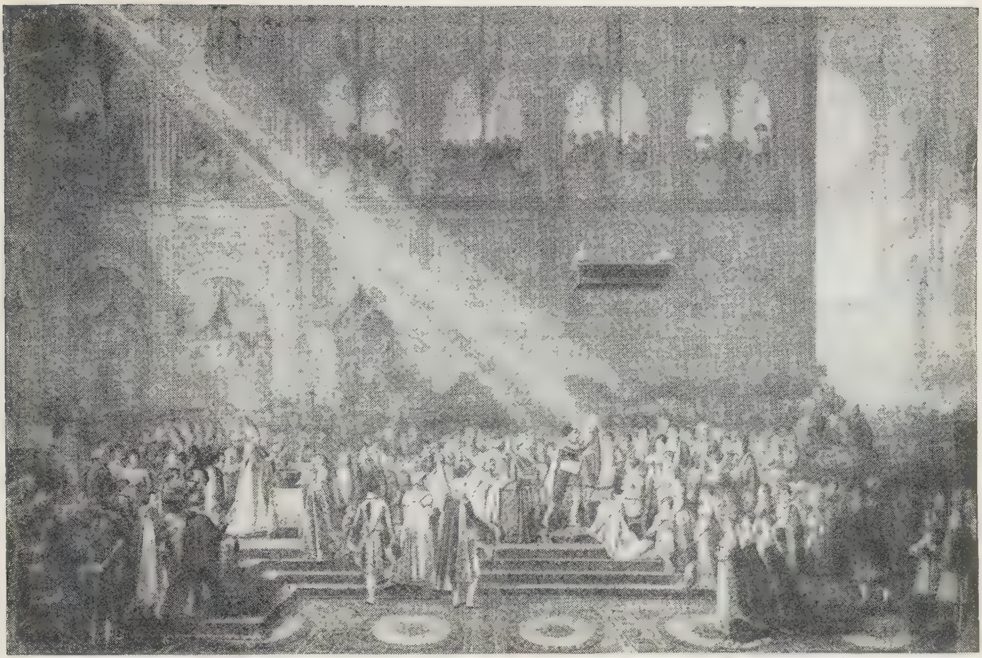
Austria threw down the gauntlet in April without entering into definite treaties with Great Britain or with the Spanish Nationalists, who had struck a formal alliance in January. In April, Wellesley also returned to the Portuguese command, having under him 20,000 British troops, and being appointed generalissimo of the Portuguese forces. Portugal was to be the basis for co-operation with the Spaniards. In view, however, of the Austrian declaration of war against Bavaria, the British Government resolved to concentrate its main effort on an attack on Holland, which, if promptly and effectively carried out, would have very materially affected Napoleon's campaign on the Danube.

It is by no means clear that the scheme in itself was not well advised, though it is sufficiently obvious that if the 40,000 men who were sent on the Walcheren Expedition had been dispatched to Wellesley instead, the Peninsula campaign of 1809 would have taken a very different course. As the event proved, the brilliancy of Wellesley's personal successes did not enable him to maintain ground beyond the Portuguese frontier; the Walcheren Expedition was ignominious and disastrous, and the only check on Napoleon's operations on the Danube lay in the fact that so many of his troops were detained on the south of the Pyrenees.

The Austrian advance to Regensburg threatened the Emperor's forces with disaster; but his arrival to conduct the operations in person changed the situation. Napoleon's presence had a paralysing effect on the Archduke Charles. In five days, by a series of heavy blows, the Emperor had driven the Austrians before him in full retreat, and the prospect of a general German revolt had already all but vanished. He advanced to Vienna; but a severe and unlooked-for check at the battle of Aspern-Essling on May 21st placed him in a very dangerous position. The archduke, however, lost nerve, and failed to take advantage of his opportunity. The moment passed; French reinforcements were allowed to strengthen the lines of communication. Six weeks later Napoleon succeeded in accomplishing the passage of the Danube by night; the Austrians had to fall back to Wagram, whence they were again forced to retreat after a stubborn battle on July 6th. To the victors themselves the defeat by no means seemed to be a crushing blow; but the Austrians

Austrian Overthrow At Wagram

THE MARRIAGE OF NAPOLEON TO MARIE LOUISE OF AUSTRIA IN 1810
From the painting by Rouget



THE BAPTISM OF NAPOLEON'S HEIR, THE "KING OF ROME," ON JUNE 10TH, 1811
To the Emperor Napoleon and Marie Louise was born an heir on March 20th, 1811, and from his birth he was styled "King of Rome." His baptism on June 10th is depicted in the above picture. His death occurred in the year 1832.

had lost heart, and sought and obtained an armistice. In the north, at the opening stage, the daring but unauthorised raid of Colonel Schill with a regiment of cavalry from Berlin had excited high hopes for the moment; but he had been unsupported, and was annihilated at Stralsund, just after Aspern.

The Duke of Brunswick, successor of the old duke who had formerly commanded the Prussian forces, raided Saxony from Bohemia, but Germany was content to admire without aiding. It was only in the Tyrol that the gallant Hofer remained unsubdued after Wagram. Under his leadership, the Tyrolese had thrown off the Bavarian yoke; and now an invading force met with such disaster that the French evacuated the region. But the Tyrol, too, was soon to find itself deserted. At the end of July the belated British expedition arrived on the Scheldt. An immediate advance on Antwerp might still have dealt a heavy blow; but time was wasted at Flushing while the defences of Antwerp were being secured. In the marshes of Walcheren the troops were laid low by fevers. The bulk of them were withdrawn, and those that were left were more than decimated from the same cause before they, too, were recalled. The whole business was a ghastly failure. In the meanwhile, Wellesley had been showing what it was possible for a brilliant commander to do, and what it was not possible to do unaided.

The British Expedition on the Scheldt

On his arrival at Lisbon in April he organised the defences of the capital and then threw himself northward on Soult's lines of communication, and forced the marshal to evacuate Portugal with the loss of his cannon. He was thus enabled to attempt a swift blow on Madrid, in conjunction with the Spaniards. But he could get no reinforcements from England—the troops were wanted for Walcheren—and the Spanish Government forces, the generals, and the Government itself, were incompetent. Wellesley reached Talavera, where he was attacked by King Joseph and Marshal Victor on July 28th.

The Spaniards broke and fled, yet the valour of the British troops gave them the victory. But the British troops could not take Madrid by themselves, and Soult was already threatening the line of retreat. Wellesley, who was rewarded for his victory by the title of Viscount Wellington, fell back into Portugal, recognising that the present possibilities were limited to the defence of that country.

Wellington's retirement into Portugal and the collapse of the Walcheren Expedition, capping the defeat of Wagram and the failure of Germany to rise, ended any inclination on Austria's part for the prolongation of the contest. Count Stadion was replaced by Metternich, in whom popular sympathies did not exist. The idea of Austria as the head of a German nation vanished. Austria bowed to the conqueror. By the Treaty of Vienna in October, the Tyrol, in spite of promises, was tossed back to Bavaria, its resistance was crushed, and Hofer was betrayed and shot as a rebel. The regions terminating on the Adriatic were surrendered to Napoleon, and formed into the "Illyrian Provinces." Cracow was annexed to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. The Austrian change of front was completed and her humiliation consummated when, in the following March, Napoleon demanded and obtained the hand of the Austrian princess, Marie Louise, an alliance for the sake of which he divorced Josephine.

The Gallant Hofer Shot as a Rebel

Before Wagram, Napoleon had already rounded off his Italian dominion. Pius VII. had never been his obedient servant; even after the Berlin Decree, the Pope refused to close the papal ports to the British. In 1808 Napoleon occupied Rome; in May, 1809, he issued a decree confiscating the Papal States, and the Pope was held a still unsubmissive prisoner at Savona. The States themselves were reorganised as departments. The annexation was another move towards stopping the leaks in the Continental System.

Sweden had been secured at last by the fall of Gustavus IV., whose stubborn refusal to submit to overwhelming force brought about his deposition, and the elevation of Charles XIII. to the throne. Charles submitted to the inevitable, and since there was no heir to the reigning house, found an excuse for nominating Marshal Bernadotte as his successor. Although Bernadotte did not actually ascend the throne till 1818, he at once assumed practical control of the state. The formation of the Illyrian provinces after the Treaty of Vienna closed what had been the Austrian ports in the Adriatic. There remained only some points on the North German coast, besides Holland, where Louis Bonaparte found the needs of his subjects more exigent than his brother's demands, and permitted a considerable introduction of British goods, which, it must be remembered, covered practically all colonial produce, tea, cotton, and other necessaries, since British ships were the only carriers.

Bernadotte in Control of Sweden

In 1810 the Emperor's demands became so insistent that Louis abdicated, whereupon Holland was annexed to Napoleon's empire. It is noteworthy that Joseph in Spain, as well as Louis in Holland, found the brother's bonds so galling that he, too, would have abdicated if he had been permitted to do so. The annexation of Holland, in July, 1810, was followed up by the incorporation with the empire of the still nominally free Hansa towns and coastal districts, including the Duchy of Oldenburg, with the futile aim of stopping every cranny in the wall which Napoleon was seeking to build up for the total exclusion of British commerce. The seizure of Oldenburg soon proved to be at least a contributory cause of the defeat of the very object with which it had been effected.

The divorce of Josephine was carried through, with her reluctant consent, at the close of 1809. For obvious reasons, Napoleon, like Henry VIII. of England, wanted a male heir of his body to carry on the dynasty; a want which Josephine could not supply. Moreover, a matrimonial alliance with one of the two imperial houses would give the dynasty of the Corsican a status which it lacked. The first approaches on the subject had been made to Alexander at Erfurt; by him they had not been warmly received, and of the two available Russian princesses the elder had been promptly betrothed to the Duke of Oldenburg.

Napoleon's Divorce and Marriage

In December, 1809, a formal request for the hand of the second was presented to the Tsar; but already the balance was leaning towards Austria. Napoleon was disinclined to risk receiving a direct refusal from Russia which the Tsar's lukewarm attitude rendered more than probable. Negotiations were opened with Vienna, where Metternich had none of Alexander's scruples. The marriage was arranged and took place in April. The annexation of Oldenburg completed the breach with Russia, which formally withdrew from the Continental System in December, and opened its ports to British commerce.

Napoleon had in fact decided on a change of policy. Austria could no longer be considered as a rival, but she might be

THE SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF BADAJOZ BY THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON IN 1812

Reaching Badajoz in the middle of March, the Duke of Wellington resolved to carry it before Soult could arrive to relieve it, and the storming of the town "was perhaps the most terrific incident of the war." The defence was obstinate and ingenious, but, after appalling carnage, the walls were carried by escalade and the fortress captured.

From a contemporary engraving

utilised as an associate in consolidating the empire of Western Europe. If Russia chose to assume the role of rival instead of coadjutor, she should in due course be humbled like all other opponents except the maritime Power. The dream which Napoleon may have dreamed after Tilsit of an advance through Asia, in conjunction with Russia, and the demolition of the British power in India, had been of but brief duration at best, though the suspicion of it had caused some commotion in the minds both of the British themselves and of native potentates who hoped to profit by their overthrow. As Napoleon and Alexander drew manifestly apart, the perturbation was speedily allayed. But in Europe the events of 1810 pointed to the development of the rupture between France and Russia into open war before any long time should have passed.

In the Peninsula, moreover, the course of the year's campaigning did not improve the French position. It opened, indeed, not unfavourably. Wellington was making no movement into Spain, and during the first months Soult overran Andalusia, where the Spanish Government was strongest, and drove the Junta and its armies into Cadiz. In the north, Catalonia was being conquered by Suchet. Napoleon resolved to bring the war to an end, and Masséna was despatched with a mighty force to drive the British into the sea; but that rather difficult operation was made none the easier by the jealousies

STORMING THE SPANISH TOWN AND CASTLE OF ST. SEBASTIAN IN SEPTEMBER, 1813

From an engraving published in the same year

THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON INTO MADRID IN 1812

Wellington's brilliant campaigns in Spain, during which he inflicted a series of defeats upon the armies of Napoleon, put an end to the French domination in that country. Reaching Madrid in 1812, as shown in the above picture, he entered the city in triumph, the inhabitants of the place receiving him with wild enthusiasm.

From the painting by Wm. Hilton, R.A.

and disagreements of the French generals. Wellington had advanced to the north of Portugal with the intention of relieving the Spanish garrison of Ciudad Rodrigo, on its frontier, which was invested and was holding out gallantly; but the approach of Masséna with a force considerably larger than the Anglo-Portuguese army under Wellington's command made retreat imperative. Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida fell. At Busaco, however, Masséna accepted the challenge to an engagement offered by Wellington and met with a severe repulse, which gave heart to the Portuguese on the spot—for Masséna had the flower of the French veterans under his command—and to the British Ministry at home.

Wellington continued his retreat, and the pursuing Masséna suddenly found himself faced by the famous lines of Torres Vedras, behind which Wellington had secured the whole of his forces and his supplies, as well as an immense number of civilians. Those lines he had steadily and silently prepared for a year past, till they were impregnable, though the French had no suspicion of their existence. Also he had systematically stripped the whole of the neighbouring district, and Masséna found himself before a position which he could not force, in a country denuded of supplies, with subordinates who were jealous and intractable. Torres Vedras could not be stormed; with the British in command of the sea it could not be blockaded. He fell back to Santarem; while Soult, who received orders to reinforce him, delayed in order to reduce the fortress of Badajoz on the southern frontier of Portugal—a fine piece of work in itself, but not that which happened to be demanded of him.

The Rapid Movements of Wellington

In March, 1811, Masséna, recognising that his purpose had been definitely foiled, began to withdraw from Santarem, with Wellington following him; while Soult, having secured Badajoz, returned to Andalusia, where an attempt on the part of the garrison at Cadiz to take the besiegers in the rear had been foiled at Barossa. Masséna, wasting the country as he went, so that the pursuing forces were often hard put to it to obtain supplies, was obliged to evacuate Portugal and retire to Salamanca—partly by the perpetual insubordination of Ney, partly by the rapidity of Wellington's movements. The security of Portugal and the possibility of an aggressive movement into Spain on Wellington's part now depended on the recovery of Almeida and of Ciudad Rodrigo on the north, and of Badajoz on the south. Badajoz, defended with all the resources of engineering skill by the commandant, Philippon, was left to Beresford, and proved too hard a task for him. Wellington's own efforts were concentrated on the two northern fortresses.

The splendid conduct of the British regiments at Fuentes d'Onoro foiled Masséna's attempt to raise the siege of Almeida, and the marshal's supersession by Marmont prevented a repetition of the attempt.

Wellington in Possession of Almeida

The position of the garrison was hopeless, but the commandant, Brennier, blew up his magazines before breaking his way out through the besiegers with most of his forces, and Wellington took possession. In the south Soult advanced against Beresford, and was in June repulsed in the desperate action of Albuera, where practically the whole of the fighting on the side of the allies was done by the British troops, less than 7,000 in number, of whom more than 2,000 were killed or wounded. Marmont, however, marching from the north, effected a junction with Soult, and the preponderance of the French force was so great that the siege had to be raised. But since the country was unable to maintain so large an army, Marmont again withdrew.

While Wellington was doing all the work on the Portuguese frontier with no practical help from the Spanish army and the Spanish Government, the efforts of the French marshals who were engaged on the subjugation of Northern Spain were perpetually nullified by the activities of the Spanish guerrilla leaders, whom no defeats in the field could crush; and presently the French armies began to feel the drain due to the withdrawal of troops who were to form part of the grand army with which Napoleon was projecting the invasion of Russia. To this tremendous scheme must in the main be attributed the fact that Napoleon neglected personally to take in hand the subjugaton of Spain. The marshals to whom he left the task were brilliant commanders

AT VITTORIA: WELLINGTON LEADING THE THIRD DIVISION TO THE ATTACK

This battle, fought on June 21st, 1813, was the decisive engagement of the campaign. Vittoria was the key to the line of communication with France, and there the French were routed, sustaining an irretrievable overthrow

From the drawing by R. Caton Woodville

Triumphs of the British Commander

but they were not, individually, a match for Wellington, and they habitually failed to act with that concert which Napoleon's own presence would have ensured. The Russian scheme so overshadowed all else that Spain lost its true importance in his eyes, and his forces there were weakened; and when he finally gave the scheme effect its disastrous termination necessitated a withdrawal of troops, which at length turned the scale decisively in favour of the British general in the Peninsula. That consummation, however, was not yet reached; although during 1812 Wellington was able to establish his personal superiority unmistakably, it was not till the next year that he could conduct a campaign which should expel the French from the Peninsula altogether. Nevertheless, the certainty that a Russian campaign would have precedence of everything else in Napoleon's plans materially affected those of Wellington. In January, by a sudden attack, which Marmont had not anticipated, he carried Ciudad Rodrigo by storm, capturing the siege-train without which Marmont could make no effective attempt to recapture the place, which was now occupied by a Spanish garrison.

Wellington's Brilliant Strategy

In the middle of March, Wellington was before Badajoz, the second of the two keys to Spain, determined now to carry it at all costs before Soult could arrive to relieve it. The storming of Badajoz was perhaps the most terrific incident of the war; the obstinacy and ingenuity of Philippon's defence made the struggle exceptionally desperate; and when, after appalling carnage, the walls were carried by escalade, there were two days during which the British troops, frenzied with their victory, lost all semblance of discipline, and the officers lost all control over them. Soult was not to be drawn into an engagement. It became Wellington's object to make his junction with Marmont impossible; and this was accomplished by Hill's exploit in capturing the bridge of Almaraz. Holding both Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo, Wellington could keep both Marmont and Soult uncertain as to which of them would be his next object of attack; and he had succeeded in making Soult believe that he was on the point of a move into the south when he was already on his way to measure swords with Marmont. The result was the campaign of Salamanca in July. After prolonged manœuvring, neither general being willing to risk a serious defeat, Marmont endeavoured by a flanking movement with his left wing to cut off Wellington's chance of retreat and to crush him.

The Titanic Struggle in Europe

In doing so a gap was opened between centre and left. The opportunity thus given was seized; Wellington was able to deliver a crushing blow. Marmont was seriously wounded. The disaster to the French would have been complete but for the skill with which Clausel, who took Marmont's place, drew the defeated army from the field. Wellington was able to march on Madrid, whence King Joseph fled to Valencia, summoning Soult to raise the blockade of Cadiz, leave Andalusia, and join forces with him. At Madrid the victors were received with wild enthusiasm. Still, Wellington was not strong enough without reinforcements to carry his success further, or even to maintain a secure position in Spain, especially after an unexpected failure to capture the castle of Burgos. Once more he found himself obliged to fall back on the Portuguese frontier. The decisive campaign was deferred till 1813. The disasters of the Moscow campaign, to be described in the next chapter, gave a new form to the Titanic struggle in Europe, and more and more of the French troops were withdrawn from the Peninsula. Wellington, on the other hand, was somewhat better supported by the British Government, with whom he had a powerful advocate in the person of his brother, the Marquess Wellesley, whose brilliant career as Governor-General of India has been narrated in an earlier volume.

Of the 200,000 French troops that remained, which still included contingents from the subject or dependent nationalities, nearly half were occupied in endeavouring to hold down the northern districts, and to repress the irrepressible guerrillas and their brilliant chief, Mina. Soult had been called away to Napoleon's aid, and the armies in Spain were commanded nominally by Joseph, actually by the veteran Jourdan, when Wellington took the offensive in the late spring of 1813, having now under his command nearly 50,000 British troops, supplemented by Portuguese. Deluding the enemy into the belief that his attack was to be directed against the centre of Spain,

THE ROUT AT VITTORIA: FLIGHT OF THE FRENCH THROUGH THE TOWN AFTER THE BATTLE

From the painting by Robert Hillingford

he was on the march into the northern districts before the enemy could concentrate. Vittoria was the key to the line of communication with France; and here the decisive battle was fought on June 21st. It ended in the utter rout of the French. Guns, ammunition, baggage, treasure, all the accumulated spoil of Joseph's five years in Spain were lost. The French army was in full flight to France. The disaster was irretrievable. Soult was once more despatched to do all that could be done to hold the frontier. He applied to the task supreme skill and daring, but it was impossible of accomplishment. By the end of the year Wellington's Peninsular army was on French soil. Between him and Soult the last contest took place on April 10th, 1814, at the hard-fought battle of Toulouse, which could barely be claimed as a victory by the British commander. And the battle itself was needless; for although the fact was unknown to Soult or to Wellington, Napoleon had already abdicated; only the terms of the abdication were not fully settled until the following day.

The French Disaster at Vittoria

The story of his fall will be told in our next chapter; but first we must turn from the accounts of campaigns with which we have hitherto been occupied to other aspects of the Peninsular War. We have remarked on the fact that while the Spanish guerrillas maintained a persistent and successful warfare against the French domination in the north, thereby rendering immense service to Wellington, the Spanish Government and Government troops habitually failed to co-operate with their great ally. The guerrillas were not politicians; their one object was to rid themselves of the foreign oppressor.

The termination of the regime of the Bourbons and Godoy seemed to give their opportunity to the reformers, who had been multiplied by the French Revolution. They succeeded in obtaining the summons of the Cortes, or the nearest thing to the Cortes available, in Cadiz, when the rest of Andalusia was in the hands of the French. As had happened in France, the moderates in this national Parliament were soon swamped by the zealots of the revolution, who were no more in sympathy with the anti-revolutionary English than with French Cæsarism; and mutual distrust made anything like cordial relations absolutely impossible. Instead of devoting itself to the urgent necessities of a war administration, the Cortes turned its attention to the production of a democratic constitution and democratic legislation, while its members were conspicuously deficient both in political experience and in political capacity. The moderation of Jovellanos, the one man of real ability, was translated into treason, and he was put to death in 1811.

Bourbon Régime at an End

The new constitution was modelled on the very limited French monarchy of 1791, with a single very democratic Assembly to which the executive, though nominated by the king, was to be responsible. It was to be elected every two years, and no one might sit in two consecutive Assemblies; consequently administrative experience was precluded. The legislation followed the natural anti-feudal and anti-clerical lines, though it enforced Roman Catholicism and tolerated no other religion. A theoretical loyalty to King Ferdinand was essential. In the country where, of all others, clerical ascendancy had been for centuries the most marked characteristic, not only of the Government, but also in popular sentiment, it is obvious that party feeling between clericals and anti-clericals ran particularly high; and when the French withdrawal from Andalusia after Salamanca enabled the Cortes to make itself felt in North Spain the discussion became still more serious, and might have paralysed Wellington if the French had been in a position to reap the full advantages of it.

The Peninsula Freed from the Foreign Yoke

The overthrow, final so far as concerned Spain, of the French power at Vittoria delivered the Peninsula from a foreign yoke, but left it on the verge of a constitutional struggle. The democrats had tasted power; the king, Ferdinand, who was now to return to his kingdom, had only played the popular part as prince, in opposition to Godoy. The Napoleonic monarchy of Spain, absolute though it was except so far as it was subordinated to the behests of the Emperor, had still followed the principle of suppressing feudal privileges. Nationalism had won the day, but the seeds of domestic discord were destined to bring forth a plentiful crop. And incidentally the war had enabled the Spanish American colonies to throw off their allegiance—a resolution which the mother country was as yet by no means ready to accept.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION & NAPOLEON

IX

BY ARTHUR D. INNES, M.A.

THE RISING OF THE NATIONS

AND THE FALL OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON

WHEN Masséna was sent to take up the Spanish command against Wellington the omens were already pointing to a decisive breach between Napoleon and Alexander. The French Emperor's seizure of Oldenburg was almost a personal insult to the Tsar; and when the New Year, 1811, saw Russia withdrawn from the Continental System, a declaration of war between the Eastern and Western Emperors became a mere question of time. For the humbling of Great Britain could be accomplished only by an exclusion of her commerce even more rigid than Napoleon had hitherto been able to enforce; and with the Baltic open to her, it was vain to dream that her goods could be shut out of Europe.

Napoleon's Designs on the Baltic

It is not surprising that the determination to crush Great Britain should have been the dominant passion with Napoleon; for she was the one Power which had persistently defied him and consistently fostered and upheld every effort on the part of other nations to resist him. But no such passion possessed the Tsar, and nothing short of it could make endurable the economic strain involved by the exclusion, total or even partial, of British and colonial produce. The apparent fact is that whatever subsidiary objects Napoleon may have had in view, the primary consideration which drove him to war with Russia was the determination to seal up the Baltic.

Where Napoleon Failed

It remains among the most curious of those psychological aberrations which break across the normal forces of historical causation that an intellect so vast and so catholic as Napoleon's should have flatly rejected the economic truths which were patent to all his finance Ministers. He could not or would not realise that the Continent could not subsist without British and colonial produce; that the policy of exclusion could, on the one side, only limit without destroying the market for British goods, while, on the other, it enhanced prices enormously. Beetroot sugar and chicory could not, for instance, satisfy the demand for sugar and coffee, and the risk of a forbidden traffic compelled the producers to sell only at extravagant prices, which the consumers had no choice but to pay; while the shortage or the high cost of raw material ruined Continental manufacturers. In other words, the Continental System could only hamper England, but it crippled and crushed the Continent. And in doing so it immensely intensified the forces antagonistic to the French Empire. Yet the perfecting of the Continental System overshadowed every other consideration in Napoleon's mind.

It is hardly less strange that his absorption in this grand object blinded him to the importance of definitely ending the Peninsular War. In view of the resources at Wellington's and at Napoleon's disposal, the most enthusiastic admirers of the Iron Duke can hardly doubt that he must have been driven into the sea if Napoleon had made up his mind to conduct in person a fight to a finish in the Peninsula before he advanced upon Russia.

Europe under the Sway of Napoleon

Before we follow Napoleon's campaign, it will be well to grasp the territorial situation of the Powers. Draw a line from Lübeck on the Baltic to the south of Dalmatia on the Adriatic. Between that line and the Pyrenees the whole Continent was under Napoleon's sway. Murat ruled at Naples. Eugène Beauharnais in the kingdom of Italy was Napoleon's own viceroy. Denmark was now devoted to his cause. The Confederation of the Rhine owned his suzerainty. Practically the whole of the rest was actually annexed to France. East of the line, Mecklenburg and Saxony were in the Rhine Confederation, and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw was a dependency of Saxony. Norway belonged to Denmark, and Sweden was virtually under Bernadotte—the only doubtful factor. Outside of Russia, Great Britain, and the Peninsula, there remained Prussia—what was left of it—Austria, and Turkey; and an Austrian princess was now Napoleon's empress.

Polish Mistrust of Russia

Before the war began, Alexander neutralised Turkey by the judicious Treaty of Bucharest. Both he and Napoleon endeavoured to secure Polish support, and here Napoleon was successful; Polish mistrust of Russia was too deeply rooted. Austria and Prussia could hardly avoid participation. Austria was disposed to support Napoleon, but to confine herself to a masterly inactivity in doing so. For Prussia, the problem was grave. Hardenberg, who had returned to the chancellery, was Russian in his sympathies, but saw that Prussia could not take the risk. If she declared for Russia, she would be the first victim, and Hardenberg remembered that Russia had almost completely deserted her after Friedland.

Sentiment yielded to judgment, and Prussia offered France her alliance, which meant just so much support as might be absolutely necessary to preserve Prussia from destruction. Both Prussia and Austria were careful to explain to an understanding Tsar that their hostility was entirely simulated. Finally, Bernadotte, never a warm supporter of Napoleon, resolved to identify himself with the interests of Sweden, to play the part of a Swedish patriot, and to decline the French Emperor's overtures.

The Great Russian Campaign

The enormous resources now at Napoleon's disposal are illustrated by the vastness of the army which he was able to bring together in the spring of 1812 for the Russian campaign. Although more than 200,000 men were still locked up in the Peninsula, these forces were so great that the actual army of invasion which crossed the Niemen in June numbered 350,000 men. It was Napoleon's intention to thrust between the northern and the southern armies of Russia with his whole force, and render their junction hopeless. Progress, while the army was still in Russian Poland, met with few active obstacles. But the advance force under Davoust was unable—probably owing to the disobedience of Jerome Bonaparte—to cut off the smaller southern army under Bagration; and the rear-guard of the larger northern army was able to hold St. Cyr and Macdonald in check, while its chief, Barclay du Tolly, retired eastwards and effected the junction with Bagration at Smolensk.

The exhausting character of the advance and the commissariat difficulties of the Grand Army necessitated a halt, and it appears to have been Napoleon's first intention to restrict his further operations for the year to the organisation of Poland as a base for next year's campaign. But he was accustomed to annihilate his enemies by the fierce swiftness of his blows. The temptation to crush the Russian force at once was too strong; Austria and Prussia, however inert, still stood as ramparts to cover his rear. Instead of staying to organise, he hurled his forces onwards to Smolensk.

The Grand Army in Difficulties

But Barclay had realised the uses of a policy of withdrawal. His rear-guard held the French army at bay while the main body retired; then fired the city, and retired itself under cover of the conflagration, en route for Moscow, luring Napoleon after it in the full hope that he would yet force an engagement and win a crushing victory. Had Barclay du Tolly remained in command, an engagement might never have been forced at all. The Grand Army was already dwindling, if that term may be applied to a force which still numbered 140,000 men. Every mile it marched took it further from its base and its supplies, further into the heart of a passionately hostile country in which supplies were hardly procurable. But Barclay's sagacity appeared to more fiery spirits to be pusillanimity, even treason. He was superseded by Kutusoff, a veteran of Suwarrow's training. Kutusoff gave his army and the enemy their heart's desire.

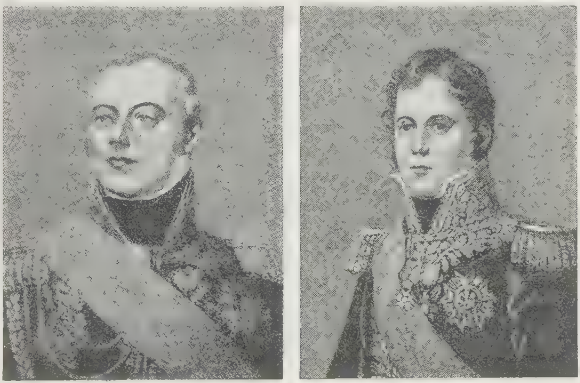
Three weeks after the action at Smolensk, Napoleon found the Russians facing him at Borodino on September 7th. After a long and desperate sturggle, he drove them from their position; yet only so that a ridge in the rear could be occupied so as to cover the further retirement effectively. Borodino cost Napoleon 30,000 men, and though it was a victory for him in the technical sense that it left him master of the battlefield, he was no nearer his object of shattering the opposing force.

Kutusoff and his Russians, however, found their honour satisfied by a battle in which their courage and skill had been sufficiently vindicated. They were content now to revert to the previous policy.

In another week Napoleon was at Moscow; the historic capital of the Russian Empire was in his hands on September 14th. But he found, not the submission he had hoped for, but emptiness. The population had gone, as well as the army, leaving little but empty houses. The country had been swept by the Russian troops, as Wellington had swept the country before Masséna on the retreat to Torres Vedras. On the night when Napoleon occupied the ancient capital, fires broke out in every quarter—deliberately planned—and a great part of the city was laid in ruin.

The Terrible Tragedy of Moscow

Nevertheless, shelter was still afforded. It was even possible to suggest that the army should winter there. But the problem of providing supplies was insoluble. A march on St. Petersburg, dogged by the Russian army, which now lay on the south at Kaluga, was impracticable. For a month Napoleon held on, in the hope that the fall of Moscow might still bring the Tsar to terms; but the Tsar made no sign. It became convincingly clear that retreat was the only course possible. On October 19th, the order was issued. Napoleon had penetrated to Moscow, less, perhaps, from the conviction that by doing so he would reach Russia's heart than from the hope of bringing the Russian army to the decisive engagement which it had eluded. At any rate, he found that if Russia had a heart—a vital spot—it was not at Moscow. Barren, indeed, were the laurels of that victorious advance; such laurels were an inadequate substitute for bread. The five hundred miles that lay between Napoleon and the frontier had been swept bare, and those five hundred miles would have to be traversed again, for Kutusoff lay between the Grand Army and a more southerly route, which had not been swept; and Kutusoff soon proved to be an insuperable obstacle.



Macdonald Ney

TWO GREAT MARSHALS OF FRANCE

Born at Sedan, the son of a Scottish Jacobite schoolmaster, Macdonald rose to high rank in the French army, distinguishing himself on the battlefield, and becoming marshal and Duke of Taranto. Ney, another great leader, was in charge of the rear-guard in the disastrous retreat from Moscow; he was shot for high treason in 1815.

The Fate of Napoleon's Grand Army

A fierce battle at Jaroslavitz, though again a technical victory for the French, was Pyrrhic in character. The Grand Army could not fight its way out of the country by such battles as that, and Napoleon found that there was no alternative but to retreat along the line of the previous advance. For nearly three weeks it was conducted amid great hardships and under harassing attacks which reduced the 100,000 men who started from Moscow to half that number. And then, on November 6th, winter descended. But it is well to note that before the bitter winter began Napoleon's force was already less than two-fifths of that which had found the Russians facing it at Borodino two months before. In other words, the Grand Army was already a wreck, a remnant, before that awful frost smote it. Just as in the case of the Spanish Armada, a picturesque fiction has permanently displaced the historical fact in the general belief. The Armada was an irretrievably beaten and broken fleet before the winds blew. The Grand Army was an irretrievably shattered army before the frosts came. But the broken Armada was splintered by the winds, and the shattered Grand Army was annihilated by the frosts; and the world will probably continue to give the winds and frost the whole credit.

The frosts came, and the disastrous retreat became a hideous nightmare of misery, relieved only by the indomitable heroism of the rear-guard. It is estimated that not less than 400,000 men must have crossed the Niemen eastwards; only 20,000 made their way back into Prussia on November 14th, apart from the column, of about the same number, under Macdonald's command in the north.

Ten days earlier, the Emperor had left his army in order to hasten in person to Paris to re-establish his authority, against which, and in his absence, a futile attempt to engineer an insurrection had been made. The command was left to Murat—King of Naples—who followed his chief's example, and made for his own kingdom, leaving the army to Eugène Beauharnais, who succeeded in conveying it to safe quarters at Leipzig, in Saxony. Although Wellington's victory at Salamanca had not enabled him to secure the mastery of Spain, it had been made evident that French ascendancy could be established only by a great effort in the Peninsula. The mere fact was sufficient to stir the hopes of Napoleon's foes throughout Europe.

European Terror of Napoleon

On the top of Wellington's successes came the terrific disaster of the Russian expedition. Yet even now the Governments were afraid or unwilling to break free. Russia, from her own point of view, might well be content with what she had achieved. Austria, guided by Metternich, saw diplomatic opportunities in prospect. The princes of the Rhine Confederation halted between two opinions. And Frederic William of Prussia, with his territories still largely occupied by French garrisons, lacked the nerve to make an irrevocable decision. But the decision was taken out of his hands.

The Prussian contingent, hitherto serving as in alliance with the French, was under the command of the veteran General Yorck. Stein, a fugitive from the wrath of Napoleon, had been called by the Tsar into his counsels, and now exercised a strong influence with him. These two men gave the lead which changed the situation. Macdonald, with his column, recalled from the siege of Riga by the disaster of the Grand Army, accomplished a successful retreat into Prussian territory, and was on the point of calling upon Yorck to co-operate when he found himself compelled by the Prussian general's defection to withdraw hastily to Königsberg. Yorck, on his own responsibility, but with the enthusiastic support of the officers and men of his army, had concluded a convention with the Russians at Tauroggen. Influenced by Stein, the Tsar was once again resolved to resume his early rôle of liberator, in spite of a strong Russian opposition which would have preferred leaving Western Europe to take care of itself. Magnanimity might not have sufficed to bring him to this decision if he had been satisfied that Russian interests would be adequately secured otherwise; but if Napoleon should again terrorise the West into submission, it was more than probable that Russia would again find itself the object of attack. The liberation of North Germany by Russian aid could be justified as the most effective defensive policy for Russia. Yorck's convention withdrew the Prussian troops from the French alliance, and in effect handed over East Prussia to the Tsar, and the Tsar entrusted the government to Stein. Stein forthwith convoked an assembly for the purpose of calling the people of East Prussia to arms, himself acting in the name of the Tsar.

The Tsar in the Rôle of Liberator

Frederic William at first repudiated Yorck's action, but very soon found that the whole nation would be with him if he took the courageous course, and would almost certainly take that course itself whatever the Government might do. Within a month of the convention he had fled from Berlin, which was dominated by the French, to Breslau, which was not; and at the end of February he concluded the Treaty of Kalisch with the Tsar for war against Napoleon, the Tsar undertaking that the Prussian kingdom shoud be reinstated in its old extent, with equivalents in other quarters to compensate for particular curtailments; which meant mainly that German districts were to be substituted for Polish provinces which in effect would pass to Russia. To Prussia, it seemed that a heavy price was demanded. It was not realised that in becoming a Power wholly German, instead of largely Slavonic, she would be greatly advancing the ultimate prospects of German nationalism under Prussian hegemony; that, to this end, Prussia would be placed at an immense advantage as compared with Austria, within whose dominions both Magyars and Czechs stood entirely outside German nationalism.

Prussia and Russia against Napoleon

Even before the Treaty of Kalisch was concluded, Russian troops were pressing forward through Prussia, and the arming of the whole population was in progress. On March 4th, Beauharnais evacuated Berlin; on the 16th the Prussian declaration of war was formally proclaimed; on the 17th, the king issued an appeal to the nation which gave the signal for an overwhelming outburst of national enthusiasm. But when the allies issued another appeal to German sentiment outside Prussia, there was no similar response. Sweden was the only state which joined the coalition without hesitation, mainly, perhaps, because Bernadotte expected, as the outcome, to acquire Norway from Denmark, which was resolutely fixed in its adherence to Napoleon. But the effect on Prussia itself of Stein's influence, and of Scharnhorst's military organisation, became apparent when the short-service army was trebled by the trained reserves; and, behind these, Landwehr and Landsturm were taking up their training in yet greater numbers. A passion of patriotic ardour, of fervent self-sacrifice, for the whole German Fatherland, swept through Prussia, strangely rational and sober despite its intensity, which makes this Prussian movement, in its kind, perhaps the most nobly inspiring which history records.

It is hardly less startling to find that the armies of France, which had lost half a million men or little less in the last six months of 1812, were able still to muster half a million, besides the 200,000 left for Wellington to deal with in Spain. So confident was Napoleon of his own invincibility despite the experience of 1812, that he rejected Austria's offer of mediation, though Austria, with more prudent calculation, declined to render him the military aid which he demanded.

Napoleon took the offensive, and drove back the Russians and Prussians, defeating them first at Lützen and then at Bautzen; but the defeats were not of the old crushing character—neither of them approached to a rout. Nevertheless, Barclay, restored to the Russian command, could hardly be restrained from reverting to the purely Russian policy of falling back into Poland, by the consideration that this would destroy all prospect of Austria coming into the coalition. In June, Napoleon, trusting to the moral effect of Lützen and Bautzen on both Prussia and Austria, offered a truce, which was readily accepted. But he had now to deal not with the vacillating King of Prussia, but with her people; with the astute Metternich, who meant to have his price from one side or other, and saw more promise from the allies; and with Alexander, who, having again set his hand to the plough was not to be persuaded or alarmed into looking back. To Metternich the truce presented precisely the opportunity he desired of modifying the plans of the coalition in the Austrian interest. He was himself satisfied that Austria's adhesion to the

MARSHAL NEY DEFENDING THE REAR-GUARD IN THE RETREAT FROM MOSCOW

In the whole history of Napoleon's campaigns there is nothing more terrible or tragic than the experiences of his army during the ill-fated Russian expedition. Retreating from Moscow the Grand Army of the Emperor was subjected to great hardships and harassing attacks, these tremendously reducing the number of the men. The frosts came, and the retreat became a hideous nightmare, relieved only by the indomitable heroism of the rear-guard under Marshal Ney.
From the painting by Adolphe Yvon

coalition would assure it of the mastery; the more so when Great Britain concluded subsidiary treaties with Russia and Prussia, and news came of Wellington's decisive triumph at Vittoria. Metternich's mediation was provisionally accepted by both parties. But Napoleon was determined not to yield an inch of territory. Metternich would not demand less than the retrocession of the Illyrian Provinces to Austria, the partition of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw between Russia, Prussia, and Austria, and the restriction of the French dominion to the west of the Rhine, with his suzerainty over the Rhenish Confederacy. Napoleon's refusal of the terms threw Austria into the coalition: on August 12th she declared war.

The Allied Nations ready for War

The truce had helped the allies, especially Prussia, to increase their levies much more than Napoleon; and now to these were added the Austrian armies which threatened Napoleon's flank from Bohemia. The French numbers were far inferior, and were especially deficient in artillery and cavalry, the arms on which Napoleon placed most reliance. Still, they had the advantage of the central position in Saxony, and of the controlling master-mind.

The value of this was seen in the second great engagement which followed a fortnight after the renewal of the war, when, at Dresden, Napoleon won a brilliant victory over the main allied force. But its effect was neutralised by Blücher's defeat of Macdonald at Katzbach, in Silesia, on the previous day, and by the disaster, three days later, which befel Vandamme's column at Kulm. Sent to cut off the retreat of the allies, the force was unsupported, surrounded, and compelled to capitulate. And a week later Ney, who had advanced on Berlin, was decisively defeated at Dennewitz by Bülow. The allies now saw the way open to effect a junction on Napoleon's rear. Blücher from Silesia passed round the northern flank, and from that side, awaiting Bernadotte and Bülow, threatened Leipzig, whither the main army proposed to make its way from the south. Napoleon, finding it impracticable to pierce the Erz-Gebirge and attack the latter in Bohemia, left Murat, who had joined him again, to cover Leipzig, and went to destroy Blücher; but Blücher retired, evading battle, while the allies, under Schwarzenberg, pressed Murat back from the south. Napoleon found himself compelled to concentrate on Leipzig and accept battle.

"Battle of the Nations"

On October 16th began the three days' Battle of Leipzig, the "Battle of the Nations." On the south, Napoleon checked Schwarzenberg; on the north, Blücher drove in Marmont. The great fight was on the 18th. The French resistance was prolonged and desperate; but now Bernadotte, who had hampered rather than aided the movements of the allies, was arriving, and threatened to cut off the retreat which had become inevitable. The final result was a decisive rout, in which a part of Napoleon's army escaped across the Elbe, and a part was driven into the river. The series of battles cost Napoleon 45,000 men, besides 23,000 who were left behind in hospital.

Only 70,000 men recrossed the Rhine. Yet the allies had suffered so severely—more, numerically, than the French—that they were unable to carry on a pursuit. Some weeks before Leipzig the bearing of the Austrian intervention on the future of Germany manifested itself in the Treaty of Töplitz, which ratified the alliances. The intention of the Treaty of Kalisch had been to develop Stein's ideas of German nationalism at the expense of the princes of the Rhenish Confederation, who, from this point of view, had forfeited all claim to consideration. But to Metternich, the theories of Stein were an abomination. His scheme was not that of appealing to German sentiment and establishing free governments, but of detaching Napoleon's allies by promising them monarchical independence in place of monarchical subjection.

Germany's Future in the Balance

Little pleasing as the idea might be to the new nationalism, it was not without its appeal to the still influential body of monarchists and feudalists in Prussia; moreover, Austria's position in the coalition was too strong to permit of her being over-ruled. The Treaty of Töplitz embodied Metternich's principle; and its effect was seen in the early adhesion of Bavaria, which had been Napoleon's ally from the beginning, and in the marked inclination of the whole posse of princes to transfer their support to the allies. Leipzig was decisive. They came in, in haste to secure themselves the benefits of the Töplitz agreement. Those whom Napoleon had ejected were restored.

William of Orange was reinstated in Holland, no longer as stadtholder, but as king. Denmark was obliged to give up the French alliance, and to cede Norway to Sweden. And most of the fortified places held by French garrisons from the Vistula to the Rhine were soon forced to capitulate. Spain was already completely lost to Napoleon, and all that Soult could do was to offer a stubborn resistance to Wellington's entry into France through the Pyrenees.

Invading Armies in France

At Frankfort the allies held council in the second week of November. Blücher, as befitted the veteran who was popularly known as "Marshal Forward," was eager for an immediate invasion of France. Not so the diplomatists. They preferred to offer the Emperor terms, restricting France to her "natural boundaries"—the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Rhine. The monarchs were in some fear of the next development of the peoples, into whom the spirit of patriotism had breathed an alarming energy. The old dread of the Revolution was very much alive. Those terms would have satisfied all the Powers. After Moscow, Vittoria, and Leipzig, they were generous, and they represented nothing more than the accomplished fact. But even now Napoleon would not recognise that the odds had become too overwhelming. Perhaps he believed that his dynasty would be endangered if he came to terms otherwise than as a victor in the field. Perhaps he trusted to a collapse in the unanimity of the allies. Whatever his motive, he ignored what was now the predominating sentiment in France in favour of an honourable peace, while the allies had been careful in the form of their proposals to conciliate the amour propre of the French people.

By this time Wellington was on French soil, and his admirable control over the invading troops was producing a most favourable impression in Southern France. Even the obsequious Corps Législatif presented what was practically an address in favour of such a peace as was offered. But the Emperor was obdurate in maintaining larger demands, and on December 1st the offer of the allies was withdrawn. In January the invading armies entered France.

In the south of France, the duel between Soult and Wellington continued. In the south of Italy, Murat had dropped his brother-in-law's cause; in North Italy, the Austro-Bavarian agreement after Töplitz, by giving the Austrians free passage through the Tyrol, had made the position of Eugène Beauharnais practically untenable. On the north-east of France, the allied army of the north was entering Belgium. Their Grand Army of 250,000 men passed the Rhine at Basle and moved north-west on Champagne, while the eager Blücher with 90,000 crossed it in the neighbourhood of Coblentz, passed the Moselle and the Meuse, and advanced to effect a junction with Schwarzenberg. Napoleon was vastly outnumbered, for the campaigns of the last eighteen months must have cost him a million soldiers, and that he could still put an effective force in the field is explicable only when we remember that a great proportion of the soldiery employed on those campaigns was drawn, not from France, but from the subject and dependent states of Germany, Italy, and Poland. As it was, the force on which he was now reduced to relying was made up partly of indomitable veterans, but mainly of lads who had been too young to be called to arms before, of the generation which, born in the Year of Terror, was inevitably stamped by physical inferiority.

A Million Men Lost by Napoleon

Blücher Defeats the French

The Seine, which takes its course through Troyes to Paris, the Aube, which joins it a little below Troyes, and the Marne, which joins it just above Paris, all take their rise on the plateau from which the Grand Army was advancing. Napoleon's force lay between the Marne and the Seine, covering Paris. A vigorous offensive from Schwarzenberg was not to be expected, but Blücher was displaying his habitual energy. He was already nearing Schwarzenberg, when Napoleon struck at him and checked him at the end of January at St. Dizier and Brienne. But Blücher, reinforced, had double the numbers of the opposing column, and inflicted a severe defeat on it at La Rothière on February 1st, 1814. The victory was decisive enough to warrant his desire to march straight on Paris by the Marne and Chalons; but neither Austrians nor Russians wished the campaign to be in effect a Prussian triumph. For commissariat purposes, as it was alleged, it was resolved that the Grand Army should advance by the Seine and Blücher by the Marne—not too fast. They still wished, in fact, to give Napoleon the chance of accepting a peace. Austria was jealous of Prussia acquiring too much prestige; so was the Tsar. Austria was afraid of the Tsar insisting, in the hour of victory, on championing a Republican restoration, for he was the one monarch who had regarded the Revolution principles with favour. Frederic William shared Austria's fear. But Napoleon remained as determined as ever in demanding more than the most conciliatory of his foes would concede.

The Critical Position of the Emperor

In the second week of February, Blücher gave him his chance by endeavouring to break in between Napoleon at Troyes and Macdonald at Epernay, and to cut the latter off from Paris. The movement involved an extension of his column, which enabled the Emperor to inflict on it in detail a series of defeats which drove it back on Chalons and gave the young French conscripts a new confidence in themselves and in their mighty leader. Napoleon's temporary division encouraged Schwarzenberg to advance past Troyes, and the Emperor had to turn back and defeat him at Montereau instead of going on to complete Blücher's discomfiture, which was much less complete than Napoleon imagined.

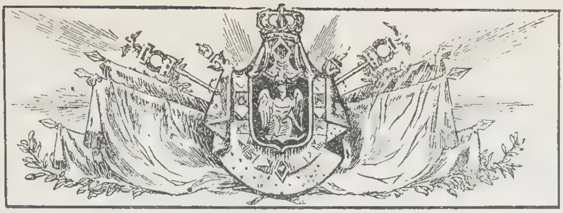
NAPOLEON ARRIVING AT ELBA IN 1814

Again the allies proposed an armistice; again Napoleon refused; though the former were continually receiving reinforcements, and the latter was not. The overtures being rejected, the allies renewed their treaty at Chaumont on March 1st. The fact that it was to hold good for twenty years suggests that even now they were not contemplating the total destruction of Napoleon's power in the immediate future. Meanwhile, however, the south-west was passing decisively to Wellington, and on March 12th the Royalists in Bordeaux proclaimed Louis XVIII. But what mattered more was that Blücher, by the end of February, was making a flank march on the north, with a view to effecting a junction with the Army of the North, which was now approaching, and of threatening Paris, while Schwarzenberg occupied Napoleon. The junction was effected at Soissons on March 4th. Napoleon attacked the united forces at Craonne and drove them back on Laon, where his success was reversed. The overwhelming pressure of the allies drove the Emperor to the desperate expedient of falling on Schwarzenberg's communications, thus leaving open the road to Paris for the Grand Army; and the Tsar resolved to disregard Napoleon's movement and advance on Paris itself. The covering corps under Marmont were shattered at La Fère Champenoise by the combined forces of the Tsar and Blücher on March 26th. Throughout the 30th a fierce but unequal contest raged in the environs of Paris, till Blücher's capture of Montmartre decided Marmont to act on the licence given him by Joseph Bonaparte, who was nominally in control of the city. Paris capitulated on the next day; it was evacuated by the French troops, and entered by the allied sovereigns. At last Napoleon found resistance hopeless. His marshals one and all gave him to understand that he must consider himself irretrievably beaten.

Napoleon Retires to Elba

He offered to abdicate, but still struggled to make conditions. The allies would listen to none. They, not he, must decide the future of France. For himself, he might retain the title of Emperor, a substantial but by no means imperial pension, and the sovereignty of the island of Elba. On April 11th, 1814, he yielded. On May 4th he was in Elba.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION & NAPOLEON



X

BY ARTHUR D. INNES, M.A.

THE SETTLEMENT OF EUROPE

NAPOLEON'S RETURN & FINAL OVERTHROW

THE Napoleonic era closes with the abdication in 1814. Fundamentally, the Emperor's return and the campaign of 1815 merely form an episode, intensely dramatic, but productive only of accidental effects, inasmuch as the return silenced the disputes between the Powers which were threatening to disturb Europe afresh, and the victory of Waterloo gave Great Britain an increased prestige in the councils of Europe. But the principles on which the Continent was settled in 1815 were no departure from the principles of 1814. We have therefore reached a convenient point for forming some estimate of what was actually accomplished by the Revolution and the Empire.

What the Revolution Accomplished

In the first place, the Revolution destroyed once for all in France the old system of aristocratic and clerical privilege. The aggressive Republic imposed the same principle on the subordinate republics which it created; and when Cæsarism replaced the French Republic, and Bonapartist dynasties the subordinate republics, the same principles continued to be maintained, and took permanent root. In Central Europe those principles had taken sufficient hold to enable Stein and Hardenberg and Stadion to carry reforms up to a point which gave a solid basis for further development, but stopped far short of what the reformers desired. Social feudalism had gone in the west, and its foundations in Germany were sapped.

Not so with monarchism. The Revolution effected only a temporary subversion of monarchism. The republics which it created became monarchies again, and so remained; yet those monarchies lacked their old prestige, and under them enough of the machinery of popular government survived to make the way ready for constitutionalism to eject absolutism.

The Tyranny of French Expansion

The Republic had extended liberty outside the borders of France, in the sense of calling peoples to active participation in the government of the state. It had destroyed liberty in the other sense—that it had imposed alien control. The Cæsarism put an end to the new liberty, and extended the imposition of alien control. Yet where that control was most complete it brought gifts, consistency in the form of law and in its administration. The dependent states were better governed when they were dependencies than when they were independent. Where the Nationalist idea was non-existent, where subordination to some external authority had been habitual, as in Italy and in Belgium, the French expansion, *per se*, was beneficial. Napoleon in his conquests and annexations merely carried out on a larger scale the policy of the Republic itself; and the Republic, intensely Nationalist as concerned France itself, recognised no Nationalism beyond its own borders. It was when the French expansion came into collision with Nationalism that it became a tyranny, which stirred patriotic resistance to a passion, and brought it to life where it had hitherto been virtually non-existent.

Napoleon's Ruined Scheme of Imperialism

Nationalism was a late birth of time. In England and Scotland it had been vigorous for 500 years, in France and Spain for 300, and in Holland for 200; but the system of the Holy Roman Empire was cosmopolitan in theory and practice, and the Nationalist idea remained no more than embryonic. Napoleon's conception of replacing the amorphous Holy Roman Empire by reviving a living empire of Charlemagne is not to be dismissed as the outcome of mere personal ambition: but it was doomed to failure in the long run precisely because it disregarded the Nationalism which, once awakened, could not be reconciled with cosmopolitan imperialism. The perfidy by which he seized Spain, the tyranny to which he subjected Prussia, raised

Nationalism into an irresistible antagonistic force which brought the whole imperial scheme to complete ruin.

The apologists for Napoleon have some warrant for claiming that the conception of such an empire, and the attempt to give it effect should be admired and applauded as being for the advantage of civilisation. The upholders of Nationalism are entitled to take the contrary view. For Great Britain, the assumption that the forces of the Napoleonic Empire, when its construction and organisation should be completed, would be devoted to her overthrow was so overwhelming that she had no choice but to resist Napoleon with her whole force. In the endeavour to crush her resistance Napoleon imposed, or tried to impose, upon Europe the Continental System, which inflicted on the Continent itself hardships which more than counterbalanced such benefits as were conferred by his consummately organised methods of administration. Added to this, the realisation of the imperial idea could be attained only through a series of wars, with all the evils thereof in proportion to the vast scale on which they had to be waged, destroying property, ruining industry, and draining every country in Europe of its most vigorous sons, leaving it in the main to those physically inferior to impart their defects to the next generation.

Great Britain's Resistance to Napoleon

JOACHIM MURAT

A general in the French army, he married a sister of Napoleon, and in 1808 was proclaimed King of the Two Sicilies. He was shot in 1815, after trial by court-martial.

The French Revolution, in spite of its own excesses and the monarchical reaction in which it ended, made the conception of civic freedom a part of the inheritance of future generations, not only in France, but throughout Europe. Napoleon, overriding but not uprooting civic freedom, set his seal on the revolutionary charter which abolished a caste system that was tightening its coils about Europe. His overthrow established the principle by which it was accomplished, that through neither Empire nor Provincialism, but through a healthy and tolerant Nationalism the progressive development of Europe must be achieved. The lesson was not learnt then; it was obstinately and repeatedly ignored in the century that followed, and each attempt to ignore it has ended in its more decisive confirmation. Perhaps in time it may come to be recognised universally and decisively, instead of only partially and occasionally.

Among the allies at the moment of Napoleon's abdication there were not a few prominent persons who entertained illusory hopes of a Nationalist development. They were doomed to disappointment; but the first business of the victorious Powers was the settlement of France. Neither Russia nor Great Britain viewed a Bourbon restoration with enthusiasm, but both wished the choice of the French themselves to be confirmed, and the Legitimists carried the day, with the warm approval of Austria and Prussia. Talleyrand, always a monarchist at heart, made himself the real controller of the situation. Louis XVIII., recalled from exile, entered Paris on April 29th, but the royalist victory was endangered at the outset by his reactionary tone. Under pressure from the Tsar he was induced to concede a Constitution by grace of the Crown.

On the hypothesis that the Revolution was over, and that France had returned to her legitimate Government, the legitimate Government made a treaty with the allies. The French frontier was withdrawn to its maximum pre-regicide limit, that of 1792, with some additions: Great Britain restored her conquests, except Mauritius, St. Lucia, and Tobago. The allied armies withdrew, and no indemnity was required. Broadly speaking, the whole period of the Republic and the Empire was wiped out as covering merely an unfortunate episode. It was provided at the same time that Holland should receive an increase of territory, and that Great Britain should restore the Dutch colonies—all of which she had captured—except the Cape and Demerara. The German princes were to have full sovereignty, but were to be federated; Italy was to be resolved into a congeries of independent states, except for a portion to be restored to Austria. The disinterested attitude of Great Britain was marked not only by her unique surrender of actual conquests, but by her insistence

Territories Restored by the Powers

on a clause in the treaty directed against the slave-trade. Other questions and details were to be referred to a congress which was to meet at Vienna in November. At that congress the five great Powers were represented respectively by Metternich, Hardenberg, Nesselrode, Castlereagh, and Talleyrand. Every European state, large or small, was represented, except Turkey. The four victorious Powers had agreed to reserve to themselves the decision of burning questions, but the diplomatic skill of Talleyrand not only added France herself to the four, but made him practically the most important of all the notable negotiators.

LOUIS XVIII OF FRANCE
The younger brother of Louis XVI., he became monarch on the fall of Napoleon in 1814. He ruled with severity, and when Napoleon returned from Elba, fled from Paris.

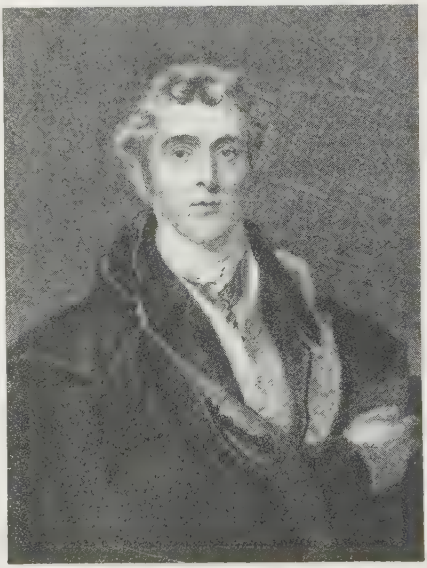
The congress had to reconstruct a Europe which had been decomposing and recomposing territorially and constitutionally at brief intervals for more than twenty years, and it had no intention whatever of allowing its reconstruction to be affected in the one field by Nationalism, or in the other by the principles of 1789. Talleyrand successfully gave them their keynote by offering them the principle of legitimism as the basis of harmony. It did not produce harmony, but it eliminated certain discordant possibilities. The treatment of Poland and Saxony and of German Nationalism became the crucial questions. Russia wanted Poland as a modest return for her disinterested efforts in the cause of Europe; but Prussia, if she were to lose her share of Poland, wanted Saxony by way of compensation; while the King of Saxony had forfeited all right to consideration by supporting Napoleon till his defeat at Leipzig. But in the Austrian view that would give

THE BEGINNING OF "THE HUNDRED DAYS": NAPOLEON'S RETURN FROM ELBA
Brooding in Elba, Napoleon saw the unpopularity of the Restoration régime in France, and he determined to make one more struggle with fate. Escaping from Elba, he landed near Cannes on March 1st, 1815, and appealed to the French nation's loyalty to its emperor. Though France, on the whole, acquiesced in his return, the old enthusiasm was lacking.
From the painting by Steuben

The Divided Kingdom of Saxony

Prussia too great a preponderance in Germany; nor did it meet with the approval of England and France, both of which disliked the advance westward of the Russian frontier. Matters reached a stage at which these three Powers entered into a compact to resist the undue aggrandisement of Russia and Prussia. Talleyrand's doctrine of legitimism, however, carried the day with the Tsar. The King of Saxony was allowed to retain half his kingdom, Prussia getting the other half, and, by way of compensation, the districts on the west which she held before Tilsit, together with the old ecclesiastical districts of Trèves and Cologne; and Danzig, Thorn and Posen, conceded by Russia, on the east. Protestant Prussia was rather troubled by the acquisition of the archbishoprics; neither she nor France realised that by having her frontier brought to the Rhine she was bound to become the protagonist in any Franco-German contest over frontiers, and to gain a corresponding predominance among the German states. We need not enter into further details of the territorial rearrangements in Germany, but some points remain to be noted. The promised extension of Holland gave her Belgium and Luxemburg; Austria thus ceased to rule over provinces coterminous with France. Victor Emanuel of Savoy recovered his provinces in North Italy, with his kingdom of Sardinia, while Austria recovered her northern provinces in that country, as well as the Tyrol from Bavaria. The rest of North Italy resumed its character as a congeries of small states, and the papal dominions were restored. Murat was permitted to retain Naples, but ruined himself by again going over to Napoleon on his return; he was deposed, and was finally captured in an attempt to recover Naples, and was executed; the Bourbons were reinstated in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Norway was transferred from Denmark to Sweden, which had lost Finland to Russia after Tilsit.

The restoration of Ferdinand VII. in Spain, and of the House of Braganza in Portugal, resulted, in both countries, in the Government which presented in its extremest form the monarchical reaction against those "principles of 1789" which had been so completely predominant in the war of liberation.



THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON
By his great victory at the Battle of Waterloo, in 1815, this famous general broke for ever the power of Napoleon and rid Europe of the disturber of its peace. A grateful nation covered him with honours, and in 1827 he became Prime Minister. He died in 1852.

France Tired of Napoleon

The hardest disappointment was reserved for the German patriots who had revivified Prussia under the inspiration of German Nationalism. They had looked for a reorganisation which would establish German unity, or, at least, two vigorous federations, headed by Austria and Prussia respectively, if the conflicting claims of those two Powers to the hegemony could not be reconciled. Stein and his allies had looked further for the completion of the work in which Stein himself had been stayed by the intervention of Napoleon, of developing constitutional government and free institutions. All these hopes were dashed. Some two score of principalities, whose "legitimate" sovereigns were restored with sovereign rights uncurtailed, were associated in a headless confederation which lacked even the semblance of unity provided by the defunct Holy Roman Empire. Not German unity but the total suppression of the "principles of 1789" was the one requirement of Austria under the sinister guidance of Metternich. While the diplomatists wrangled and collogued, a catastrophe was preparing which came near to shattering the whole edifice they were constructing. France had regarded the fall of the Emperor with something like relief; the strain of the last eighteen months had been too exhausting, and Napoleon's obstinate refusal to accept honourable terms had

THE EPOCH-MAKING BATTLE OF WATERLOO: THE FRENCH CUIRASSIERS CHARGING THE BRITISH SQUARES

From the painting by Felix Philippoteaux in the Victoria and Albert Museum created a reaction against him. But the peace and the Bourbon restoration brought back to France immense numbers of veteran soldiers who had been prisoners of war, and gave the Royalists the opportunity of flaunting their determination to carry the reaction back beyond 1789, and more particularly of procuring the restitution of the property which had changed hands in the Revolution. In the intense and increasing unpopularity of the Restoration régime, Napoleon, brooding in Elba, saw his chance of making one more struggle with fate. Eluding the vigilance of the warder frigates, he succeeded in embarking, landing near Cannes on March 1st, and appealing to the French nation's loyalty to its emperor.

Napoleon's Last Struggle with Fate

There was a critical moment when the garrison of Grenoble was marched out against him. With theatrical instinct he bade them fire upon him if any among them sought his death; they responded with enthusiastic shouts. In that hour the soldiery took him back to their hearts; loyalist marshals and generals had to flee for their lives as he progressed triumphantly towards Paris. Louis was not behindhand in dramatic fervour; he announced that he would remain steadfast and die to protect his people. Having said which, he incontinently ran away to Ghent. On March 20th the Emperor was back in Paris. Ney had gone out to destroy him, and had joined him with all his troops instead.

Napoleon declared that he had come back not to embroil Europe, but to save the Revolution. It is conceivable that this was his intention at the moment; it is not conceivable that it would have remained so for long. The Powers, at any rate, declined to take the risk. They refused to recognise him, and a week before he reached Paris declared him the public enemy of Europe. Their wrangles were brought to a sudden end in the face of common danger. In a treaty on March 25th, each of them agreed to put 150,000 men in the field, and maintain war until Napoleon should be effectively deposed and removed from all possibility of troubling the world. Whether he wished for war or not, he must either fight or go.

Napoleon the Enemy of Europe

With the army at his back, whatever the sentiment of the rest of France might be, there was no sort of doubt that he would fight. France, on the whole, acquiesced in his return, but without unanimity or general enthusiasm. He gave it to be understood that he intended to rule not as an autocrat, but constitutionally. It was evident that a revival of despotism would meet with active resistance, and there were many men in France, as well as outside, who felt that no confidence could be placed in assurances of good intentions. But in any case, Napoleon was once more de facto lord of France, and the attitude of the Powers required him to organise his forces and strike before the armies of Europe were gathered together against him.

In June, the Emperor had concentrated his forces, some 124,000 men, on the Belgian frontier at Valenciennes. Great Britain had thrown 36,000 troops into Holland. Combined with these were 22,000 Brunswickers, 20,000 Dutch and Belgians, 6,000 of the King's German Legion, and minor contingents. Wellington had under his command something over 90,000 men, with his headquarters at Brussels. Blücher had 120,000 men, nearly all Prussians, with their base at Namur. The rest of the allies had not yet brought up their forces. The Prussian van had advanced as far as Charleroi, and Wellington had not combined with them, when Napoleon began his advance. Space forbids us here to enter on the endless discussions as to what each of the generals may have intended to do. The primâ facie interpretation of the campaign must suffice. Napoleon struck straight at the Prussians, with the object of driving them back on Namur, and cutting them off from a junction with Wellington, at whom he could then strike, crushing him or driving him back on Brussels. The destruction first of one army and then of the other could then be completed in detail, before the appearance of the allies.

Napoleon Again on the Battlefield

On June 15th, then, Napoleon advanced on Charleroi, while it was Wellington's expectation that his blow would be directed not to severing the British from Blücher, but to cutting the communications of that Power with the sea. From Charleroi he drove back the Prussian van.

Blücher took up a strong position at Ligny. Wellington was tardy in his movements. Ney was despatched north with a column to secure the cross-roads at Quatre-Bras on the Brussels road, blocking Wellington's advance, and from that point to descend south-eastwards by the Namur road on Blücher's rear, while Napoleon himself made the main attack on Blücher. Ney found Quatre-Bras weakly held by the Prince of Saxe-Weimar, who had seized it without orders.

Ney, however, on the one hand, expected the support of a corps under D'Erlon, who received contradictory instructions, and hovered all day between Quatre-Bras and Ligny without rendering help in either quarter; and, on the other hand, the Dutch were reinforced by British regiments, who retrieved the position. Meantime, Napoleon attacked Blücher, and, after a stubborn fight, compelled the Prussians at last to retreat under cover of darkness. The victory at Quatre-Bras prevented the defeat at Ligny from becoming a disaster; but Napoleon's object of severing the hostile armies seemed to have been accomplished.

The Decisive Battle of Waterloo

Under this impression, Napoleon lost valuable hours in delaying either to press on after Blücher or to advance against Wellington. Moreover, he was misled by the intelligence he received on the 17th into believing that Blücher was retiring on the line of his communications to Namur; whereas the valiant Prussian had resolved to effect the junction with Wellington, risking his exposed communications, and was retiring upon Wavre, northwards, parallel to the road from Quatre-Bras to Brussels. Wellington called in his troops from Quatre-Bras and took up his position on the ridge at Waterloo.

Soon after midday on June 17th, Grouchy was detached with 33,000 men to find Blücher. It was not till after midnight that the pursuing force learned definitely that their quarry was not at Namur, but at Wavre. Napoleon himself advanced against Wellington. The crisis had arrived. It was primâ facie improbable that Wellington could inflict a defeat on his adversary, who had a slightly larger force and very much stronger artillery. Moreover, of Wellington's 67,000 men, only 24,000 were British, and those for the most part were young recruits; his Hanoverians and Brunswickers could be relied on—they were burning to avenge the death of the Duke of Brunswick at Quatre-Bras—but the rest, for the most part, were of very uncertain quality. The great questions were, for the Prussians, whether Wellington would hold on at Waterloo or beat a retreat; for Wellington, whether the Prussians would be able to come to his help at all, and if at all, whether he could hold out till they came.

Wellington's Brilliant Defence

Wellington's troops were drawn up, screened by the summit of their ridge, and occupied the slopes, in front the château of Hougomont, guarding their left, and the farm of La Haye Sainte on the centre. A valley lay between them and Napoleon's army on the fronting ridge. The Emperor, not believing in the possibility of Blücher's arrival, delayed his attack till near midday on Sunday, June 18th, because the drenched state of the ground was unfavourable to the cavalry movements on which he relied.

Fierce attacks on Hougomont and La Haye Sainte, gallantly repulsed, were the features of the early stages of the Battle of Waterloo. But Grouchy had failed to interpose his force between Wellington and Blücher, and the fact that Prussians were approaching was ascertained before the fight had been going on for two hours. A dispatch was sent to Grouchy, recalling him to the main army, but it did not reach him till too late.

It became evident that if Wellington was to be routed before reinforcements arrived, his centre must be pierced. Masses of troops in dense columns were hurled against it and rolled back by the stubborn fire of the infantry and charges of British cavalry. At about 4.30, the fury of the attack began to be redoubled, and still charge after charge was hurled back by the obstinate, unyielding British squares, and shattered by the flank fire of the extended British line on the massed columns.

The Last Attack of the Old Guard

It was probably not till after six o'clock that La Haye Sainte, resolutely held by the King's German legion, was decisively carried. But by that hour Blücher's approach had withdrawn the reserves which should have occupied the captured ground. Still, though the Prussians were now threatening the French flank, they had not yet arrived in such force but that the field might yet be won if the British could be routed in a last desperate effort. That desperate effort was made. The Old Guard was hurled up the slope, only to be hurled back, broken and shattered. The Prussians were already in touch with Wellington's left. The Duke gave the order for a general advance; the cavalry, hitherto to a great degree withheld from action, fell upon the staggering column. The Prussians, crashing in on the French right, turned what was already becoming a rout into a wild "sauve-qui-peut," and carried far into the night a pursuit in which the exhausted British could not share. Napoleon's army had ceased to exist. There are English critics who would have it that Wellington would have defeated Napoleon if there had been no Blücher. There are German critics who would have it that nothing but Blücher's arrival saved Wellington from utter disaster. There are Bonapartist critics who hold that Napoleon would have destroyed both Wellington and Blücher but for the incompetence of his own marshals. And there are critics from whom one would gather that the most characteristic feature of this most decisive of battles, in which the two most uniformly successful commanders since the days of Marlborough and Eugene were pitted against each other, lay in the blunders that each of them committed. The last point hardly demands discussion. As for the third, if Grouchy and Ney held commands for which Soult and Davoust were better fitted, it was by Napoleon's own choice.

Napoleon's Great Army Annihilated

For the other two, it was Wellington's business to hold his position till Blücher arrived, and to be prepared for the contingency of Blücher's not arriving. It is by no means inconceivable that if the approach of the Prussians had not drawn off Napoleon's reserves, the position would have become untenable before the end of the day. It is also conceivable that the doggedness of Wellington's troops would even in the same event have proved invincible; also that he might in any case have been able to retire, defeated, but not routed. The obvious fact is that Wellington with the British, the Hanoverians and Brunswickers, and the German legion, held Napoleon at bay for half a day while Blücher completed the dangerous and daring movement which turned a stubborn defence into an overwhelming victory.

Flight of the Emperor to Paris

The Emperor fled to Paris, to find Carnot practically the only man still zealous that France should and could yet once more be rallied to his support. Fouché, crafty, self-seeking, indispensable, was at one with Lafayette in insisting on the Chambers being treated as the supreme authority. Paris gave no hope, and there was none outside Paris. Napoleon abdicated in favour of the son born to him by his Austrian spouse, attempted to embark on an American frigate at Rochefort, and finding that impossible, surrendered himself on July 8th to the commander of the British warship Bellerophon, declaring that he threw himself on the generosity of England. But generosity carried too many risks for Europe to be contemplated by England or assented to by the Powers. In the mid-Atlantic, where stands the lonely rock of St. Helena, the sun of Napoleon set for ever.

The last desperate effort, crushed on the Field of Waterloo, made no difference to the settlement of Vienna save as regarded France herself. Wellington and Blücher swept on to Paris. On July 3rd the city capitulated. On the 8th, Louis XVIII. re-entered the capital, and was recognised by Wellington. The monarch was quite capable of grasping the necessity of adopting a much more constitutional attitude than at his last restoration. Talleyrand convinced the Tsar that the choice lay between Louis and Napoleon, and Napoleon was impossible. That being settled, the question of the penalty to be imposed upon France arose, and here the cool judgment of the victor of Waterloo carried the day. The natural wrath of Prussia must be restrained—the dynastic restoration would be doomed if it were accompanied by the territorial losses which that Power called for. Something was taken; the boundaries not of 1792 but of 1790 were granted. France was to remain one of the Great Powers.

France's Monarchy Restored

These considerations outweighed the demands of Prussia for a rectification of the frontier which would have ended the military possibility of renewed aggression by France, and would hardly have given Prussia herself an excessive compensation for all that she had endured and all that she had lost. Finally, her fortresses were to be occupied by the allied troops for five years, she was to pay a heavy war indemnity, and was to restore to their rightful owners the art treasures which Napoleon had annexed. The settlement was finally confirmed, on November, 1815, in the Treaty of Paris, which in other respects was a practical confirmation of the settlement arrived at by the Congress of Vienna.

Arthur D. Innes

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND IN THE NAPOLEONIC WARS

By H. W. C. Davis, M.A.

SELDOM has a coup d'état proved more successful than that by which George III. destroyed the power of the Whigs in 1783. His old servant North had joined with Charles James Fox, the most advanced of parliamentarians, to form a coalition Ministry, and the allies seemed to have the Crown at their mercy, since they controlled an assured majority in the House of Commons. But by their ill-advised attempt to obtain control of the Indian patronage they drew upon themselves the suspicion of meditating an unparalleled system of jobbery. The king was able to turn them out of office on the pretext of a defeat which they had sustained in the Upper House through his influence with the Lords; and the younger Pitt, a stripling of twenty-five, whom he called into power because it was impossible to obtain a more experienced lieutenant, was able by skilful management to carry the country with him at the next general election. The nation was weary of the Whigs, and of Ministers who were mere figureheads. It recognised in Pitt something of the great qualities which had distinguished his father. He became, accordingly, a popular dictator; and, justifying his great position by the success of his financial and foreign policy, he remained in office until 1801. It was the longest and most powerful Ministry since Walpole's time.

The Whigs' Fall From Power

The relations of the king with the Prime Minister were friendly. Even if George III. had been disposed to rebel against the ascendancy of his chosen adviser, he could not have dispensed with Pitt except at the price of submission to the Whigs. But he was never forced to consider this alternative. He found in Pitt an adviser of conservative temperament, who was guiltless of any designs to curtail the royal prerogative; and after 1788, when his mind began to be clouded by intermittent insanity, the king left everything to his adviser. Pitt had entered politics as a reformer. The early measures of his administration went far towards gratifying the expectation which he had excited by his speeches as a private member. From the first he showed himself a master of finance. He undertook with energy the thankless task of liquidating the liabilities incurred in the American war. He brought forward, though he was not able to carry, a measure for the redistribution of parliamentary seats, proposing to increase the representation of London and the largest counties by disfranchising a number of pocket boroughs. He was also prepared, upon certain conditions, to give French commerce a more favourable treatment in the present with the offer of complete equality in the future; but on this plan also he was out-voted.

Pitt as Prime Minister

The Problem of National Defence

The theory of party government was still immature. A Prime Minister could not in Pitt's time count upon the support of his party for every legislative proposal; nor did he conceive himself obliged to treat the defeat of his Bills as a command to retire. So long as his administrative policy was approved by Parliament, he could retain his position. Pitt might have threatened to resign if his reforms were not carried; but he preferred to relinquish them and remain in power. This has been made a charge against him. But the principles on which he acted were those of all Prime Ministers before him, and for some time afterwards. He hoped, no doubt, that time would convert his minority into a majority. As a matter of fact, the course of time brought new problems much more pressing than those of internal reform; and, after 1793, every other consideration was perforce subordinated to that of national defence. The initial stages of the French Revolution were generally viewed in England with indifference or approbation. Fox and his friends, the remnant of the Whig party, applauded the fall of the Bastille as an event which heralded the dawn of a new and brighter era in the history of mankind. Pitt considered that the Revolution was a crisis of purely national significance which need not interest other countries. He welcomed it, but solely because it offered the prospect of a lasting peace. For some time, he thought, the aggressive policy which the French monarchy had so long pursued towards the rest of Europe would be out of the question. His attention was concentrated upon financial reforms which could be effected only in a prolonged period of peace. The sinking fund by which he hoped to extinguish the national debt was not expected to produce its effects in less than fifteen years.

How Britain Regarded the Revolution

At first it seemed as though the Revolution would fulfil Pitt's anticipations. France did not come to the help of Spain in the affair of Nootka Sound in 1790, and Dumouriez, the first Foreign Minister of talent whom the Revolution produced, was anxious to obtain an English alliance. But Dumouriez was at the same time meditating war on Austria; and all other party leaders in France were united in desiring, for one reason or another, that the Revolution should throw down the gauntlet to Europe. The Royalists thought that war would be the ruin of the Republican cause; the Republicans looked upon war as the best means of identifying their interests with those of the nation. The opening of the Scheldt in defiance of all treaties, and the propagandist decree of the Convention in November, 1792, promising assistance to any nations which would revolt against their Governments, were a direct challenge to Europe, and early in 1793 they were followed by a declaration of war upon England. The pretext was found in Pitt's protests against the measures of 1792; the real motive was the desire to find employment for the armies of Dumouriez, which were as dangerous to France as to foreign Powers.

British Clamour for Vengeance

The British nation was far from sharing Pitt's aversion to a war. The execution of Louis XVI. had produced a thrill of horror; the king and Pitt were followed through the streets by crowds clamouring for vengeance. Edmund Burke fanned the flame. He had attacked the Revolution in his "Reflections" as long ago as 1790. He represented it as a madness which, unless roughly repressed, would spread, and sap the foundations of European society. There was, indeed, some reason to fear that Jacobin doctrines would take hold upon the industrial population of the English manufacturing towns. England was passing through a period of bad harvests and commercial depression. Wages were low; in some localities there was actual famine; and it was known that clubs professing sympathy with the Revolution had been formed in more than one centre. The war was therefore regarded as a war of self-defence, and in that spirit it was undertaken by Pitt.

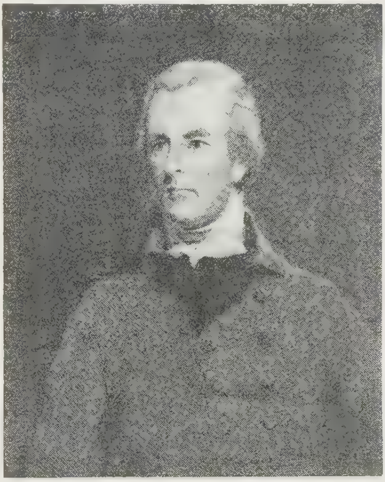
Britain was at war with France from 1793 to the Treaty of Amiens in 1801, at first as member of a coalition which included more than half the Powers of Europe. But the coalition was from the beginning composed of Powers with divided aims. To Prussia and Austria the question of Poland seemed more important than that of France; and the Jacobin administration, guided by the skilful hand of Carnot, was able not only to clear France of invaders, but even to undertake conquests. The Austrian Netherlands, Holland, and the west bank of the Rhine, fell a prey to the Republic in 1794. Holland was converted into a republic under French protection; Prussia retired from the war and was followed by a number of the lesser German states in 1795; Spain became the active ally of France. There remained in the coalition only Austria, Sardinia, and Britain; and Bonaparte's invasion of Italy in 1796 had the immediate effect of detaching Sardinia. The French victories of Lodi, Arcola, Rivoli, and La Favorita, enabled Bonaparte to impose terms of peace upon Austria in 1797. From that time till 1799 Britain stood alone.

Britain and France at War

But the formation of the second coalition—with Austria and Russia—at length enabled her to conclude a peace upon favourable terms. In the early part of the war Pitt pursued a policy which was expensive and unsuccessful. He maintained in the Netherlands an army of 10,000 men, which was incompetently commanded by the Duke of York, the king's second son; he showered subsidies upon the Continental allies, spending for this purpose upwards of £9,000,000.

The desirability of waging a maritime war appears to have forced itself upon Pitt's mind only by slow degrees. But the British navy had never been in a better condition. The reorganisation effected by Hawke had borne lasting fruits; Rodney and Howe proved themselves worthy pupils of this great master.

An army, on the other hand, had still to be created; and it was in the preliminary work of raising, equipping, and training troops that Abercrombie, Moore, and Wellesley, who afterwards distinguished themselves in the field against the best French leaders, were for a long time to be absorbed. But even the naval war was not really begun before 1797, when the victory of Jervis off Cape St. Vincent annihilated the Spanish fleet; and it was only the mutinies of Spithead and the Nore, in the same year, which forced the Government to abandon an ill-advised system of economy under which the crews had been insufficiently paid and fed.



WILLIAM PITT

This great parliamentary leader and Prime Minister was the second son of the Earl of Chatham. He showed himself a master of finance, and won the nation's confidence. He died in 1806, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Holland's Fleet Captured by Britain

Pitt Driven into War

After the mutinies, indeed, there followed a period of wonderful successes. Duncan defeated the Dutch at Camperdown in October, 1797; in 1798, Nelson, by the Battle of the Nile, ruined Bonaparte's schemes for the conquest of Egypt and the Levant. In the war of the second coalition (1799–1801) Pitt pursued a sounder course than formerly. He left the reconquest of Italy, Switzerland, and the Rhine to the land Powers, and made it the business of Britain to maintain her supremacy at sea. This was brilliantly vindicated by the battle of Copenhagen; the surrender of the Danish fleet put an end to the armed neutrality of the northern Powers, by which Bonaparte had anticipated that he would bring Britain to her knees. When peace was signed at Amiens, Britain reaped the fruits of sea power; while surrendering the bulk of her colonial conquests she retained Trinidad and Ceylon. These renunciations, made at the expense of Spain and Holland, cost little to France, although the acquisition of Ceylon was a blow to the chimerical project, long entertained by Bonaparte, of disputing the British supremacy in India. But Trinidad and Ceylon were acquisitions of the first importance to Britain, and may even be regarded as an equivalent for the vast sums lavished on the European war. The war was one into which Pitt had been driven against his will. His successor, Addington, may therefore be excused for insisting upon an indemnity; nor was it reprehensible that the indemnity should be taken from Holland and Spain, Powers which in the latter stages of the war had been arrayed on the side of France. The great event of internal history in this period of war is the union with Ireland. The Act of Union was Pitt's solution for grievances and dangers which had been accumulating since the Revolution, and a brief retrospect is necessary to understand the circumstances under which he felt justified in bribing the Irish Parliament to commit suicide.

The Irish were, in the eighteenth century, a disunited people. There was the old feud of Catholic and Protestant, at bottom as much a feud of races as of religions. There was also the feud between the nationalists and the representatives of English rule, which went far, at the end of the century, towards obliterating religious and racial differences. Last, and more deeply rooted than either of these, there was the feud between the landlord and tenant, which could be traced back to the days of the plantation policy, and was kept alive by the absenteeism of the ordinary Irish landowner.

Of all the grievances which Ireland cherished against England, that connected with religion was the most reasonable. In 1691, the Treaty of Limerick, which concluded the "Glorious" Revolution so far as Ireland was concerned, had given an express promise of relief to Roman

Catholics. So far was this promise from being observed that the Test Act, never before applied to Ireland, was immediately afterwards accepted and enforced by the Whig majority of the Irish Parliament. Immediately afterwards began a period of penal legislation (1795–1815), which is happily unparalleled in the history of Great Britain. Under the penal acts no Catholic parent might send his children to be educated abroad, and no Catholic teacher might set up a school. The lands of a Catholic, instead of passing to the eldest son, were equally divided among the children, unless one of them happened to be a Protestant, in which case he was entitled to the whole. No Catholic might acquire land from a Protestant, or own a horse of a value greater than £5, or keep weapons in his house for the purpose of self-defence. It was a penal offence for any Catholic ecclesiastic to enter the country from abroad. Any attempt to convert a Protestant was punished as a crime.

The Persecution of Irish Roman Catholics

For these and other measures the blame must be laid, in the first instance, on the Irish Protestants, whose fanaticism was sharpened by the wildest fears and suspicions. But the English Government, which could easily have withheld the royal assent from such legislature, cannot be acquitted of responsibility. The persecution was the more inexcusable, because neither in 1715 nor in 1745 did the Irish Catholics show any inclination to throw in their lot with the House of Stuart.

It must be admitted that many of the penal acts were so atrocious as to defeat their own purpose. The law officers did their best to avoid prosecutions; juries could be induced to convict only with the greatest difficulty. But the Acts were galling. They held a sword of Damocles over the heads of the Catholics, who, being without representatives in Parliament and disqualified for the franchise, felt that at any moment an outburst of persecuting zeal might make their condition intolerable. The Protestant tyranny was the more odious because it excluded a large proportion of the Irish Protestants from all public employments. This was the result of the Test Act, which the Irish Anglicans refused to relax in favour of other Protestant sects. In fact, it was not until 1719 that liberty of public worship was accorded to the Presbyterians.

Ireland's Reign of Intolerance

The political grievances of Ireland were in part connected with Poynings' Law (1492) and the Declaratory Act of 1721. By Poynings' Law the assent of the English Privy Council was necessary before any Bill could be introduced in the Irish Parliament. By the Declaratory Act the English Parliament claimed the right of legislating for Ireland. Even more galling, however, was the position of the viceroy. In Ireland he took the place of the sovereign and was not responsible to Parliament; but at the same time he was a member of the English Ministry, and compelled to regard interests other than Irish in his administration. Some viceroys, such as Lord Chesterfield in 1745, were disinterested and solicitous for Irish interests; but even the best of them could not resist the pressure of their English colleagues, who treated the Irish patronage and pension fund as a part of their resources for purchasing English supporters.

Signs of a national opposition to England showed themselves about the middle of the century. In Parliament it is true that the Opposition was no less unprincipled than the Castle party. A number of the great Irish families combined to prove the market value of their services by obstructing Government measures. The only result was a further increase of parliamentary corruption. The Castle at first tried the plan of periodically buying the Opposition, and finally adopted the safer plan of building up a rival combination by means of wholesale bribery. More effective was the opposition in the country.

National Opposition to England

About 1760 the secret societies, formed by peasants to resist tithes, enclosures, and demands for the arrears of rent, became a serious difficulty. They were not at first political, but through them the agricultural classes received an apprenticeship in concerted resistance to authority. More formidable was the Catholic Committee formed in 1759, which pressed for the repeal of the disabling laws. The Government, fearing a stoppage of the supply of Irish recruits for the army, made some slight concessions in 1771 and again in 1778. But the Catholics were still unsatisfied, and they now combined with the party of Nationalists which Flood and Grattan were forming in the Irish Parliament. The difficulties of the American War enabled this coalition to press its demands with irresistible force.

The fear of a French invasion compelled the Government to sanction the enrolment of volunteer corps. These were composed of Protestants, but soon fell under the influence of the Nationalists in politics. Numbering 50,000, they had the Government at their mercy, since no regular troops could be spared for Ireland. There was no rioting and no use of overt threats. But the volunteers in every part of the country held monster meetings, and everywhere formulated the same demands. One of these was for free trade with England, and for the removal of the legislation by which the cloth manufacture and other Irish industries had been depressed in the interests of England. Free trade was conceded by Lord North in 1779, but the clamour for Home Rule became only more urgent, since North's action was rightly interpreted as a proof of weakness. The volunteers rapidly increased in numbers; new measures of Catholic relief and the passing of the Habeas Corpus Act for Ireland in 1782 failed to satisfy them. Fox and North, on coming into power, resolved that the independence of the Irish Parliament must be recognised. This was accordingly done, the English legislature repealing the Declaratory Act and passing an Act of Renunciation in 1783.

AN IRISH PATRIOT

Henry Grattan was a member of the Irish Parliament, and opposed the movement which ended in the rebellion of 1798. He afterwards sat in the Imperial Parliament.

Addington Grenville

EMINENT POLITICIANS IN THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.

Speaker of the House of Commons from 1789 till 1801, Henry Addington was invited to form a Ministry upon the resignation of Pitt. His administration came to an end in 1804, and in the following year he was created Viscount Sidmouth. Lord Grenville, another eminent Parliamentarian, formed the Government of "All the Talents."

Unfortunately for Ireland and for England, the settlement which the coalition Ministry had thus effected was hasty and unworkmanlike. The future relations of the two Parliaments were left ambiguous. It was clear that Ireland was to be subordinate to England in all questions of foreign relations. But no provision had been made for an Irish contribution to military and naval expenses. And if the Irish Parliament chose to frame a protective tariff, it was legally entitled to present such a measure for the royal assent. Pitt's generous proposals for a commercial settlement were foiled by the factious opposition of the English Whigs and the impracticable temper of the Irish Parliament. Equally unsatisfactory were the relations of the latter body with the disfranchised majority of the Irish nation. The Protestant oligarchy consented to give Catholics the franchise, but it would not admit them to Parliament; under these circumstances the Catholic franchise was a mere mockery, and the Catholic gentry felt little sympathy with the cause of national independence. It was, however, the French Revolution which gave the first shock to the settlement of 1783. The Irish received the doctrines of Rousseau and Paine with the same enthusiasm which they had shown for the preaching of the Counter-Reformation. The United Irishmen, a society controlled by Wolfe Tone, Napper Tandy, Emmett, and Fitzgerald, which had originally contented itself with demanding parliamentary reform and a full measure of Catholic emancipation, turned for help to the French Government. The leaders were Protestants or Rationalists, but they were joined by a large proportion of discontented Catholics: and in 1798, having received promises of a French invasion, they raised the standard of revolt in Ulster and Leinster. The Protestants, however, rallied to the cause of the Government. The largest force collected by the rebels was routed at Vinegar Hill, near

Enniscorthy; the French force arrived too late, and though it landed in Connaught and gained one victory, was soon forced to surrender for lack of support.

Passing of the Act of Union

The rebellion proved that the Protesant ascendancy had failed to conciliate the Catholics. Pitt believed, rightly or wrongly, that Catholic emancipation would never be completed by a Protestant Irish Parliament, from the fear that the Catholic ascendancy which must result would be turned to account vindictively, and he resolved to prepare the way for removing all religious disabilities by fusing the Irish legislature with that of Great Britain. No doubt the impracticable behaviour of the Irish leaders in their dealings with England made him more inclined to accept this solution. The nightmare of an independent Ireland declaring war upon England had haunted the minds of Englishmen for many years.

To an unbiassed critic it may seem that the same methods of persuasion which sufficed to procure the Act of Union might equally well have procured measures for Irish parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation. Inevitable or not, the Act of Union was framed, and it passed the Irish Parliament in 1800, under a fire of eloquent protests from every independent member in both Houses. It gave Ireland a hundred seats in the United House of Commons and thirty-two in the House of Lords, established absolute free trade between the two countries, and fixed the Irish contribution to the revenue of the United Kingdom at two-fifteenths. It left the Irish judicature and executive untouched, but united the Irish Church and Army to those of England.

The Question of Catholic Emancipation

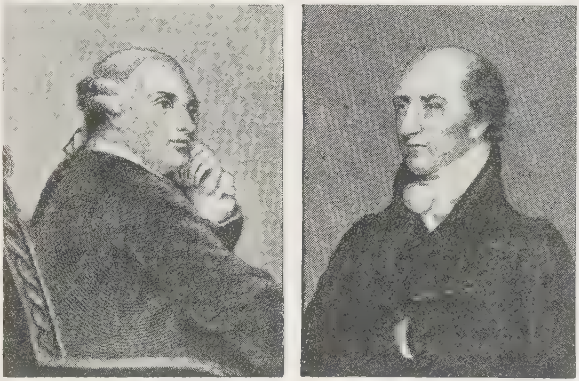
The promise of Catholic emancipation remained a dead letter till 1829. George III. refused to hear of any measure of relief, and Pitt accordingly retired from office. He did not return until 1804, when the country was again at war with France. He then gave up the Catholic cause on the ground that a revival of the question would be fatal to the old king's unsettled reason. The circumstances were peculiar, and historians have hesitated to accuse Pitt of bad faith. The fact remains that he missed a possible opportunity of reconciling the Irish Catholics to the Union. The Peace of Amiens was a mere armistice, which Bonaparte had no intention of observing. He declined to withdraw his armies from Holland and Italy; he occupied Switzerland on the pretext of mediating in a civil war; he refused to offer the United Kingdom any satisfaction or compensation for these breaches of faith.

She, on her part, refused to surrender Malta, as she had promised at Amiens, until the First Consul fulfilled his part of the treaty. Malta was of vital importance in case of war with France. The Cape was in French hands; the only safe route to India lay, therefore, through the Mediterranean. The struggle with France was assuming the same character as the wars of 1740–1763; in the future little was to be heard of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, but much of sea-power, colonies, and commerce.

The Crowning Victory of Trafalgar

War was declared by the Addington Ministry in May, 1803. The challenge was answered by an embargo on British shipping, and preparations for a descent upon England. A flotilla was prepared with this object at Boulogne; the combined French and Spanish fleets were instructed to draw the British admirals off to the West Indies, and then, giving them the slip, to return and cover the invasion. Nelson fell into the trap, but Calder met the returning fleet of Villeneuve at Finisterre, and won a victory, which gave Nelson time to return from his chase and refit his ships. In October, 1805, Nelson met Villeneuve off Cape Trafalgar, and won a crowning victory. More than half the French fleet were put out of action, and Villeneuve was taken prisoner. The victory cost Nelson's life, but it removed the fear of invasion; the prodigious successes of Napoleon on land brought him no nearer to his ultimate ambition of reducing England and appropriating her empire.

Pitt died in 1806, prematurely worn out by his exertions and heart-broken at the apparent failure of his policy. His loss was inestimable, for he had been the soul of each successive coalition against France, and had maintained an unshaken hold upon the confidence of the nation. The Ministry of All the Talents (1806–1807), which succeeded him, failed to secure a peace; Fox died nine months after his great rival, and the Ministry resigned because it refused to pledge itself to silence on the question of Catholic emancipation. George III. was driven to fall back on the support of the Tories, and it was this party which finally brought the war to a successful conclusion. They remained in power for twenty-three years. They saved Britain from Napoleon, and afterwards came near to involving her in a civil war. They provided her with a Wellington and a Canning; but they also saddled her with a Liverpool, a Castlereagh, and an Eldon. It was the greatest of Britain's misfortunes in the war that the prestige of victory fell to the share of reactionaries, who were disposed to make their services a plea for checking all reforms. The Grenville Ministry has to its credit the abolition of the slave trade. It fell in maintaining the principles that Ministers are entitled to tender their advice on whatever subjects they think fit, and that the king could act only on their advice. Such was the reaction produced in England by the French Revolution that even such recognised doctrines as these were in danger of being discredited; the Tory rule which followed was as unhappily stubborn in its fear of the Revolution as it was happily stubborn in its resistance to Napoleon. In the Portland Ministry, which followed, the two most remarkable figures are those of Canning and Castlereagh; as concerns the war, it was responsible for the bombardment of Copenhagen and the seizure of the Danish fleet, the undertaking of the Peninsular War, the appointment of Wellesley to the command, and the Walcheren Expedition. On this last head there was such angry dissension between Canning and Castlereagh that both resigned in 1809, and the death of Portland placed Perceval at the head of the Ministry, which was joined by the Marquess Wellesley and by young Lord Palmerston. In the following year the old king sank into permanent imbecility, and the future George IV. became the Prince Regent in 1811. A ministerial crisis in 1812 gave the personnel of the administration a still more decisively Tory cast, Wellesley retiring and Castlereagh returning—a modification which was confirmed only by the assassination of Perceval in April, and the accession of Lord Liverpool to the post of Prime Minister, which he retained till the year 1827.


Portland

Cänning

LEADERS IN THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

The Duke of Portland succeeded Lord Rockingham as leader of the Whig party; he was twice Prime Minister and held office as Home Secretary under Pitt. One of the most brilliant of Foreign Ministers, George Canning had a seat in various administrations, and made a reputation as a parliamentary orator of much eloquence and wit.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH

Famous as Foreign Secretary, and as a leader of the reactionary party in England. He died by his own hand in a fit of insanity in 1822.

The part played by the United Kingdom in the struggle with Napoleon has already been sufficiently described; but, incidentally, that struggle involved her, in 1812, in another non-European war, the outcome of the Berlin Decrees and the answering Orders in Council. The United States found themselves seriously inconvenienced, at least as concerned their southern portion, by the consequent restrictions on their commerce, and the inconvenience was more immediately due to the British than to the Napoleonic regulations. Exasperation reached a climax at the moment when the Government in Britain was thrown into confusion by the assassination of the Prime Minister, Perceval, with the result that war was declared in 1812 on the eve of Wellington's victory at Salamanca. The American contest received little attention in England, preoccupied with the greater struggle, and although American attempts upon Canada failed, the British were astonished to find their own ships repeatedly worsted in engagements. Having awakened to the facts, they were of course able to send to American waters a naval force which could effectively control the seas. The termination of the European war at the beginning of 1814 was followed by the immediate despatch of a part of the Peninsular force to the United States. Washington, the capital of the States, was captured; other expeditions distributed in desultory and disconnected fashion over the American continent were for the most part failures. Negotiations which had been opened between the belligerents at Ghent resulted in a Convention, signed on December 24th, 1814, which terminated actual hostilities, though a singular bitterness of feeling survived. It was unfortunate that the news of the Convention reached America too late to prevent a disaster to the British arms at New Orleans, where the courage of the Peninsular veterans did not save them from a complete defeat in attempting to capture the city.

The Capture of Washington

The nation emerged from the Napoleonic wars oppressed by a debt of £800,000,000, and with a credit which had been strained to the utmost. It was necessary for the Bank of England to suspend cash payments as early as 1797; its banknotes could not be made convertible again until 1819. Taxation had been intolerably severe, and pauperism had assumed appalling dimensions. But from the economic point of view there had been compensations. British trade developed in spite of the Continental System; it is a well-known fact that the armies of Napoleon were largely fed and clothed with English exports. The Berlin and Milan Decrees could be defeated only by a costly process of smuggling, but the expenses of the trade were defrayed by the Continental consumer; and the wars resulted in no inconsiderable additions to the empire. At the final settlement of 1815 England retained Malta.

THE CAPTURE OF THE "CHESAPEAKE"

On June 1st, 1813, a fight took place in Boston Bay between the American frigate Chesapeake and the British frigate Shannon. The battle lasted but a few minutes, the Chesapeake falling as a prize to the British.

She also kept Ceylon, and she acquired a legal title to the Cape of Good Hope and to Mauritius. In the western hemisphere she kept Trinidad, Dutch—henceforth British—Guiana, Tobago, and St. Lucia. The Indian acquisitions of the period, although they did not come under the notice of the Congresses of Paris and Vienna, may be regarded as in a sense the fruits of the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. The Mysore war [illegible] 1799, which established the British supremacy over the southern extremity of the peninsula, and the Mahratta war (1803–1804), which led to a great augmentation of territory and influence in the centre [illegible] north-west, were both the outcome of French intrigues. In 1815 [illegible] could be no doubt that it was the [illegible] of Great Britain to predominate in India.

Gains of the Napoleonic Period

Such, then, were the gains of the Napoleonic period. But years were to elapse before their value was adequately realised. The Peace of 1815 was followed by a period of commercial depression and bad harvests, by agitation against the restraints which the Tory Government had thought fit to impose, with parliamentary sanction, upon individual liberty; and by the perplexities arising from political and social evils which were deeply rooted in the past, but had assumed a more serious aspect during twenty years of strain and stress.

H. W. C. Davis

END OF SIXTH VOLUME